



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

EDITED BY THE REV. H. M. BAUM

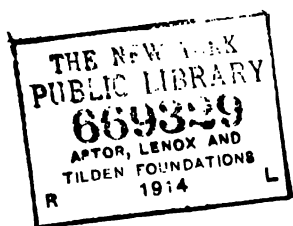
6.25
JULY, 1881

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

No. 134

NEW YORK:
AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW PRESS

1881
2.4.



THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
APTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Copyrighted, 1881,
By HENRY MASON BAUM.

I. OBER-AMMERGAU IN 1875 AND 1880,	I
By the Right Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.	
II. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND CATHOLIC RE- FORM,	21
By HYACINTHE LOYSON, D.D., Paris.	
III. REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER,	37
By the Hon. JAMES EMOTT.	
IV. THE TRICHOTOMY OF MAN,	67
By the Rev. Prof. E. STUART WILSON, M.A.	
V. THE GREEK CHURCH,	85
By the Princess DORA D'ISTRIA, Italy.	
VI. BY WHAT LAWS THE AMERICAN CHURCH IS GOV- ERNED AND HEREIN CHIEFLY, HOW FAR, IF AT ALL, ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IS OF FORCE AS SUCH, IN THIS CHURCH,	111
By HILL BURGWIN, Esq.	
VII. THE STANDARD OF LITERARY VALUE,	135
By the Rev. Prof. EDWIN E. JOHNSON, M.A.	
VIII. THE GREAT MEANING OF THE WORD METANOIA: LOST IN THE OLD VERSION, UNRECOVERED IN THE NEW,	143
By the Rev. TREADWELL WELDER, M.A.	
IX. MAN AND NATURE,	181
By the Rev. WILLIAM KIRKUS, M.A.	
X. A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD CATH- OLIC MOVEMENT IN SWITZERLAND,	205
By the Right Rev. EDWARD HERZOG, J. D., Switzerland.	
XI. CHURCHMEN GUIDING MODERN THOUGHT,	219
By the Rev. JULIUS H. WARD, M.A.	
XII. CHANGES IN THE LITANY,	231
By EDWARD McCRA DY, Esq.	
XV. LITERARY NOTICES,	547

The Organization of the Christian Churches, 247—Boston Monday Lectures, 256—Dr. Dix on the First Book of Edward VI., 258—Liddon's Thoughts on Present Church Troubles, 260—Bishop Dudley's Bohlen Lectures, 260—Political Eloquence in Greece, 262—Victor Hugo: His Life and Works, 264—Diocesan Histories, 267—The National Church of England, 268—The Bishop of Lincoln's Church History, 269—Sinai, 271—Turkish Life in War Time, 271—Men Before Adam, 274—Stones Crying Out, 278—Mozarabic Collects, 279—Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans, 279—England, Without and Within, 288—The Channing Centenary, 288—Ideality in the Physical Sciences, 289—The Theistic Argument as Affected by Recent Theories, 289—Memoirs of Prince Metternich (1815-29), 291—Hours with the Bible, 293—The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic, 294—Madame Delphine, 295—The Social Law of God, 295—English Philosophers, 296—The Treasury of the Psalter, 297—Poems, 298—Alexander Hamilton Vinton: a Memorial Sermon, 298—The Gospel of the Resurrection, 299—Work and Play: Moral Uses of Dark Things: Building Eras, 300.

THE
AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

is published in the months of January, April, July and October. Each issue is an Octavo volume of 300 pages, bound in Cloth. Subscribers who wish to have their copies in Paper Covers, uncut edges, should so indicate at the time of subscribing, otherwise the *Review* will be sent in Cloth Binding.

TERMS: \$1.00 a Number, or \$4.00 a Year in Advance.

The *Review* is open to a free discussion of the great Religious, Civil, Literary, Scientific and Philosophical questions of the times; On all Ecclesiastical questions, writers of whatever school of thought in the Church will be granted an equal hearing.

The Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions and views of writers expressed in their articles.

The Office of the *Review* is at 234 Broadway, New York City, but all communications for the Editor and Publisher should be addressed:—AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, New York, N. Y., and *not* to the Office.

OBER-AMMERGAU IN 1875 AND 1880.

1875.

NEVER was a drive more enjoyable than that from Kempten, a quaint old Bavarian town, whither we had come from Switzerland through the King's Forest and skirting the Plan See, to Ober-Ammergau. To make the journey in a single day required an early start ; and so we arose before the dawn, and were well on our way when the sunlight, from over the hill-tops, dissipated the mists that had rested all night in the valleys, and made the romantic scenery around us distinctly visible. It was by patient climbing, with many a rest as the day went on, that we gained the heights of the Austrian Tyrol, and, after a little, found ourselves again on the Bavarian Highlands. Our route lay through busy towns and villages, with red-tiled, queerly painted houses and workshops, and market-places filled with the crowd of traffickers. Between these centres of population the fields were ready for the harvesting. Now and then we caught a glimpse of the Tyrolese Alps, with their snowy peaks and glaciers, and one could often see among the rocks, the chamois standing out in bold relief against the sky, seemingly conscious of his safety from the hunter's power. As we reached the highlands of Bavaria, we could not fail to notice the peasants in their picturesque attire, in mien and manners different from their

neighbors across the frontier of the Austrian Tyrol. A marked gravity and dignity of demeanor distinguished the men whom we met, returning from the fields to their quiet *châlets*. The women were handsome in face and form, while the countenances of not a few both men and women, wore that undefinable expression which betrays a soul imbued with a controlling religious sense and alive to the dread realities of time and eternity. In every field, at every cross-road, and at frequent intervals along the way was a rustic shrine or effigy of the Crucifixion, before which the passing peasant invariably knelt to tell his beads, or at least paused for a moment's silent prayer. Even the houses bore in rude fresco, picturings of sacred scenes; and every village church into which we entered was crowded with "Calvarys" and "Bethlehems," while the walls were all aglow with the bright colorings in which the humble artists of the place had sought to depict the "Stations," or other scenes of sacred story. We seemed, as the day wore away, and the rich sunset tintings faded into the soft moonlight, to be on a pilgrimage to some holy shrine, and each step brought us more and more within the influences of a potent spell, such as the deepest and most reverent faith alone could exert.

The evening was well-nigh gone as we drove around the base of the *Kofel*—a frowning headland surmounted by two lofty crosses, towering several thousand feet above the vale and village—and entered the chief street of Ober-Ammergau. We were almost the latest comers of a long procession of visitors from abroad that had passed during the day between the rows of picturesque *châlets* on either side, and had been absorbed in one and another of these simple homes. There was no room for us at the inn, but we had earlier secured accommodations in the house of one of the chorus-singers; and as the lights went out one by one, and every sound of out-door life was hushed, we were snugly housed in our comfortable *châlet*, which was as neat and attractive as either host or guest could wish.

The dawning was fair and bright, and musical with the soft tinkling of the bells of the flocks and herds driven out for pasturage. At seven o'clock, Mass was said at each of the five altars in the village church, which was crowded with reverent worshippers. Here we saw at their devotions the simple peasants of the Highlands in their holiday attire. The married women were distinguished by their high black hats, resembling a grenadier's bearskin, and

evidently a relic of an old-time fashion nearly passed away. The younger *Fräulein*, with their dark velvet bodices in striking contrast with the white muslin neckerchiefs and sleeves, and silver chains, and the scarlet or brocaded skirts which formed their costume, added a quaint picturesqueness to the fresh grace of womanly beauty which their hats tastefully ornamented with gold tassels and flowers and half concealing their dark hair and silver head-gear served to augment. The men, in their velveteen coats of black or gray, decked with rows of silver coins in place of buttons, their knee-breeches displaying their shapely limbs, and with their Tyrolese hats with the indispensable feather, in their hands, made up a scene rare to look upon and difficult to describe. Through the open Church door, one could look out upon the well-filled "God's acre" with its memorial crosses and flower-decked graves, lighted up by the morning sunlight and standing out in graceful relief against the hazy background of the distant hills. As the eye wandered thus in quest of the picturesque, the soft, sweet notes of choral song burst from the village choir, singing one of those grand yet simple hymns of German origin which, though the words were strange and only half intelligible, came to our ears as home-music, so full and hearty and devotional was the strain.

At eight o'clock the High Mass was over, and the actors, who had received the Sacrament, with which they begin their day's dramatic efforts, mingled with the crowd, each and all in search of the morning meal. At nine, the salute of cannon would announce the beginning of *Die Kreuzeschule*—"The School of the Cross," consisting of scenes from the Old Testament in a dramatic form, with *tableaux-vivants* from the New Testament; each of the six parts of the play representing a type and anti-type connected with the Passion, and inverting the order and arrangement of the celebrated *Passions-Spiel*. A half-century had elapsed since the presentation of this play and every eye was expectant, every breast swelling with emotion, as actors and spectators were hurrying to the rude theatre just outside the village.

As we joined the crowd pressing to see this play so unlike any other in the world, there was naturally the questioning of soul,—“Can we venture to witness such a spectacle as this, so foreign to all our experiences, so questionable in point of taste, and treading so familiarly

on holy ground?" The answer to all this questioning seemed before us in the serious air and demeanor of the hundreds who were thronging with us to the play. Mingling with the peasants and visitors like ourselves, were the performers in this strange solemnity, and with due reverence and fitting propriety did they bear themselves in the eyes of all. Whether it were the tall and dignified Joseph Maier with flowing hair, and face and form that, even with the surroundings of a working-dress, startled us by its likeness to one's conception of the "Christus" he was about to personate; or the charming Franziska Flunger, who was in grace and beauty and modest purity, the ideal "Maria" of our highest anticipations; whether it were the sweet peasant children, with their golden hair and rosy, dimpled faces, who were so soon to kneel in graceful attitudes around the cross, or the stately chorus-singers in their Oriental robes, whom we met on the way—all were solemnized, all were transfigured by their parts, and all were evidently impressed with the thrilling import of the tragedy in which they were to take a share. Each peasant actor seemed to enter with all the power of a controlling religious sentiment into the character and scenes which were before him. The same deep intensity of feeling of which we had read as characterizing the representation of the *Passions-Spiel*, was seen on every side. The gift of a *Kreuzigung-Gruppe*, a crucifixion-group in stone by the King of Bavaria, to mark his appreciation of the extraordinary devotion of this portion of his realm and intended for the summit of a hill overlooking the village, had occasioned the revival of this long disused play, last performed in 1825. The venerable priest *emeritus*, Herr Joseph Louis Daisenberger who had revised and re-arranged the text of the *Passions-Spiel* had given to this play his care and labor. Portions of the dialogue had been adapted from one of Metastasio's sacred dramas, and the music was partly composed, and partly selected from well-known sources by the excellent school-master, John Louis Kirchenhofer. Such was the occasion, and the incidents of the strangest and most impressive spectacle our eyes had ever looked upon.

The echoing reverberations of the cannon had hardly died away among the mountains which formed the background of the rude theatre when, after a brief overture the chorus, thirteen in number, clad in robes of bright blue, mauve and magenta, with white embroidered tunics,

and mantles and girdles of various hues, walked slowly in from either side, taking their stand before the curtain which concealed the central portion of the stage. As in the old Greek tragedy the chorus held an important part in the performance, introducing each scene or *tableau* with a measured chant or *recitative*, giving as it were the keynote to that which was to follow, and adding at the close the summing up of the whole drama. Strikingly does the author of "Ammergau; an Idyll," describe this prelude to the play :

"How clearly on my inner sense is borne
The fair, fresh beauty of the mountain morn,
The cries of flocks afar, and mixed with these
The green, delightful tumult of the trees,—
The birds that o'er from the upper day
Threw flitting shade, and went their airy way,—
The bright-robed chorus and the silent throng,
And that first burst and sanctity of song."

The *Chorführer*, or chorus-leader attired in a priestly robe, fringed and embroidered with gold, and wearing a flowing beard, recited the prologue in a rich clear voice, while the part-singers "took up the wondrous tale," and the whole chorus followed, all raising their hands from time to time with measured but graceful gesture. As their part draws to a close, they divide and fall slowly back in line on either side of the central or inner stage. The curtain now rises and there is revealed an exquisite *tableau* of a Cross "raised against the eastern sky," to which an angel figure points, while women and children kneel around it. Thus is the central thought of the play made plain : the Cross of Christ, the emblem of salvation, the sacrifice for sin, it is this great truth of the atoning death on Calvary that this spectacle in all its parts is designed to hold up to view. Following this *tableau* was "The School of the Cross," of which we add a brief description, not only of the play but also of the *dramatis personæ* themselves.

In the first scene Cain and Abel appeared, the former clad in the skin of a leopard to indicate the ferocity and treachery of his nature, while the latter was arrayed in the softest and whitest fleece. In the background stood the rude Altar and the smoke of the acceptable sacrifice was rising from the dying embers. The dialogue was well sustained. The rage of the elder brother shown in harsh tones and angry looks, was well contrasted with the

gentleness of manner and the soft, loving tones of the younger. In vain does the father seek to soften the resentment of his first-born, and Eve, with the caresses of a mother's love strive to soothe him into a gentler mood. Even the warning of the Angel of the Lord is not withheld and the first scene of this unique drama ends with the apparent, though temporary, reconciliation of the brothers. But the embrace was only the prelude to the fatal blow, and although the scene of blood is not represented on the stage, nature itself announces that some deed of evil is being done. The lurid flash of lightning is seen; the crashes of thunder are heard, and Adam, bowed with grief, appears bearing in his arms the lifeless body of his son. Eve joins in the bitter lamentations; and although in all this the well known language of the inspired narrative is closely followed, and there is—there can be no novelty in the dramatic representation of that which is familiar to us all—the simple, unaffected acting of these peasants and the perfect naturalness of the surroundings gave to these scenes an impressiveness and an interest which brought tears to many eyes, and profoundly affected even the most indifferent of the spectators.

The *tableaux* representing the New Testament anti-types of these events of the Old Testament story were most admirably performed. In the first, that of the cleansing of the Temple, we saw for the first time the *Christus*, Joseph Maier, in character. It was as if the noblest picture the eye had ever looked upon was living, breathing, almost moving before our eyes! The majestic figure, the sad, worn countenance, not indeed the idealized conception of Leonardo da Vinci, or that of Carlo Dolci; but, to our taste, something far more touching, far more real because more truly human: the dark flowing hair parted in the middle; the fine, intellectual forehead; the rich, full beard; the eyes filled with an expression of infinite tenderness, pity, love; the wonderful dignity of manner; all brought to our mind most vividly, almost painfully, the Galilean peasant, the Son of Mary in His perfect humanity. The effect of all this was heightened by the purple robe falling in most artistic folds, and the sandaled feet;—every detail of costume, in fact, being copied from paintings by the old masters—and every gesture being rendered with the most perfect though unstudied grace. The character and costumes of the Pharisees and Priests were most carefully portrayed. We could see them glaring with

rage upon the Son of Man, crowding upon his steps with wrathful words and threatening gestures, while in the picturesque coloring and variety of dress, and the artistic, effective grouping of the persons of the scene, it was as if we saw in all the freshness of the artist's latest touch one of those grand paintings of Albrecht Dürer or Holbein, which, when once beheld, imprint themselves forever upon the mind.

In the second *tableau* we have the most perfect representation of the betrayal and the subsequent remorse of Judas. The priests, in their crimson robes embroidered with gold, with white tunics interwoven with blue and purple, their mitres bearing the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord :"—the apostles : S. Peter, in the traditional blue robe and yellow mantle, S. John in red and Judas in orange and yellow, seemed as before, in every attitude, in each detail of dress, familiar to the eye from the careful reproduction of well-known paintings by the Masters of German Sacred Art. The rendering of the character of the traitor was perfect. The unquiet, startled air, the nervous clutching, as in a fit of abstraction, at his yellow robes, the strife of the conflicting emotions of greed and terror, and the final sorrow for his hopeless sin, were portrayed in a most masterly manner by Gregor Lechner, whose careful study of his part and strikingly appropriate type of face, made up a marvelous piece of *acting*—if that can be called acting which offered to the eye no gesture and made no sound for the ear to take in but was still, motionless and yet fully, perfectly understood.

Following these representations of the first crime by which the earth was stained with blood, and the greatest of all crimes, the betrayal to death of the Son of Man, we had next in order the types and anti-types of the plan of redemption. The Bible teaching of sacrifice and the declaration of God that without the shedding of blood there could be no remission of sin, were now brought prominently into view. First we had the Eucharistic type and anti-type in the offering to Abraham as God's representative, by Melchisedec, of bread and wine in which the Oriental features of the scene were admirably presented, followed by the *tableau* of the Last Supper as painted by Leonardo da Vinci and making one of the most perfect specimens of grouping and coloring possible to conceive. Then the Sacrifice of Isaac formed the "action"—to quote the technical word of the rude "libretto" in each one's hand.

This was presented in its two-fold aspect : first, the struggle of parental love and the final submission of the father's will to the behest of Jehovah, followed by the "representation" in *tableau* of the Agony in Gethsemane ; and then, the scene on Mount Moriah, in which God Himself provides a lamb for sacrifice, which preceded the *tableau* of the great central act of our redemption, the Crucifixion on Calvary !

There had been an evident culminating of interest and effect in these successive *tableaux* of the great events of our redemption :

"Thro' all these scenes the fateful story ran,—

* * * * *

There was the evening feast, remembered long,

The mystic act and sacramental song ;

There was the dreadful garden, rock and tree,

Waker and sleeper in Gethsemane."

But everything paled before the picturing of Calvary !

In the foreground the soldiers rend the garments of the Lord and cast lots for His vesture. The centurian stands at one side with his spear in hand ; the Marys are grouped around the central Cross, the Magdalene with her arms clasped about its base, and the Virgin Mother, the loveliest face of all we saw abroad, looking up with streaming eyes. The Beloved Disciple is near at hand. The thieves are hanging on either side with their arms thrown over the cross-tree as we see them in the paintings of the Crucifixion. The priests and people are there, looking on to see the end. The picture is complete : it is real, living, we are gazing spell-bound on the scene on Calvary !

A glance at these details suffices, for no one can notice long any detail or minor figure in this Divine Tragedy. It is the *Christus* on whom each eye, looking through tears is fixed, for it is, apparently, a living Christ that we behold upon the Cross. "Sitting down we watch Him there." Wonderful is the perfect pose of the figure of this peasant of Ober-Ammergau. Ah ! it is the realization of our highest and most reverent conceptions that we now behold. Everything is depicted with almost painful reality, far exceeding in beauty and exquisite grace the finest paintings of this Scene of scenes ! The wonderfully beautiful modeling of the limbs of the *Christus*, as they hung in most perfect statuesque lines upon the tree of shame, was of itself a study. The worn, agonized form, the torn

and bleeding hands, the bruised head, bound with the crown of thorns, the pierced side and, above all, that marvelous *look* of the sufferer so full of compassionate love and tenderness made up so vivid and so reverent a representation that we could not but confess that of all the pictures of the Passion we had ever looked upon, this was immeasurably the most beautiful and the best. Tears were in every eye. The simple-hearted peasants sobbed aloud. No one could have been the worse for such a sight, and I, for one, felt as I had never done before, either in reading the story of the Passion, or in gazing upon those world-renowned paintings of the Scene on Calvary. How solemn and how terrible was the tragedy of the death upon the cross! Years have passed since I first looked upon the sight; but as I write, it rises before my view in all its tremendous majesty, and will not be forgotten till my latest hour of earth.

We had reached the climax, and it was with a thrill of relief that we saw the curtain fall. When it rose again it was to give us in its representation of the coming of "light out of darkness," the scene of the return of Joseph as Governor of Egypt to his father's arms and love, typifying the return of the Captain of our Salvation to His Father's Divine presence. The dramatic "action" was as usual excellent and was followed by the *tableau* of the Ascension. In this scene, Christ bearing still the marks of the Passion, but with surroundings catching something of the hues of heaven, was represented as standing on the mount with hands extended in the act of blessing the disciples and others who were grouped about him. But the great central act of this sacred tragedy had passed and soon the final song of Triumph sounded from the unwearied chorus, and slowly and silently the crowd of spectators dispersed.

We went to our quiet rooms in the little *châlet* to muse in silence on the scenes of the eventful day. At sunset we wandered through the village and climbed the hill where the Stone Crucifixion Group, not yet in place though on the ground, was to stand forth in the sight of all the neighborhood. We scanned this work of artistic skill but it seemed as nothing to the living representation our eyes had so lately and so wonderingly looked upon! Surely in this isolated village and among these remarkable wood-carvers and herdsmen, there must be an abiding realization of the Divine Presence rarely felt throughout a whole community in these faithless days! Coming down to them from their fathers, a sacred legacy, these simple-hearted Christian

peasants make the representation of this Divine Tragedy the absorbing passion of their lives. They enter into its preparation with heart and soul. They are thoroughly imbued with their respective parts. They feel it an honor and a privilege thus to keep up the tradition of their past history, and in turn, the very requirements of the sacred drama, as they demand years of study and careful preparation, even in the most minute details, impart a touch of poetry and an art-training to their humble and else uneventful lives. Well may we, whose high privilege it was to have seen this wonderful representation, unite in the words of the pious monk of Ettal in his chronicle of the results of the first performance of the *Passions-Spiel*, Anno 1634: "And not only were they all healed which were afflicted, but they begged God to bless these His servants who had thus lovingly exposed the Passion of His blessed Christ." And this is not merely the testimony of the imaginative or the impressible. In the words of the correspondent of the *London Times*, we may sum up our own impressions: "I have never seen so affecting a spectacle or one more calculated to draw out the best and purest feelings of the heart."

Early on the morrow we turned reluctantly away from Ober-Ammergau, retracing our steps by a varied path through fields and villages to Kempten, and thence to Switzerland. But nothing could, nothing ever will shut out from mind the memory of that Autumnal Sunday when, in a manner most affecting, most surprising, we had with our natural eyes, to an extent we had never dreamed possible in the flesh, "seen the Christ."

OBER-AMMERGAU IN 1880.

IMPRESSED as we had been by the representation of *Die Kreuzeschule* in 1875, it was but natural that we should be among the throng of pilgrims from all over the world who sought Ober-Ammergau in 1880 to witness the *Passions-Spiel*. We left Munich for Murnau early in the

morning of the last day of July. Our route by rail led us along the west bank of the Starnbergsee, a pretty lake of fifteen miles in length, and then as the water was passed through an undulating country, well wooded and cultivated, with the Bavarian Highlands in the background, lifting their fantastic shapes like grim spectres peering through the morning haze.

At Murnau a roomy carriage awaited us and after a hearty lunch in the public room of the little Gasthaus, "*La Poste*," amidst a chatter of men and a clinking of tankards from the Tyroleans and Bavarian peasants which was deafening, we began our drive. The way was thronged with *zweispanners* and *einspanners*, filled to overflowing with pilgrims of every nationality and every speech, while the roadsides were crowded with pedestrians, peasants in their fantastic garb, tourists in them who had failed to secure carriages, and others who scorned to ride, all trudging through the deep mud and over the slippery stones and climbing the steep ascent that led first to Ettal and thence to Ober-Ammergau. Steep indeed was the way and long the road cut through the mountain gorge with openings on either side revealing scenes of wondrous beauty, and following the course of the Loiach which, swollen by the late frequent rains, was making music as it dashed over its rocky bed. Ere we gained the summit of the pass we were all on foot and the horses dragged with difficulty the empty carriage up the rough hill-side.

At length Ettal, with its grand old Benedictine Monastery, now the brewery and abode of a German Count, was reached. We visited the church and cloisters, gazed upon the relics bedecked with jewels and clothed in cloth of gold, and the miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which bears the palm for ugliness of all the representations of "Mary, maid and mother" we have ever seen, and securing a medal as a memento of our visit, hastened onward to our destination. The scenery through which we were passing was grand indeed. The *Baurische Hochland* or Bavarian Highlands among which we were, has no more romantic or beautiful peak than the *Ethaler Mandl*, up which we had patiently climbed. The snow-clad range of the Watterstein, rising to an altitude of ten thousand feet, was seen in the distance, while far beyond towered the Zugspitze, twelve thousand feet in height, and extending toward the Tyrol.

Leaving Ettal, our road wound in and out among the

heights, on either side shaded by ragged crags, inaccessible save to the chamois and the *wilds chutz* or poacher of the wild Alps. Three miles from Ettal lies the village of Ober-Ammergau in the valley of the Ammer—clear sparkling stream from which the town and district (*gau*) take their name. The valley is completely shut in by mountains, while high above the hamlet and the stream on the summit of a rocky precipice called the Kofel, rising perpendicularly to an altitude of at least two thousand feet, stands the colossal Cross erected by the pious villagers, and so placed as to be seen from every point below by the upturned eye seeking consolation or invoking Heaven's aid. We drove through the crowded streets to the house of Tobias Flunger who was the *Christus* in the year 1850, the *Pilate* in 1860 and 1870, and was now in his calm and beautiful old age, the *Moses* and *S. Matthew* of the present representation. Here a hearty welcome awaited us, first from the lovely daughter of our host, the *Sara* of five years ago, and the younger sister of the beautiful "*Marie*," whom we had seen and admired when here before. In our neat and comfortable rooms, with the huge canopy over each couch and the walls adorned with sculpture prints we were at once at home. We were at once carried back to 1875 and its ineffaceable memories. As then, the deep shadows of the cross crowning the Kofel's summit rested on the valley and village below. The Ammer rushed tempestuously by the wayside as it did when we first saw its clear shining waters. The herds and flocks were coming from their pasturage on the wild Alpine heights, their tinkling bells making music as they came. The visitors were thronging from every quarter for the morrow's solemn play. The village band was discoursing sweet music to greet the new comers, and the recollections of all that we had seen five years before, as well as the memory of the vivid description of the village and the play in 1850, found in the fascinating pages of "*Quits*," by the Baroness Tautphoes, came fresh to mind, the more readily as the venerable man who welcomed us to his home was no other than the *Christus* of that year and that book who by his untaught but most artistic acting, gave to the *Passions-Spiel* a world-wide fame. It was late when we closed the windows of our *châlet* home and sought in sleep to shut out the well-remembered past as well as our anticipations of the morrow.

Of the day and drama we can only turn to our note-book

and give almost without a change the words we penned when on the spot and with the impressions of the scene and actors fresh in mind.

We are sitting in the theatre at Ober-Ammergau during the noon-time rest. For the fourth time of all the many representations of this wonderful play this year, the rain has not fallen during the first half of the play, and the day, though lowering, is still calm and cool. Six thousand people crowding every available place for sitting or standing, have shared the sight with us, most of whom are sitting in the open air on seats that have no backs. We have the choicest and costliest seats, with an uninterrupted view of the stage, our places having been secured and paid for weeks before. Perfect order has been maintained by the vast auditory, and my apprehensions that the deeply religious character of the scene and its surroundings might have been impaired now that all the world makes its pilgrimage to Ober-Ammergau, are dispelled. In the humble home where we are stopping the father and daughters have prominent parts. The lovely girl who met us on the way and directed us to her house was the "Sara" of the School of the Cross five years ago, and with her fair-haired, blue-eyed, younger sister who waited on us at supper and breakfast, are among the chorus whose recitatives and songs, after the manner of the old Greek tragedy composed in strophe and anti-strophe, introduce the various *tableaux* and scenes, and give in words and wonderful pantomime the thread of the narrative for our following. An elder sister, now married, was the beautiful "Marie" of the last decennial representation. The younger members of this gifted peasant-family have also their share in the play which numbers over five hundred performers and is enacted in a scale difficult to realize unless one is present on the spot. From under our covered seats we look out upon a stage of vast extent, the background of which consists of the green hillsides and clouded skies of earth and heaven. In the centre of the stage is an inner stage or proscenium style with scenery and drop curtain. On either side are balconies, and besides, stretching far back, there are two streets of Jerusalem, making deep vistas which it requires but little imagination to deem real. From the wings of the inner stage, and through these long streets the actors in the drama and *tableaux* appear; and on so vast a scale are the whole accessories to the play, and so wonderful is the acting—if that is acting where each peasant personator seems to *live* his character

both on and when off the stage, and seemingly lives for this end alone—that each spectator is thrilled with the vivid reality of the representations and follows every word and look and gesture as if carried back eighteen hundred years, and witnessing that with his own eyes which in its reality must have been wondrously like what we have seen to-day.

The stage, which is one hundred and fifty feet in width, is raised slightly as it retires. In the extreme front are, on each side, wings for the entrance, or exit, of the Chorus, which consists of nineteen persons, nine entering on one side and ten, including the *Choragus*, from the other, meeting in the centre, and so grouped are they that they extend across the stage, the tallest in the middle. The *Choragus*, or leader, a singularly handsome man, is dressed in a long white alb, or loose robe of rich material, reaching to his feet, which are sandaled, and is girded by a loose girdle. Over his shoulders hangs a long scarlet mantle bordered with gold, falling to the ground, and giving, by its rich color and graceful folds, great beauty to the whole costume. A circlet of gold binds his hair, which falls loosely behind. The other members of the chorus are dressed in similar robes of white, with hanging sleeves, but with mantles of various colors, bordered with gold and so harmoniously and artistically arranged as to produce a most picturesque and pleasing effect.

Advancing from either side of the stage and taking up their assigned positions, the *Choragus* recites the prologue which introduces each act, while at the close the note is taken up by the chorus, either singly in turn or by all, in most effective and admirably sustained melody, chanting the theme which is to be revealed first in the *tableaux vivants* of the Old Testament types, and then in the dramatic representation of our Lord's last days.

As the curtain rises to display the *tableaux*, the *Choragus*, and half the chorus, most gracefully step backward on one side; the other half on the other, so as not to impede the view, and while the *tableau* is displayed, which is generally for several minutes, the chorus in song describe the relations of type to anti-type. After the contemplation of the picture, made more solemn and effective by the musical explanation, the curtain falls, and the chorus resume their places across the stage in front of the proscenium with consummate grace, while they recite in song the connection between the picture which has just

been shown and the dramatic scene which is to follow. As the curtain rises again the chorus retire, to reappear whenever a new act, with its preparatory *tableau*, is introduced. They are called the chorus of *Schutzgeister* or Guardian Angels, and as heavenly interpreters or monitors, they are at hand throughout the whole rendering of the *Passions-Spiel*. Well does Mary Howitt express the relations of these chorus-singers to the play as she relates: "Whilst they sang, our hearts were strangely touched, and our eyes wandered away from these singular peasant-angels and their peasant audience up to the deep, cloudless sky; we heard the rustle of the trees, and caught glimpses of the mountains, and all seemed a strange, poetical dream."

The costumes of the personators in this Sacred Drama are carefully prepared, and in many cases are both costly and gorgeous. They are designed or copied from the paintings of the old masters, as are to a certain extent many of the *tableaux* and not a few of the most remarkable groupings of the drama itself. In viewing the representation one felt as if the best of the sacred paintings with which all the world is familiar had become instinct with life, and the figures had left the canvas to move awhile on the stage before us, and speak and act their parts with the familiar faces and in the very dresses with which art has ever connected them. Each of the peasant apostles at Ober-Ammergau might sit for the portrait of him whose part he takes, and the likeness would be confessed by all—so fully has the personator entered into, and grown to, the part he plays. We visited the "Christus" in his humble home and spent a little time under his roof, amidst the carvings he had made and with the members of his household about him. We had seen him five years before. Younger then, his features at that time more fully realized the ideal of the Son of Man than now, but even now there was that about his confessedly peasant type of countenance which profoundly impressed each beholder. His wonderful grace shown in every movement, even when in his home and in his peasant garb; the calm, reverential manner which is natural with him and noticeable as he walks the streets or as he sits down to converse under his own roof; the purity and perfectness of the modulations of his voice, whether upon the stage or in everyday conversation; in short, the dignity and grandeur of this man to whom the honor has been assigned by his fellow villagers

of personating the Incarnate One whom he reverentially worships, all unite to render Joseph Maier an object of universal interest. When one realizes that upwards of one hundred thousand spectators from all parts of the world will be drawn to this little village in the Bavarian Highlands, far from the centres of art or fashion, far even from the almost omnipresent railway, it must be confessed that the central figure of all these wonderful impersonations must be a remarkable man. Simple, unaffected, conscious only of the privilege, which is his, of personating his Lord and seeking in his realization of the character to testify his reverent love and adoration of Him who died for him, there can be no doubt of the fitness of this actor for the part, if any one on earth could fitly undertake it. The acting of Gregor Lechner, to whom the part of Judas has been assigned, both in 1870-71 and 1880, is also wonderful. The representation of the influence of contending passions struggling for the mastery, the vivid depicting in looks and gesture, tone of voice and movement, of avarice, covetousness, hypocrisy, unfaithfulness and deceit, to be followed by self-reproach, remorse, self-condemnation and despair, was masterly. It was so with the impersonation of S. Peter by Jacob Hett. We saw in every word and action, in the expressive features and in the carefully modulated voice, the impetuous, self-confident, loving, but timorous and yielding follower of his Lord, who could deny his Master with oaths after he had with excessive and ill-timed zeal undertaken His defence at fearful odds, and then at the loving though reproachful look of Christ, weep bitterly for a fall, which, though the Master might forgive, the disciple could never forget.

Nor these alone. Every one of the hundreds who took part in this representation was evidently actuated and impressed with a vivid sense of the awful character of the scenes he was engaged in and the part he had to take; and the utter absence of applause or any demonstration during the more than eight hours of the play, attested the sympathy of the vast audience with this religious sentiment.

The music was singularly appropriate and at times quite artistic. It is, as is the whole drama, the production of home talent, and its fitting harmonies will long linger in memory. As a celebrated actor, who witnessed the *Passions-Spiel* when our host, Herr Flunger was the "*Christus*" thirty years ago, and gave the character and the drama its

first celebrity, remarked, "such natural acting on the stage was not to be met with elsewhere." So all confessed. It was the highest art, for all art was concealed—each one seemed to look and live his part.

During the performance of the play which we have sought to describe, the auditory seemed spell-bound. Every eye was turned toward the stage. Every voice was hushed save when at the close of the marvelous *tableaux*, in which the impersonations were motionless as though cut in stone, and when the grouping of scores and even hundreds of men, women and even children of tender years, displayed artistic taste of the highest order, a subdued hum of admiration attested the applause universally accorded though never otherwise expressed. From the moment the *Christus* appeared, to the end, his calm, dignified face and form, his wonderful grace, his exquisite modulations of voice held everyone's rapt attention. Again and again did we look through eyes suffused with tears. As the second part opened, the skies which had gathered blackness during the interval between the parts, began to dispense a gentle, but abundant, rain. Though two-thirds of the auditory were exposed to its force without any possibility of shelter, hardly a score retired, while in the case of the performers, who were equally exposed, no sign of consciousness of the drenching storm could be perceived. There was no hurry, no attempt to secure shelter; all were too much imbued with a sense of the importance and deep solemnity of what they were doing to think of rain or in any way to mar the perfection of their impersonations. The Chorus, who from their position and their allotted work were especially exposed, were completely drenched ere the play was over, and yet, on our return to the home of the Flungers, by carriage, as soon as we, among the very first, could find egress from the theatre, Sophie and her sister, two of the Schutzgeister, or Angelic Chorus, were at the door to greet us, smiling and happy as though they had passed a day of rest instead of having been up before the dawn, at work at home and for eight hours acting their parts upon the stage. It is in this spirit that the drama is performed. The successive generations are trained up with a view to its proper representation. The pecuniary return is utterly inadequate for such patient toil, such complete absorption. Everything is sacrificed to the correct performance of the play, and the individuals lose in neglected work more than

their share in the returns. In 1871, the *Christus* received after his toil of successive weeks, less than five dollars for each representation.

Again and again have the villagers been solicited to enact the play elsewhere, and large sums have been offered them as an inducement to display their histrionic talent in the capitals in Europe and America. They will not do that for gain which is to them the outcome of deeply religious feeling.

We parted from the Flungers with regret, so sweet and gentle were they in their simplicity ; so abundant were the evidences they displayed of the culturing of their respective parts, on their faces, their manners, their very speech and movements, that we felt as though we had known and loved these peasants for years. We entered our names on their visitor's book, which contained representative names from all parts of the world. We paid our meagre "reckoning," and in the midst of the rainfall, which had now set in in earnest, we started on our return to Murnau and Munich. The road was that we had taken in coming. Crowded as it was then, it was almost impassable now. Zweispanners, einspanners, droschkes, landaus, coaches, wagons, omnibuses, carts of every style, and without a vacant seat, were disputing the right of way, while drenched and bedraggled pedestrians of all nations, rank and speech, were crowding the roadsides or darting in and out among the plunging, baulking, toiling steeds. We passed along the Ammer's banks, with the rows of mountain-ash laden with the bright red berries on either side. The Kofel, with its lofty cross, was shortly left behind. Ettal, with its bedizzened skeletons and brewery, was reached, and the crowd for a time diminished, as some stopped to pray at this noted shrine, and others sought the creature comforts of the foaming tankards, beer and breviary side by side. We had left the entrance to the Ammerthal, the Ettaler-Mandl rose in majesty above us, and we began the steep descent to Oberau. Even through the rain-drops the scenery was most beautiful and grand. Not a few of the motley crowd of post-travelers accompanying us stopped from time to time to look off from the mountain-side to the mist-wreathed hills and swollen water-courses which were 'all about us ; now we stopped as an overworked horse fell under his burden, and a crowd of riders were forced to take to the muddy road ; now we paused to note the picturesque costumes of the peasants

of the neighborhood who had made their pilgrimage to this *Passions-Spiel* on foot, and though drenched and fasting, were trudging along to their still distant homes with reverent faces and without a word or sound of merriment, evidently impressed beyond measure with what they had seen and heard.

At length the light faded out, Wilhelm was passed, the Staffelsee, with its traditions connecting it with S. Boniface, was seen in the distance, and Murnau was at hand. We were in time for the special train for Munich, which bore fully a thousand returning pilgrims to the Bavarian capital. We were soon snugly and quietly ensconced in our comfortable compartment. Wearied out with the excitement and impressions of the day, we could not talk; we could only think. At length the beautiful Starnberg lake, first seen by us five years ago from the other side and at the base of Schloss Berg, one of the Bavarian king's favorite resorts, could be discerned through the rain and mist. It was shortly left behind, and at midnight we were awakened from our troubled sleep at the central station in Munich. Our Passion-pilgrimage was over.

Cui bono? We frankly say that we were never before so impressed with the reality of the facts of the Incarnation and the atoning death of our Lord Jesus Christ. That which we looked upon with streaming eyes and in common with a weeping multitude will never fade away from remembrance. The ideal Passion-picture of our minds has been realized, and neither painting nor statue will ever rise to mind as we seek to image-forth to our inner sense the agony endured by Christ, for us and for our salvation; but we shall ever recall that which our eyes have seen and to which our hearts involuntarily responded—the Bavarian peasant, who in his simple-hearted, child-like devotion has personated so wondrously the central scene of faith and history. Elsewhere what we have so deeply enjoyed would be blasphemous. Here it seemed to be but the natural outgrowth of a dream-land piety and idyllic religious life. And so the toil and travel of thousands of miles were repaid. We shall never forget the wondrous scenes of our solemn Lord's day at Ober-Ammergau.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND CATHOLIC REFORM.

IT is now nearly one hundred years, and yet the French Revolution is not finished, and we still continue to turn in a magic and fatal circle, that nothing can break: going from riot to usurpation, from anarchy to despotism, from conquest to invasion; and we are never certain whether we are witness to an agonizing though glorious birth, or to a prolonged and monstrous abortion. But certain it is that the offspring born amid such a crisis, and amidst so much blood is not the harbinger of that new order of things which is to regenerate the world. He whom we looked for has not yet appeared.

One of the reasons why the Revolution is not yet terminated is that it is not explained or even understood. It contains such luminous yet complex revelations, it presents such opposing aspects, that men of great genius and often of great sincerity can say with M. de Majstre, "It is a satanic revelation," others like Lacordaire, Lamennais and Buchez, "it is *par excellence* the true application of the Gospel to human society." An historic philosopher—M. Edgar Quinet—affirms that the failure of the French Revolution—like a vessel swallowed by the tempest just as she touches port—has for principal reason the want of intelligence and courage. According to him the insti-

gators of that great event did not perceive that Religion was the soul of Society, and that any great change could not be wrought in one without its being accomplished in the other. "Therefore," says this historian, "because of this superstitious timidity, which is inherent in the Latin mind, the authors of the French Revolution did not see—or if they did—had not the courage to make the necessary change, attempting only to overthrow the political edifice, without daring to touch, with any degree of efficacy, the edifice of Belief and Religious Institutions."

With all due deference to this distinguished thinker, we must say that all, or nearly all, of this explication is false. For, firstly, it is not true that the Latin mind in general, and the French mind in particular, was stricken, as he pretends, with a kind of religious paralysis. He thus accuses us of timidity, while my accusation would be of audacity.

Among the great religious revolutions which have occurred within the last two thousand years two of the most radical ones have been incited by the Latin mind; one eminently divine touches perfection,—the other human, consequently defective.

Christianity born at Jerusalem was rejected by the Semitic race—Jews and Arabs. Proscribed, thrust out by the sons of Abraham—its own household—where did it find a soil providentially prepared for its growth and fruition? In the Greco-Roman world. At Athens, at Rome, when S. Paul came with S. Peter in the great persecution of Nero, the two seeds of Christianity—the Word and Blood: The Word of the Living God and the Blood of Martyrs! And from thence on to Gaul to Paris—one of the capitals of Christianity—especially of intellectual Christianity. And all this in Latin soil.

Next comes the great religious Revolution, the most daring and the most fruitful of all—divinely aided by grace from Above, and humanly aided by the Latin spirit—sixteen centuries after the Greek Revolution of Christ—Calvinism. And I can speak with so much more impartiality because it is that branch of Protestantism that differs most from Catholicism, and because I do not accept its doctrines. But it has been the most radical, and at the same time the most popular of all the branches of Protestantism. It was from Calvinism that sprung forth Puritanism, and it was from the stalwart stock of Puritanism that germed and budded the great American Revolution. And

from whence came Calvinism? From the forge of a French brain! And its pulpit and capitol was a French town—Genève.

And finally, in the XVIII Century, when the third revolution—the revolution of Infidelity—had begun and shaken the world, who were the heroes, the kings of that new power? It was Voltaire—it was Rousseau. And again it was the French tongue and the Latin genius.

And therefore Edgar Quinet is mistaken when he accuses the French mind of timidity and the Revolution of lacking in courage in religious affairs. Instead of this it has sinned by its audacity. It sought, not to work a necessary and therefore legitimate change, that would have borne abundant fruit in the Religion of France, but it sought to break away from the truths contained in that Religion and, indeed, with Truth itself and with Revelation. It would substitute Christianity by Deism.

This was sterile audacity, because the genius, the power, the enthusiasm of patriotism could not prevail against the force of Divine things. And consequently Deism will always remain a Philosophy, and will never be a Religion. It is not that poor, meagre Philosophy which can ever take the place of Christianity—that sublime Revelation which has come from far beyond man, and from far above humanity.

We reiterate that the French Revolution sinned, not by its timidity, but by its audacity. But to be truthful to history the charge of audacity must not be imputed to the Revolution but to the National Convention—to the Reign of Terror—to the worship of the Supreme Being! We will not speak of that innocent and somewhat ridiculous idyl, that Deistic sect which later under the Directory was called "*Theophilanthropy*." That nonsense possessed no real initiative force and much less that spontaneous enthusiasm of the great Revolution. No; the French Revolution was not Deist as was the Convention, nor was it Atheist as was later on the Commune.

We must not seek the real inspiration either in Robespierre or Reveillère Lepeaux, and still less in Hébert or Chaumette. It must be looked for in the celebrated "Note Books of State" in the year 1789, or later on in the labors and in the laws of the Constituent Assembly. And if we study the Revolution, as we begin to do at present—not superficially, but in the original documents in the handwriting of the men who wrote at that very moment—we will

find that the preparation for the Revolution during the reign of Louis XV. was not by any means an irreligious movement, nor was it a secular movement. Its inception was at the epoch of the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, and its spirit was a religious one.

Superficial minds will here protest that to get to the fundamental facts of this great political event we must go back, re-commence and discuss the abstruse theological questions which have been exhausted by the Jansenists and the Jesuits. And it is true, we must seek in the past the explanations of the present—for the French Revolution had its birth in the Christian mind of the French people—at a time when the French mind was not separated from the Christian spirit. And the Christian spirit of the French people well understood that the Bull *Unigenitus* was not the first attempt on the part of Rome against their liberty of conscience, but it was, notwithstanding, the great and mortal stroke that fell upon the Gallican Church—our old National Church of France—and upon the robust Evangelical Christianity of our Fathers.

Christian France understood that there was in this Papal document a condemnation of Christianity in its two principal sources; the exterior source, which is the Bible—for reading the Bible was condemned by the Bull—and the interior source, which is Grace—that sovereignty of God which dwells in the soul, and which constitutes the fullness of liberty in man.

The logical French mind of our Fathers well understood that there was in this emanation of the Roman Curia a direct attack upon the sacred traditions of their country and upon the liberty of their Churches, and they refused to receive from the impure hands of Cardinal Dubois and his satellites that Bull which was in fact the definition of the principle of Papal infallibility. This was not alone a theological quarrel—though we believe that the quarrels of theologians are worth as much as the quarrels of kings, parties and peoples—it was the revolt of the public mind, the University, the Parliament, the citizens (*bourgeoisie*) and the better part of the clergy. In 1732 the Parliament resisted the King, Louis XV., and his ministers, as well as the coalition of absolutism and Ultramontaniam, and such was the public opinion that when the magistrates, who composed the Parliament, passed along the streets, *vivas* greeted them and they were called the true fathers of the country and worthy the Roman Senate. There was an

attempt on the part of this Parliament to convert the Court of Justice into a representative of the entire Nation and the Kingdom into a sort of Republic. We see that the great theological questions, without ceasing to be religious, became political; and parties were no longer called Jansenists and Jesuits, but Nationals and Sacerdotalists.

It is, therefore, a great error to think that it was the Infidel Philosophy of the XVIII Century which inspired the French Revolution. I will not, however, deny what was really generous in that Philosophy in its philanthropic and progressive point of view. And in a social point of view it also contained great and noble sentiment, but it was, as Bordas-Demouline termed it, Un-philosophy.

The movement from which sprung the French Revolution was anterior, and already in all thinking heads and all valiant hearts before this Infidel Philosophy of the XVIII Century had any influence on public opinion.

Now we hasten on with events.

The great dial of time, of nations and of God, marked the solemn hour for France. And now rung out the portentous 1789! Then were assembled the States at Large. (*Etats Genereaux.*) And then as in a furnace—rapidly and powerfully—was cast in the old France all torn in fragments, to be thrown out from this mighty mould remodeled—the new France! Then all caste was abolished; there was but the Nation. And the Nation proclaimed her device, which was accepted by Louis XVII., and the people swore fidelity to “The Nation, to the Law and to the King.” The Nation was the sovereign, the Law was the work of the Nation, and the King was the servant of both!

In that National Assembly which constituted the new France there were infidels without doubt; but they were patriots and they were wiser than the infidels of our day—they kept their infidelity to themselves, as an infection that should be kept sealed up. And among these devoted patriots were Priests and Bishops—of these first nearly two hundred in the Assembly. Thus it is false to say that the Constitutional Assembly was not Christian. And it is an historical fact which proves their sentiment that that great body refused to accept the dedication of the works of Voltaire, but did accept the dedication of a new edition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This Assembly did not lack in initiative nor in courage, as has been imputed; and

as to the religious question, it fully understood, and from the first, that it was at the bottom of all other questions. For it well knew that it was impossible to remodel France politically and socially, if the spirit of the old religious *régime* was allowed to submit. And it was for this reason that the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was created—for which, by the by, we have not to make apologetic defence—as the greatest Bishop of the Constitutional Church, Henri Gregoire, himself refused to do so.

Only this I can say, that this Civil Constitution of the Clergy while it may have been an error, was evidently a great preparation—and while it may be said it was a misfortune for politics to thus interfere in religious matters, it offers for excuse the traditional past of France—the intervention of secular power in the affairs of religion dates from that greatest of Christian Emperors—Constantine. The Capitulars of Charlemagne did not only form the civil code but the Ecclesiastical Law of Carlovingian France.

I know very well that this may not accord with the prejudice of some liberal minds of our day, but when we have studied cause and effect in the historical movements of the world, and in the spirit of Truth and Justice, before that Source from whom all light cometh, we should speak out frankly when we speak at all; and I therefore do not hesitate to say that I believe that secular intervention in the management of religious affairs has sometimes been necessary. It was, in fact, in this case of the National Assembly a great act of reparation. Right had been ignored and justice trodden under foot.

A little more than two centuries before 1789—it was in 1517—there was a King of France possessed of a distinguished mind, but sceptical and licentious—François I., and at the same time there was a Pontiff in Rome who was also an eminent man, and who was also—let us say—a worldly man—Leon X. And as is often done between the rulers of men, these two—Pope and King—bestowed upon each other gifts that belonged to neither! The election of Bishops, that ancient right of the Church, as eminent Catholic theologians can testify to, belonged neither to the civil nor to the ecclesiastical power—it belonged to the clergy and Christian people. Nor did the confirmation of the Bishops elected by the people in the ancient Church belong to the Roman Pontiff, from the fact that the Church had no Roman Pontiff. There was a Bishop of Rome, and it was only after

a considerable lapse of time and a necessary development in the government of the Church, that there was in that city a modest Primate of the West, with whom were associated four other Patriarchs in the East. And Church history proves that confirmation was not bestowed by Rome. When the people had elected their Bishop he was presented to the Metropolitan for confirmation. But in spite of antiquity and the universality of this custom, in the year 1517 the King of France set it aside, and obtained from the Pope, whose power had unduly increased, the permission to name the Bishops himself. And in their negotiations the King took the lion's share, for he who has the right of naming the Bishops governs the Church. As a counterbalance of power, the Pope was accorded the right of confirmation. The Metropolitan yielded his prerogative for worldly reasons, and Simony held out hands filled with gold. Rome was richly paid for all her concessions, and she became possessor of the prebendal and fiscal rights of the Church. And finally this King and this Pope, enveloped in their royal and pontifical robes, which were mantles of scepticism and voluptuousness, paid France for their usurpation and their booty, with the Concordat of François I., which was the destruction of the Pragmatical Sanction of Charles VII., who was the promoter of the Gallican Church.

Thus was the Church of France stripped of her liberties. Christ, too, was stripped of His tunic, but those who crucified Him dared not tear asunder the sacred garment. But here those who claimed to act in His name did not hesitate to tear asunder the robe of His Spiritual Body, giving one part to Rome and the other to Paris! And this is what is called the Divine Constitution of the Church! And there are not wanting Ultramontane Catholics and Roman Bishops in our day who cry at us in our laborious attempts of bringing the French Church back to her old liberties, her old prerogatives and her old Faith—accusing us of changing this Divine Constitution, forsooth! Are we then to be blamed when in our indignation and in our despair we cry back, "O, ye hypocrites, you have added to this work of your destruction the apology of falsehood!"

The National Assembly, which afterward was called the Constituent Assembly, possessed the power of the sovereign people, as well as the right, and I do not hesitate to say, the duty to break this iniquitous act of Simony.

It possessed the right and the duty to give back to the Christian people of France their religious liberty, and to take the Church out of the strangling hands of the State and restore her to itself.

It was pretended that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was an invasion on the part of the State—the servitude of the Church, but this is inexact. The State continued to pay the Church its salary in compensation for the Church property it had appropriated.

As to the nomination of Bishops, the State abandoned this prerogative to the Church, which had the right (and of which the State is so jealous to-day!), and at the same time this nomination was taken away from Rome, who thus lost her jurisdiction over the Church of France, which at last was restored to herself. And in this we find the first most fruitful principle of the French Constitutional Church.

But there are persons who ask how this Constitutional Church could call itself Catholic when it was no longer dependent upon Rome? The answer is very simple: because in throwing off the government of the Pope it did not withdraw from intercommunion with the Church of Rome—which is quite another thing.

And this leads us very naturally to that prejudice, or rather, that blindness, of a majority of Catholics of our day, not only Papists or Ultramontanes, but of many liberal Catholics, who constantly exclaim, “But how can you be Catholic if you are separated from the Pope?” So has it come to pass that from simple communion in the past with the Roman Church there must be now-a-days a complete abdication of all true believers into the hands of its Bishop! This is more than blindness, it is spiritual paralysis, a disease so insidious that not only weak but even strong and loyal natures are vanquished by it. And it is this dangerous but delightful and melancholic malady which disarms many liberal Catholics and reduces all their generous enthusiasm for political liberty and religious reform to a perpetual illusion and to eternal impotence.

Those who resist the authority of the Pope in these days are not resisting a legitimate authority, for the authority concentrated in the Bishop of Rome is usurped, and therefore illegitimate.

Now it would be as foolish as untrue to deny that the Papacy has frequently been a strong and beneficent power for doing good in the world, but this does not prove that

that power is not an usurpation, and has been so since Pope Nicholas I. The Papacy has no foundation in the words of Christ nor in the Apostolic institution. Nor has it any place in the history or traditions of the Church of the first centuries. Throughout that epoch the Bishop of Rome was only a simple Bishop like the others, who watched over and governed the Church. And Jesus Christ made no mention nor had any thought of the Papacy when He said to Peter, who had first of all His disciples and with such sublime emphasis confessed the Christian Faith in all its amplitude and perfection: "*Thou art the Son of the Living God!*" Then Jesus answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church," which being correctly translated reads: "Thou art named Rock" (for in the language in which Jesus spoke, as in several modern tongues, French, Italian, etc., Peter and "rock" or "stone" are spelled and pronounced exactly the same, making a play upon the word which it is impossible to give in English). "And since you have thus confessed the True Faith, the great fundamental truth of Christianity, this *Faith* which is *your* faith, shall be the foundation of my Church and shall remain throughout all time, and Hell itself shall not overthrow it!" It is not difficult for a careful mind to see that this saying of Christ had nothing to do with the personality of Peter, but only with the great Faith he had been the first to confess. And if Peter was the first Pope, as the Roman Catholics claim, he certainly was not infallible, for we have proof that immediately after his sublime confession he fell into the greatest of all heresies—he denied the Christ.

And as surely as this divine and infallible faith has been transmitted down to all believers, so has the human fallibility of Peter been transmitted all along the line of the Apostolic Succession from the coasts of Cesarea Philippi to the banks of the Tiber, culminating in our day in the great heresy of Pius IX. and the Roman Episcopate, and which outweighs the apostasy of Peter as ten thousand to one. Neither in this glorification by the Divine Master of the new-born Christian Faith, nor among all the Fathers of the Church, is there anything that resembled an institution of Rulership or any sort of Spiritual Sovereignty which might with the lapse of time develop into a temporal monarchy—absolutely nothing.

The early and entire Church represented in the Œcu-

menical Councils accepted that among the different Bishops and the diversity of particular Churches there should be centres of Unity, as were Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome, which latter was accorded that modest and beneficent primacy of the early centuries. There were geographical, political and ecclesiastical reasons for this: Rome was the Capitol of the civilized world. And her soil was dyed with the blood of the great Martyrs Peter and Paul. And it was with laws as wise as they were liberal that to Rome was accorded this presidency of the great Republic of Christians, which had aforetime, with like generosity, acclaimed Peter the Elder among his brothers. But that modest presidency differs widely from the absolute sovereignty of one Bishop over all others—over all Priests and Christians; and above all, it differs from Infallibility, which belongs to God alone. But they tell us that Papal infallibility does not imply impeccability of the Bishop of Rome, but “only” infallibility in matters of “doctrine” and “morals,” which is equivalent to saying that it concerns all things, for all things concern “doctrine” in the order of speculation, and all things concern “morals” in the practice of life.

The early Church was a great band of brothers, having no master save in Heaven. And they were a grand people—those early Christians—made free by their baptism, emancipated, humane and Christ-like, given by the Grace of God that luminous intelligence, that superior Faith—the liberty of conscience in justice, and the subjugation of the natural man without his sacrifice; they were a company of brethren and priests who had no intermediary between them and God—a glorious race of kings who, awaiting their kingdom in Heaven, began their reign already on the earth! And it is this people that blind theologians would bring into the servitude of a man, into a spiritual servitude harder and more ignominious than that of Israel or of Islam, and the Church, thank God, our France of the true old days would not accept this servitude. It is true she would have accepted the Pope if he had consented to return to his ancient prerogatives, content with being the center of unity without being master.

When Gregory the Great, Bishop of the French Constitutional Church, wrote to his diocesans of Blois, he said: “I am called to work for the sanctification of your souls while I am working for the sanctification of my own, and I shall never use other language toward you than the aus-

tere language of religion and the proud language of liberty, which alone is worthy of Christians and of Frenchmen."

We see now that the Church of the Revolution gave back to the Christian people of France the rightful election of their pastors, and reconquered her righteous jurisdiction, usurped by Rome. And as to her symbol of Faith, the glorious Nicene Creed, she confessed it in all its integrity. And if she was timid concerning Reform, she at least contained its germs; for the election of her pastors was again in the hands of the faithful, and therefore Reform was possible. But what can we think of those who, either from self-seeking or from ignorance, pretend that this great Ideal of the French Revolution is incompatible with Christianity, when the truth is that the first idea of that Revolution was a return to Christianity. And in seeking religious progress in the present it did not disdain the religious tradition of the past; no Reform, without becoming sacreligious, can touch the Faith in its essentials, and the secret of the Future is the conservation of the Past with the methods of To-day. This is Christian Progress.

The spirit which cried out against the compatibility of the Revolution and Christianity, cries out to-day against that of Republicanism and Christianity.

The Constitutional Church of France lived ten years—from 1791 to 1801—and she had rallied around her the half of French Catholics. Thibaudeau in his history of *Le Consulat et l'Empire* says: "At the moment when the Constitutional Church was on the point of perishing, France numbered thirty-five million souls, divided thus by the statistics: Protestants, Israelites, Theophilanthropists, three millions; outside of all churches or beliefs, four millions; Nominal Catholics, thirteen millions." Seven millions five hundred thousand supported the Constitutional Church, and as many more continued to follow Rome. We must consult the documents of the times to appreciate the rupture of France with Roman Catholicism.

And this Church of France perished suddenly, by a great stroke. She had passed by the three great trials—the Union of Church and State, the Persecution, and the Separation of Church and State. The Constitutional Church began her existence by union with the State—she passed by the Persecution under the Reign of Terror, and the separation was wrought under the Directory.

It is claimed by the partisans of Rome that it was her clergy, who would not take oath of allegiance to the State, who saved religion in France. But while we render all justice to that part of the clergy—and there were priests among them who carried their courage to martyrdom—we must say, in justice to truth, that that faction was the cause of the loss rather than the salvation of religion in France. They identified their cause with that of Royalty, which was overthrown.

As the troublous times went on and the Concordat was concluded between Pius VII. and Napoleon, the most zealous of this party preferred their King to the Pope; and there were thirty-three Bishops among them who, in their turn, founded the Royal Church, which is better known by the name of The Little Church—(*La petite Eglise*)—whose remnant we have with us to-day. But it was the sturdy, unflinching faith of the best part of those Catholics, Christian and patriotic, who composed the National Church, that saved religion in France. And when the Reign of Terror was passed and they were on the brink of destruction, they could point to thirty-four thousand Churches in which they worshipped, when once the prisons had set them free and the guillotine had ceased to lessen their numbers.

It has been said that the First Consul reëstablished Catholic worship in France, but this is false and absurd in the face of history; for when Napoleon appeared on the scene as the Restorer of the Church, there existed there thirty-four thousand churches in the hands of Catholics, laymen, priests and bishops, who were no longer attached to the State nor bound to Rome, but who were certainly profoundly attached to the Gospel and to their country.

We must go back for a glance at the Persecution, and it must be rapid, as is instinctively that at a bloody spectacle which sickens the heart. And we fain would pass over in silence what is to every Frenchman and every Christian, by whatever name he may be called, an immense humiliation and a profound sorrow. We will therefore only say that if there were dark spots on the robe of the Constitutional Church of France, that of the Church of the Concordat was dragged in the mire. Atrocity and Abomination joined hands. But God in His terrible justice brings glory out of ignominy, and by the bloody Pontiff of the "Deistic Church"—Robespierre—these mutual persecutors mounted the scaffold together and washed their guilt and

their draggled robes in their martyr blood. May God forgive us all !

The Constitutional Church was inspired with progress, but it was not that of divine liberty, and when some of its clergy and even bishops, in advance of the times, understood the Christian and patriotic necessity of a married clergy, and ventured upon the example themselves—they were decried and disowned. But we must say, in all justice, that it was not the marriage of some of her clergy which brought reproach on that Church, but rather the notorious conduct of a part who were as unworthy of marriage as they were of the sacred character of priests: they profaned both. There were Bishops who, instead of being the guardians of the Faith, denied it. We have only to name one, Gobel, the Bishop of Paris, who had the shameful courage to go before the National Convention and there abjure, in the same breath, his sacred character of Pastor in Christ's Church and the Christian Faith itself. But the Convention paid the sycophant and cowardly renegade with his own blood, for a few days after, his dishonored head fell beneath the blade of the guillotine.

And yet among that National clergy were great and true hearts who gave their tears and their blood for Religion; and in that Constitutional Church were grand ideas and great acts in spite of her sins,—for there is a human, sinning side to God's Church as there is to His children—and, notwithstanding all this, there was much in that Church which moves our respect and veneration.

This heritage of good and ill has come down to us, Catholic Frenchmen; and we are still in the midst of troublous times. The Revolution is not yet finished.

And now we will ask, is it possible to act to-day toward the Bishop of Rome as they of the National Church acted in those days? Can we say to-day with any show of seriousness and without a disloyalty that is repugnant to nature, or without a subtility more worthy the Byzantine than the Gaulois, that we are determined to live and die in communion with Rome? What has Rome done for us? or rather, what has she not done!

Was it not enough that spiritual domination, which Bossuet calls the greatest of all heresies, was imposed upon us?

Was it not enough that that heresy which the Fathers of the Church stigmatized as the "Heresy of Simony" was practiced openly?

No! She has gone still further, and laid violent hands on the sacred treasury of our Faith! And this has come to pass in our days and under the pontifical rule of a man whose gentle and benevolent nature I can testify to from personal acquaintance, but whose pontificate has been notoriously lacking in theological science, supplanting it by illuminism and ambitious mysticism, out of which have appeared, and are imposed, three new dogmas or articles of Faith.

As S. Paul says: "by Adam all have sinned." And we know that this is true, and without recognizing this original cause, the terrible and guilty depths into which human nature falls could never be explained or remedied. And yet these pretended and pretentious theologians of the nineteenth century and of Pius IX lift up a Divine Virgin, and would force us to believe what we know to be true only of the Divine Son, and that she too was exempt from the original taint which Adam has bequeathed with human blood to all men. And if your christian faith and common sense make it impossible to believe in this new dogma of Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, woe to you, you are excommunicated from the Church of your Baptism, from the Church of your Infancy, from the Church of your Fathers, from the Church of Christ, and condemned to eternal punishment in Hell!

Then comes a man whom we have seen and with whom we have talked, a man like ourselves, made of flesh and blood; a man of like errors, passions and faults, who pretends that whenever he is so disposed he becomes infallible; and what is more, he imposes this belief upon us as an article of eternal truth!

The third newly invented dogma, and perhaps the most redoubtable, as it passes the least noticed, is that of the Universal Episcopate of the Bishop of Rome. There is henceforth, according to this doctrine, but one Bishop in Christ's Church. All the others are but his lieutenants.

Here are the three new articles of Faith hitherto unknown in all Christendom.

And how are we, Christians and Catholics, expected to live in communion and harmony with this usurping Bishop? And not only are all Bishops but all Priests obliged to accept and teach these new and unheard-of doctrines. And if perchance laymen are not called upon to testify to their acceptance of these doctrines, their silence will be witness against them and they are thus betrayed. And

we do not hesitate to say that he who keeps silence in the face of such iniquity becomes a participator in what every true Christian who values his Faith and his manly integrity knows to be a crime ! But above all it is the true-hearted and noble-souled priest who suffers most with this terrible imposition upon his conscience. For every time he stands at the Altar, dispensing the Sacred Elements, which bring down such marvelous grace upon the believer, he feels that the holy enthusiasm of his faith has become blasphemy. Ah, if there is one suffering keener than all others, it is this : for him who knows himself to be a Minister of Holy Things and the Witness and Defender of God's Truth !

But what is to be done ? Certain it is that we are not to be cured of our ills and evils by Positivism, Materialism, Atheism, Bigotry or Fanaticism. It is not Auguste Conte, nor Zola, nor Renan, nor Darwin, nor the Pope who will bring Frenchmen back to spiritual health. Nor will one or all combined save this republic or bless any other regime or government. Then what is to be done ? We must break away from the Unholy Pact, from all these false systems, vain philosophies and debasing negations, and come back to Reason, to Common Sense and to Truth. Our Ultramontane or Roman Catholic Brothers must open their eyes, examine the questions and opinions and say to superstition, "I will have no more of this covering up of God's truth ;" and to the Pope, "I will respect you but I will not fall down and worship you."

Our liberal Catholics must break with compromising silence and take time to examine the Religious question in all its bearings—political and social—and then, too, have the courage to say what they think. If there be Atheists—which we ever doubt—let them respect their fellow-men, and above all the faith of woman and the confidence of our little children. And let men be intelligent and recognize throughout, Law, Order, Peace and Prosperity, and throughout all history and society the greatest central event, Christianity.

And lastly, Republicans must learn that to be a free people it is not necessary to be a nation of Free-thinkers, or impious infidels, and that above all other forms of government, the Self-Sustaining, the Democratic, the Republican form has more need than all others of a noble conscience, both of the private individual and of the public officer, and this is only to be obtained by a positive

religion, by sound doctrine—in short by a Christian Society—the grand confraternity called the Church.

Then and only then will the great French Revolution have borne ripe fruit and this Republic become solid and sure ; and only then will France become again truly great.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of this REVIEW to contribute a paper to the discussion of the movement for improving our Liturgical Services, by enriching them with additions, and by introducing more flexibility in their use,—a movement which is sometimes rather loosely spoken of as a Revision of the Prayer Book. In complying with this request it will not be supposed that I can bring to the discussion any aids of liturgical learning. Nor do I expect to contribute much that will be original or new, if such contributions were likely to be practically useful. I suppose that the best service which I can render will be to state simply and plainly how the matter strikes a layman, who belongs to that class in our Church, who sympathize with the freer thought and the fearless though reverent criticism of the present day, and who while they have no sympathy with what is known as Ritualism, either in its outward appearances, or in its inward signification, have, at the same time, no desire to reduce our ritual to a uniform coldness and plainness.

We encounter in the outset the question, what justification have we for doing anything with the Liturgy; what occasion is there for any change? There are always a large number of people who think, or rather feel, that sound

Churchmanship must be conservative, and that to be conservative a man should resist every change, because it is a change; that what was good enough for our fathers, is good enough for us, and we had better let well enough alone. A certain class of persons, moreover, can see no merit in any changes, except changes backward; the reproduction, as far as possible, of some previous age, which, as they dimly see it in history or fable, seems to them to have exhibited the perfection of what a Church ought to be. This, however, we may take it for granted is not the purpose, and is not to be the result of the present movement.

But it is well to understand the precise conditions of the problem with which we are dealing. A Liturgy is not a deposit of doctrine, once delivered, and to be forever preserved intact. It is something for use, the vehicle of prayer and praise and thanksgiving, for all sorts and conditions of men. It is, of course, designed for the use of Christian people at the time when it is framed. The needs of mankind are indeed the same in all ages, but their methods of expressing these needs may vary exceedingly, among different nations, and in different ages. Christian worship is quite different now from what it was in the days of the Apostles, and among the people whom they taught; and there is no reason why it should not be. Christian congregations exchanged the upper rooms of the earliest days for the Catacombs of Rome, then came the Basilicas of the Empire, and afterwards the Cathedrals of the Middle ages, and, at length, the Parish Churches of more recent times. The congregations themselves became widely different as time went on, until we come to assemblies made up of English peasantry, and now to this new and greater England of the New World. We, in this country, are dealing with a young conglomerate nation, a people whom we may consider untaught or half-taught, but who are above all things keen and active minded. We are so placed and circumstanced that a great part of our work is true missionary work. These things we cannot afford to forget in considering questions of ritual.

If a Church is to provide a form of worship to be used by, and not merely for, different sorts of men, and in widely varying circumstances, it should not prescribe always the same form. What is suited to one generation or one country, may not be so to another, and what is the best for one class, or in certain conditions and circumstances, may be quite unsuitable for other people, or in a different

place. The rubric of necessity, or what some clergyman call the rubric of common sense, has always been found too strong for written rubrics.

The English Common Prayer Book has adapted itself to conditions and uses utterly unlike anything which its framers could have imagined. The framers of that Service Book, accustomed to a people of rude habits, scanty learning and little ambition for change or improvement, could have had no conception of the places and times, or the people where we are using their work to-day. That their work has thus answered the needs of other lands and other times, that it is indeed a "possession forever," shows what a wonderful compilation and composition it is.

Some of the reasons for this are not far to seek. Our prayers are not spoken to an audience. Our Liturgy is not constructed to express a system of doctrine, but for worshippers who may hold various systems of doctrine, unitedly to use. We need not fear to admit the fact, that men holding widely different views of Christian doctrine as well as discipline, may take the words of our Liturgy on their lips, and utter them from their hearts, while, at the same time attaching different meanings to what they say. Why should it not be so? It is so with Holy Scripture and its use, and it may be evidence of the likeness of a formulary to the inspired writings that it possesses a like capacity.

The framers of the English Prayer Book made use of treasures old and new that were at their command. The piety of ages had accumulated collects, hymns, services, formularies, which had been growing by accretions, from century to century, but they did not fear to remould, not merely the order of the service, but the service itself. They did not seek to reproduce some ancient mode of worship, of a particular age or particular set of men, but to make a Service Book fitted to be used in their time, in the world as they saw it and knew it, and by the people around them. To this end they used the words and the forms of all that had gone before them, whenever they found these words satisfying, and they added of their own, whatever was necessary to make their work complete. If we make any changes in the frame-work of our Liturgy, or in the method of its use, we should only do it to make our worship more elevating, more edifying, and more real to the people of our own country and of our own age, and not to bring back what was elevating and real to the people of other times and other countries.

As time goes on, and materials increase, and needs develop, the Christian Church ought to be able to make better and better liturgies. If the spirit of the Master abides in His Church, that Church must contain in every age men who can do what has been done all along in its history, by those to whose labors we have succeeded. I think we should not hesitate to assert that our Service Book is a better and a more perfect liturgy for common prayer, than any of the liturgies before it, no matter from what ages they came or by what venerable names they are dignified.

I shall not enter upon any controversy as to the respective merits of the present English Prayer Book, and the Prayer Book of Edward VI.,* or whether the men and the times of the earlier, or the later stages of the English Reformation, were best fitted to produce an English Book of Common Prayer. I know that to some minds the first Book seems richer than the second, in that it is supposed to emphasize more distinctly a certain class of doctrines. To others it may appear a gain that there should be more latitude and comprehension. But, however this question may be decided by any one, and I sincerely hope that it will not be a question to be decided at all in connection with this revision, I think the judgment of American Churchmen, with rare exceptions, is that the changes in our own Prayer Book, from the present English book, are greatly for the better. This is enough for my present purpose, to show that a Liturgy can and should be altered to meet changes of times and people, and that there have been men in our own country, and almost in our own day, competent to revise and correct even the Book of Common Prayer. We all accept our Communion Service as richer and better than the English. The changes in the Burial Service are for the better, and I presume nobody in this country would wish the English Marriage Service substituted for ours. The omission of the Communion Service is a gain and not a loss. And I may be allowed to say that the omission of the so-called "Athenasian Creed" showed the wisdom of our American fathers. This opinion may be expressed with the more confidence after the action of the House of Bishops at the last General Convention. A resolution to restore the "*Quicumque vult*" to a place within the covers of our Prayer Book,

* Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI., by the Rev. Morgan Dix, S.T.D. New York, 1881.

was met by the wise and venerable Bishop of New York with a motion to lay the proposal on the table: but the House of Bishops, apparently not content with that, expressly rejected the resolution. We may trust, therefore, that the proposal to restore this Creed, which has heretofore proved fatal to attempts to practically improve our services, will not disturb the peace of the present movement. Few of us would be prepared to admit that the faith of our Church in the Trinity or the Incarnation is seriously weakened. And I believe the sober judgment of Clergy as well as Laity, if it could act uninfluenced by prejudice or partizan zeal, would hesitate to assert that there would be any protection against doubt or infidelity, in the repetition of a creed which was composed by an unknown Latin author, centuries after the time of the great Greek father whose name it bears, so that its title is really a pious fraud, and which begins and ends with the declaration that unless a man believe, not only the Trinity and the Incarnation, but its metaphysical definitions and explanations of these truths, he must perish everlastingly. I know that the opinion has recently been expressed in a most distinguished quarter, that the exclusion of this creed is a loss, and that if it had stood in our Book, and been constantly repeated in our services, there would not have been the growth of Unitarianism that we have seen in New England. It is such a suggestion from such a quarter and in connection with the present movement, that induces me to allude to a subject which every one who desires the success of the present attempt as a practical thing, must hope will remain where the House of Bishops have left it. With great deference to the authority upon whose suggestions I have been remarking, it does not seem to me to be the teaching of reason or experience, that a generation which was driven from the faith by a rigorous application of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, a literal interpretation of scripture and textual construction, resulting in the Calvinistic scheme, could have been attracted or retained, by an attempt to impose by anathema not merely the doctrine of the Creed, but a particular method of explaining those doctrines.

But has all wisdom, all skill in the use of materials, all the spirit that breathes in our formularies died out of our Church? We can hardly admit this. If it were necessary to provide for the composition of entire new forms of prayer, I should have no fear but that we could find living bishops and

clergy, who could utter our devotions, in language in no respect unworthy to be placed alongside the Book of Common Prayer. Not to believe this would seem to imply a lack of faith as well as courage. And I may be allowed to say, that it seems to me that we can look for the greatest power and success in such labours, and indeed in every enrichment of our Liturgy, to those who are called High Churchmen, if they will only start with the principle, that their work is to enliven devotion, and not to emphasize doctrine.

But why meddle with the Prayer Book at all, why do anything? A sufficient answer might be, because the Prayer Book has in point of fact already been meddled with, and a great many things have been and are done, without authority, in accordance to no rule, and sometimes without discretion. Individuals are attempting in their own way, and some in one way, and some in another, to make our services both richer and more flexible.

If things go on as they are going, we shall soon see, as Dr. Huntington observes, as many "uses" as we have Dioceses, or Provinces, if these are to come. Let any one who can remember forty years ago, compare any service that could have been found then, with the ritual that will be found in the large majority of our Churches to-day. No one can deny that there has been a marked change, in the direction of more ornate and stately services. Music and decorations, flowers and lights, processions and processions, and many other things, have been added, until many elderly people, no doubt, sigh for the simplicity to which they were accustomed in their younger years.

But this change is not a capricious thing, or an accidental fancy. Nor is it simply the result of the wishes or the influence of the clergy. It is part of a movement of the age. It is not confined to our own Communion. All denominations of Christians are coming to use symbolic decorations in their churches, and form and ceremony in their worship. Presbyterians and Congregationalists keep Christmas and Easter, have services of song, chant Glorias and Te Deums, and adorn their houses of worship with evergreens and flowers, in a profusion that would startle even the Churchmen in Virginia. We could not expect, when all around were in motion, that our own fold, of all others, should be still.

The trouble is that our movement has been individual, and without government or direction. Not many years

ago we had no hymns, and the Psalms were unknown in their proper use in worship, except after they had been murdered by being turned into rhyme. Now we have not only a Hymnal, and chanted psalms and anthems in general use, but in some places Latin Hymns have been introduced. Thirty years ago a young clergyman then in Deacon's orders, was kept for months from the Priesthood, and almost turned out of the Church, because he had, one may also say thoughtlessly, certainly with no deliberate doctrinal purpose, used a modification of the prayer for the dying, in commemoration of a distinguished citizen who had just died.* To-day, it is said, that the Rector of at least one prominent city church, frequently if not habitually, uses this prayer at the burial of the dead. Facts might be multiplied to show the changes which have come over us. Some will call them an advance, others a retrogression. I am only at present concerned to show that there is a movement, and that the shackles upon men's feet, may have produced some excessive and some fantastic movements.

It is still more material to consider the great variety of services which prevail at this day, among different con-

*The incident to which I refer was so singular an episode in the history of one who afterwards became one of our most distinguished clergyman that I may be pardoned for giving its details. The Clergyman referred to was the late Dr. Washburn. He was in Deacon's orders and was in charge of the Parish at Newburyport, Mass.. The time had been set for his advancement to Priest's Orders. The ordination was to take place in his own Church, and one or two others, probably friends of his, were to be ordained with him. Just before the time arrived, Andrew Jackson, the Ex-President of the United States, died. Mr. Washburn's New England training had given him a habit of respect for authority and its holders, and a sense of the propriety of the Church taking some heed of public affairs and passing events. The death of one who had borne a marked part in the history of our Government seemed to him to deserve some notice. It should be said that he had forsaken the Congregationalist ministry for our Church, not from a belief in the exclusive validity of Episcopal Orders, nor led merely by an admiration of our Prayer Book and Services, but from a conviction that the simplicity and comprehensiveness of the creeds and standards of the Church made it really a Church and not a sect.

On this occasion, looking through the Prayer Book for some form suitable for the occasion he struck upon the Commendatory Prayer for the dying, in the office for the visitation of the sick. Without much reflection, undoubtedly without intending to commit himself to a doctrine or practice of prayers for the dead, Mr. Washburn introduced this prayer, with some modification, into the Morning Service.

gregations professing to use the same Liturgy, in different parts of the country, perhaps in the same city, under a system which apparently is intended to restrict every congregation to one identical mode of worship. We have Churches in which are exhibited ceremonies which our fathers would hardly have believed could be found lurking between the covers of the Prayer Book. While beside them are Churches in which the services are as plain as they used to be in the last century. And you need not cross the continent, to find jurisdictions where the slightest

in his Church. The incident came near being fatal to his advancement and the termination of his career. A prominent lawyer of Boston happened to be present. He reported what had occurred to the Standing Committee of the Diocese, and to Bishop Eastburn who was then its Diocesan. It was in the year 1845, when many were over disturbed and alarmed by the Oxford Movement. The Massachusetts authorities were keen to follow the scent of a Deacon whose Protestant orthodoxy was suspected. The young Clergyman was summoned by the Bishop to account for his conduct. He gave his explanation and disavowed any purpose of advancing unsound views, and he was led to believe that his explanation was satisfactory. But before the day set for the ordination, the Bishop and his advisers had again taken alarm, and upon the arrival of the Bishop in Newburyport, the day before that for the ordination, he notified Mr. Washburn that his fellow deacons would be ordained, but he would not. The sequel showed how the qualities which in after-life made him a power among men, had already developed themselves. He was, of course, utterly cast down and felt as if the door of his calling was shut in his face. But his people took up his cause. His vestry met and resolved that unless their minister was ordained no one should be in their Church. When the Bishop persisted in his refusal to ordain Mr. Washburn the vestry closed and locked the Church, and prevented any service from taking place; and the Bishop and his Clergy went back to Boston without entering its doors. It was not, I think until a year, certainly not until many months after this, that the difficulty was overcome, and the Bishop consented to ordain the young Clergyman. The iron entered deep into his soul, and the scar was not healed, for the effect was manifest in the relations between him and Bishop Eastburn and the School in the Church to which he belonged. But I may be allowed to add to my narrative that it is a proof of the clearness of Dr. Washburn's convictions and the self-poise of his mind, that the treatment which he received from the Low Churchmen, harsh and unjust as he thought it, did not throw him, as it would have done many men, into the opposite School with which he was accused of fraternizing. He continued to the end of his life to follow the same line of thought which had brought him into our Communion. And whatever may have been his private opinion as to the state of the departed or the permissibility of prayer in their behalf, he never in his public administrations broke the reserve which our Church has maintained on these questions.

additions to ornaments is forbidden by ecclesiastical authority.

I wish it to be understood that I am not finding fault with the existence of varieties of service, or desiring to stretch everybody on one Procrustean bed. On the contrary, it seems to me that our Church can wisely permit somewhat of the same comprehensiveness in ritual, that she does in doctrine, and that there should be some opportunity for men of different moods and temperaments, to worship at her altars. But it does seem unbecoming that what is looked upon as a most laudable method of devotion in one part of the Church, should be forbidden by Episcopal authority in another. It must also be manifest that if such changes as we are witnessing are left entirely to individual discretion, we cannot say where the limit of change will be found.

I have dwelt upon these considerations not only to show that what it is proposed by this movement to accomplish in an orderly and regulated method, is getting done just as individual fancy may dictate, and sometimes in a way to bring law and authority into contempt, but for another purpose. The facts and considerations which I have advanced, show that we have reached a period when there is a real need of additions to the Liturgy, and of more flexibility in its use. The desire for the first is proved by the movement towards more ornate services, of which what is called Ritualism is the expression among a certain class. The necessity for more flexibility would, I imagine, be admitted by every Parish clergyman, who will look at the matter without allowing his vision to become clouded by mists of ecclesiastical prejudice, either of one kind or another.

There is a class of persons who desire and seem to need all the ceremony and ritual possible. They should not, however, have it given to them in the Church, in forms which express doctrines which, if permitted to individuals, are not prescribed, and which a large body of Clergy and Laity reject. Nor, on the other hand, should they be driven out of the Church to find what they crave. For this class, especially, we ask for enrichment, by adding to the Prayer Book hymns and anthems and collects, and special services for special occasions.

There are, again, places and times and congregations, for which, even shorter and simpler services, than can rubric-

ally be made out of our present formularies, are the only services which can be made practically useful.

The corporation of Trinity Church, New York, use part of their ample means in producing a constant service which is imposing and impressive, with music, ceremony and ornament. These daily prayers are a comfort and help to many souls, and no one should fail to recognize that such services answer a real need. But in this same Church, during penitential seasons, there have been services where an earnest preacher, without other preface than a collect or two, preached to a crowd of persons, who were doubtless, quite different from those who attended the ordinary services, and most of whom, probably would not have come to, or found satisfaction or benefit in, a longer or more elaborate service.

On last Good Friday, in one of the principal churches in this city, and one as far as possible from Ritualism or any of its approaches, at the conclusion of the Morning Service, the Rector announced that the Church would remain open for private prayer and meditation during the entire day, and that at a certain hour he would be present, and read the penitential psalms. It was a simple and yet a fitting sanctification of the entire day, and it reached many who would have been unable to attend the full service, or to abstain entirely from worldly business.

Now why should there not be such services in any Church at any time? Why should a man who has a message to deliver, and can bring around him people who will listen to it, be compelled to go through with the whole order for Morning Prayer before he can speak. Of course this would not be permitted to take the place of the regular Sunday Morning Service; perhaps it should always require Episcopal sanction.

Nor does this imply that a preacher on such occasions may use any formularies of devotion, or any liturgical methods other than those prescribed. Only let him use as much or as little of what is set forth for use, as seems meet for the occasion.

I may say here that I do not sympathize with the desire, which was earnestly expressed at the late General Convention, by a large and justly esteemed body of our Clergy, to be allowed to use extemporaneous prayers in public worship. I would suggest to the advocates of such a liberty, that it might result in consequences which they would be the first to deprecate. If clergymen may inter-

ject their own compositions into our services, they may introduce the compositions of others, How would it suit our friends who are anxious for this liberty of prayer, to be compelled to listen to extracts from certain manuals of devotion, which it is well-known are favorites with some of our clergy? We have already the *Stabat Mater*, sung seemingly as a part of our Liturgical worship in certain churches. It is not a great step from the *Stabat Mater* to the *Ave Verum Corpus* and the *Ave Maria*, and that, under a general license in prayer, might soon be followed by something very like an *Ora Pro Nobis*.

Besides, I may be allowed to suggest that practically there is now no difficulty in reaching the desired result. What is to prevent any clergyman from ending his sermon with a prayer or invocation, in which his devotional feelings may have the fullest and freest utterance? It may be said that this is an evasion of the very rule for which I am contending, and might open the door to the very danger I have imagined. It is not impossible that it might become so. But a rule or a rubric which can be evaded, is a better barrier than none at all. And there is a difference between a prayer which is part of a sermon, and a prayer which is authorized as part of a Liturgy. A steady adherence to Liturgical forms is one of our distinctive features. With a richer supply of such forms, steadily increasing and developing for new needs and occasions, and increased flexibility in their uses, I think our clergy of all schools, will be satisfied to limit their individual utterances to the Pulpit.

The performances to which I have referred, the singing of the *Stabat Mater* and the like, besides opening the door to more startling innovations, unless they are regarded as a sort of sacred concerts, are certainly a great stretch of rubrical and Liturgical license, or a proof and result of a want of rubric and Liturgy. If we are to have concerts in churches, let us call them so, or if we need services which resemble what is produced by these performances, let us have some rule to regulate them, which will allow of all needful variety and liberty, without the use or introduction of anything which teaches, or imitates, what our Church does not sanction. Surely we can provide a Liturgy at once so rich and so flexible as to leave no excuse for any imitations of the services of any foreign communion.

I venture to suggest that the remedy for the confusion, if not peril, into which we are drifting, is while giving larger

~~liberty~~ both by enrichment and added flexibility, at the same time to regulate, and if need be to restrict, so that ~~liberty~~ may not degenerate into license. If to this is added a rule of option, so that neither clergymen nor people shall be compelled to use either a more ornate or a plainer, a longer or a shorter service, because others desire such a service, it seems to me that the work will be done in the true spirit of our Church.

It will be a fatal mistake, in any attempt at liturgical change, to lose sight of the comprehensive character of our Church. We are not a body holding or teaching a complete system of doctrines over and above the Creeds, either, for instance, the sacerdotal and sacramental system called by its adherents "Catholic", on the one hand, or the systems elaborated in Protestant Confessions, Calvinistic or Arminian, and called "Evangelical", on the other, and only tolerating the presence of those who do not agree to these dogmas. No doubt there are among us those whose standard of Protestant orthodoxy would exclude from sympathy if not from communion, many who perhaps come nearer to the truth and spirit and methods of our Church and Prayer Book than themselves. Another set of men think that they hear the Church, when they seem to others really to be listening to the echo of their own voices. Having thus persuaded themselves that they have behind them an authority which others cannot claim, they act as if they only tolerated the presence of those who cannot accept their teachings, either because they do not like to do without their contributions, or out of pity for the weakness of men who cannot reach their heights of sound doctrine, or because in the decay of discipline and in the divided state of the Church, there is no power to exclude them. But this is not the true principle or character of our Church, as I think must upon consideration be admitted, even by those who may perhaps think that it ought to be. The Church to which we belong does not merely tolerate either, or any of the schools of opinion which are found within her borders, widely differing as we know they do, but comprehends them all. She is not a Church tolerant of error, but a Church comprehensive of doctrine.

This feature of our Church is an element of her strength. It attracts men into our Communion, as that of a Church and not a sect. And the tendency at this day to simplify credenda is as marked among other Protestant bodies, as

the tendency to increased forms and symbols and ornament in their Churches and worship.

At the last synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church, a leading Classis, headed by an able and excellent minister, presented a petition for some modification of their terms of communion. It was a revolt against imposing as a condition of admission to their fellowship, the full acceptance of the tenets of Calvinism. The very conservative body to whom the request was addressed shrank from entertaining such a revolutionary request. But it was an entering wedge, and the hard wood may split at last.

The Congregationalists have selected their wisest and best men to frame a creed, apparently intending to replace their systematic doctrinal standards with something broader and simpler. It is difficult indeed, to see how an aggregate of independent churches can have a creed. If the wise and good Congregational divines, who are charged with the present work, should have the wisdom to fall back upon what we know as the Apostles or the Nicene creeds, neither they nor all the congregations of their fellowship could make them creeds of their Communion. No matter what action was taken, there would be, in the nature of things, nothing to prevent any particular church from adding to its creed or terms of communion anything which it might fancy, such as total abstinence from liquors, or from dancing, or from certain amusements, or from church fairs, or lotteries, and certainly nothing to prevent their reinstating the five points of Calvinism. But the movement is a sign of the times, and signs of the movement of the human mind in our day, should be studied and not scorned.

Our Church alone occupies the wise, Christian and truly Catholic position, of insisting upon the simple ancient Creeds containing the fundamental facts of Christianity, and allowing her members, in all things beyond and outside these, the largest liberty of opinion, and it is upon a like principle that our Liturgy is framed. No man can attend worship conducted by extemporaneous utterances, without meeting constantly the doctrinal ideas of the minister. And, on the other hand, no man can unite in the worship of the Church of Rome, without adopting her doctrine of the priest, the mass and its "dreadful sacrifice", with all their consequences. But our Liturgy can be used by men of all the grades and schools of opinion which the Church allows within her borders. You may say that this is a compro-

mise. If so then the Church itself is a compromise. I would call it a comprehension. And it is a comprehension which comes nearer to the model of the primitive Church, as far as we can make it out, and, at all events, to the model of a true Catholic Christian Church, than the imposition of missals or prayer books, which cannot be used except by believers in a fully fledged sacerdotal system.

From this comprehensive character of the Church, as well as from the widely varying and ever changing circumstances, and congregations among which the Church has to do its work and use its services, in a country like ours, it seems to me to result that all additions which are made and all modifications in the use of formularies or services, which are introduced, should be left entirely optional. As I have already said there should be a large liberty of choice, a generous recognition of the rights of all, and the duty of the Church to all. But the extent of this liberty should be regulated and confined to certain limits, that it may not become license. This duty of restriction results from the principle of comprehension. The liturgy of the Church is for all sorts and conditions of men; for all classes and schools of opinion, not merely to listen to, but to join in. The formularies or the mode of worship should not therefore, be such as to compel a man who unites in it, to accept and profess doctrines which he has a right to disbelieve, and yet be a faithful member of the Church. Take, for instance, the central service of Christian worship. Probably there are those among us who hold such a doctrine of the Eucharist, as seems to them and to others, to lead fairly to the adoration of a Divine Presence, which according to their belief, follows what they consider the consecrating act of a priest. But if such views may be held as matter of individual opinion, and if their holders may adore the Presence in which they believe, which I am not concerned to deny, they must not make the Liturgy, or the method of stating it, such as to compel every one who unites in its use, to unite in the adoration, and to profess a doctrine which they have no right to compel them to believe. This is one thing against which the Canon concerning the use of the Book of Common Prayer is aimed, when it forbids the elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion, so as to expose them as objects for adoration, and all bowings, genuflexions or prostrations. I have taken an extreme case to clearly illustrate the principle. Let me mention another application of the

same view. Take the instance to which I have referred, of the use in public worship of a prayer set forth for the dying, converted into a prayer for the dead. I do not find that our Church has ventured to pronounce upon the state of the departed, in any such manner as to repress what seems a natural instinct of affection, to follow, after death, those who have been loved in life, with hopes and wishes, and if with hopes and wishes, then with prayers. It seems to some a very narrow rule of orthodoxy, which will instruct a minister of the Gospel to pray for the soul of one *in extremis*, so long as it is yet in the act of departure, in the very agony of death, although that soul may be past all sight, hearing or consciousness, but will compel him to close his book, and cease his intercession the instant that the physician, with his finger on the dying man's pulse, announces that it has ceased to beat. Many Churchmen would perhaps make no complaint if we had a burial service that said more for the departed spirit, and perhaps less for the perishing body. Such men would not be entirely of those who desire prayers for the dead, because they were used by early Christians, or because they were retained in the Prayer Book of Edward VI. But while our Church, following the Church Catholic and let us humbly trust her Divine Master, may not have forbidden hopes and desires for those who have gone out of our sight, but not out of the keeping of the Father of all souls, neither has our Church received or professed any doctrine of prayers for the dead, or permitted their use as a part of public worship. There are many among us to whom their use would be a stumbling block and an offence. And these have their rights as well as others. Not only, therefore, does the use of such devotions in public worship seem to me an unauthorized act of individual license, as the service and the rubrics now are, but the addition of such forms or the introduction of express authority for their use would be in conflict with the principle upon which I have been dwelling.

It is understood that the Committee of the General Convention having the matter in charge have adopted for their guidance a resolution to the effect that they will not sanction or recommend any alteration which either by addition or omission will alter any doctrinal statement of the present Liturgy. We may accept this as the statement of a rule which will lead to a real work of comprehension and adaptation. It will give ample opportunity to adapt our

services more fully to our work ; to enable us to meet the varying wants, the changing circumstances, if you will, the feelings and inclinations of our American people of this day. It can be done, and to be at all successful it must be done, without giving reasonable cause for offence in any quarter, and without changing what are claimed to be the doctrinal utterances of the Prayer Book as it is, in any direction.

I will not leave this general discussion of the principle which should be followed in the present movement, without citing an authority, whose weight will be recognized in every quarter, in support of the views which I have endeavored to maintain. In the General Convention of 1826 a movement was made for Liturgical reform, looking at once to greater latitude and to greater exactness. It did not contemplate any serious innovations. The time had not come for any wants like those which are now making themselves felt. The Protestant Episcopal Church was at that day a small and highly respectable body, which had been obliged to contend with serious prejudices growing out of its origin, and seemed little likely to become more than a congregation of such Christian people as desired the profession and exercise of their religion in a peculiarly quiet, orderly and decorous manner. It gave little indication of that aggressive character which was to press it upon the American people, as a comprehensive and active Church, which is eminently fitted for them all. Nevertheless, the instincts of growth were even then beginning to be felt. The General Convention, however, responded to them in a feeble and hesitating way. The movement at last was defeated, by a combination of those who were alarmed by the suggestion of any change or relaxation on the one hand, with those on the other who were unwilling to be controlled in the liberty which they were using, to make the service as bald as possible. The grievance of the latter party was that they objected to being compelled to read the Ante-Communion service on every Sunday morning. The objections of the opposite school were to shortening or simplifying anywhere ; a dread of any change because it was a change. There was also resistance to a proposed change in the Confirmation office, which would have been in the direction of breadth and comprehension.

I refer to this part of our history, to cite the language of Bishop Hobart in reference to that movement, for the sake

of its bearing on the general subject of liturgical revision. In his address to the convention of the diocese of New York in the year 1827, Bishop Hobart called attention to the proposed changes. He said: "What good object is contemplated by these proposed alterations? The answer is, the abbreviation of the Liturgy by law, so as to remove all reasons for abbreviating it contrary to law, the admitting in certain cases of more appropriate lessons, the securing the use of the commandments, collects, epistle and gospel, and the rendering the preface to the Confirmation service more full, better adapted to the state of things in this country, and the preventing of misunderstanding as to certain expressions in one of the prayers in this office." If to abbreviating in this sentence, were added adorning, the words would be precisely applicable to-day. The demand at present is both for abbreviation and adornment, and it is proposed to do both by law. After describing more in detail the alterations proposed and the reason for them, the Bishop proceeded, among other things to say: "How are innovations to be arrested? By the strong arm of authority? But is this an easy or wise course? When the service is felt and admitted by so many persons to be too long, public sentiment and general practice will more or less sanction abbreviations in it. Would it not be wise to remove, as far as possible, the reasons, real or feigned, for the violation of law, and then to enforce it? Would not such a course be preferred in a civil government? Is it not eminently proper in an ecclesiastical one?" Such counsels were lost upon the Church of 1827; but we may hope for better things in the Church of 1881. We have been growing, I think, not only in numbers but in ideas, and that especially within the last generation.

It will not, I am sure, be regarded as invidious by others, to call Dr. William R. Huntington the leader of the present movement. It proceeded from him in the General Convention, and in a speech of great ability he gave it force and direction. In a still more ample and distinct degree, the article which he contributed to the last number of this *Review*, indicates the scope and spirit of the movement. That paper is inspired by real Catholicity as well as sound Churchmanship, and by a clear comprehension of the needs of our Church and country. There is no magnifying or minimising particular doctrinal views; no admiration of the work of particular divines, because of

the school to which they belonged ; no hankering for change which will push the Church backward or forward.

Dr. Huntington is very conservative in his views of what it is desirable to do or to permit. I am free to say that I should be willing to see the Committee go farther than he suggests in various directions. However, prudence is wisdom, in dealing with such a matter, and certainly nobody can be reasonably alarmed at any additions or alterations, proposed or suggested, by the article in the last number of the *Review*.

It is not my province, and it is beyond my power, to suggest specific additions to be made to any part of our services, or even to indicate sources from which such additions might be derived. The Church may rest assured that the Joint Committee is amply competent for that task. The general principles and proposed outlines of the enrichments proposed will, I think, commend themselves to every one who favors any enrichment whatever.

I will however notice some suggestions which have been made of subtraction and substitution in our formularies.

To begin with the order for Morning Prayer. Why should not anthems or chants, suitable to the season, be distinctly provided, to be permitted instead of the *Venite Exultemus*, not only on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, but throughout Lent? The attempt to make our services appropriate to a penitential season produces remarkable results. We have "O come let us exult", sung to a dolorous minor chant, or, as in one New York Church, the *De Profundis* sung all through Lent, instead of the *Venite*, of course without any authority for it. Then the *Benedicite* is sung in place of the *Te Deum*, although the former is a jubilant song of praise, while the latter contains strains of prayer and penitence. The idea seems to be that the reiteration of a monotonous chant in the many verses of the *Benedicite*, may make the music penitential, although the words are not. The remedy for what Dr. Huntington well describes as a futile effort to transform the *Venite* from a cry of joy to a moan of grief, may be a permission to omit it during Lent. Some remedy it deserves.

There is one suggestion which I will venture to make, touching the order for Morning Prayer, including the Litany. The Litany is a part of our service which is, at least as much as any portion of it, enshrined to our affections. Yet we do not always consider, probably many persons do not understand, the real character of this office.

We look upon it as if it were just a long prayer, coming in its place, among the collects and prayers of the Morning Service. But it is a service by itself, complete in itself. Not of the most ancient date, it was the product of an age when the world seemed so full of suffering and trouble, that men fancied that the last days were upon them. We do not sing or say it with processions and the like demonstrations any more, and perhaps we do not give it its full emphasis, when we reduce it to one among many prayers. There is such a thing as repeating a form so often or in such a manner, as to empty solemn words of their meaning. The practice which has grown up, of using the Litany as a distinct service, is I think a recognition of its real and historical character. The practice which is now adopted in many churches, and I believe in some dioceses, of omitting the Litany on Communion Sundays, when the Morning Prayer and Communion Service are said together, it seems to me, might be expressly permitted. The principle of this is recognized by the old English rubric, allowing the omission of the Litany on certain high festivals. And the Litany will not seem less precious, or be less fervently said, if it is not said on all occasions, no matter how joyful the festival, or how long the service.

Another suggestion is to restore the English rubric, and allow an anthem or a verse of a hymn, to be sung before commencing the Litany. It is easy to see why this was left out of our Prayer Book after the Revolution. Probably no one thought then of seeing any churches among us, which could properly be described, in the language of the English rubric, as "Quires and places where they sing," in which alone anthems were permitted. There were not many such places in the Mother Church then. As for hymns neither we nor they had any. There has been adopted of late in many Churches a practice during Lent, of pausing after the last collect before the Litany, and singing a verse of our Litany Hymn—the Congregation remaining kneeling. Now there is no authority for this, it is unrubrical. Nevertheless it is prompted by a true instinct, and it is devotional and inspiring in its effect. It breaks monotony, it rests from a long strain of supplication, it adds a stimulus to devotional feeling, and it emphasizes the solemn supplication which is to follow. Why not sanction and regulate the practice, and allow, (not compel, observe), both here, and at the corresponding point in Evening Prayer, the introduction of an anthem, or of a verse or more of a hymn?

When we come to the order for Evening Prayer, I submit the propriety, when Morning Prayer has been said in a Church, of allowing the omission of the exhortation "Dearly beloved brethren," and the opening of the service with the Sentences, or a processional, or hymn, followed by the Confession, Declaration of Absolution, and the Lord's Prayer, or, by the latter only. Is not the force of this Exhortation weakened by its incessant repetition, every time there is a service in a Church? How many of those to whom it is thus repeated twice a day, really attend to, and are benefitted by it? Would not it be more effectual, and more heeded by a congregation, if they heard it, say once a day or once a week? At all events is not the experiment worth trying, by giving clergy and congregations the option of making it? If, as Bishop Hobart told us in 1827, the demand of the people for shorter services is sure to be answered, regularly or irregularly, what can better be omitted in the circumstances referred to, than this Exhortation? I venture to say few clergymen do not sometimes yield to the temptation to omit it or shorten it.

With what Dr. Huntington says of the necessity, or the wisdom of allowing a shortened week-day service I heartily agree. I know we meet every now and then with an outburst of sentiment, about the beauty and significance of a clergyman opening his Church, and saying the whole order of Morning Prayer every day, it may be, with but two or three "brethren" present, and those mostly sisters. This is called a protest, and a witness, against the spirit of the age, and an intercession of the Church for the world. This seems to be a great deal more like sentiment than sense. Our Church has set forth no order of service for any such purpose. If our Church recognized and taught a true and proper sacrifice made by a priest, in the office of the Holy Communion, which as we learn by the Prayer Book of Edward VI., was the service which had been "commonly called the mass," although it was neither to be, nor to be called so any longer, and if the daily service directed by our Church was the performance of this office, there might be more color for this fancy. But the daily service prescribed by our Church, is a service of daily Common Prayer. It is not to be said by a minister for the people, but with the people. If fifty people will come to unite in a short week day service, fitly framed and fervently uttered, when you can get but two or three to join day after day, in the order for Morning or Evening Prayer, as it now stands.

prescribed, can any reasonable man hesitate about the wisdom of permitting the Church to reach fifty souls a day, instead of five? How many clergymen are there, who do not, in ordinary parishes at least, feel and yield to this necessity, in week day services? As Bishop Hobart said in 1827, "when the service is felt and admitted by so many persons to be too long, public sentiment and general practice will more or less sanction the abbreviation of it." What is sure to be done in some way, had better be done in an orderly way, and in the best way.

Similar observations seem to be justified, with respect to the custom which has become very general, of chanting the responses to the Commandments, or as they are styled in the musical programmes for services which we see in the newspapers, the "*Kyrie Eleison*." The rubric says, the people shall after every commandment ask God's mercy and grace. The practice is for the choir to chant the prayer. It would be going too far to say that this practice is meant to be forbidden, and I should be very sorry to see it discontinued. But why should not the rubric be changed so as to recognize its permissibility. If any change were to be made in this part of the service, I imagine that men's minds would turn to permitting, on some occasions at least, the substitution of the Beatitudes for the Commandments. Again in the offertory, the intention certainly seems to have been that the Sentences should be read by the minister, while the alms are collected. The practice is for the minister to read one sentence, and then for the choir to sing whatever they please, and unless the congregation are informed by publication beforehand, probably few of them know what the musicians are singing. Again I say, I do not object to the practice, but would it not be well to recognize it? And would it not also be well to provide offertory hymns and anthems, especialiy if we are to have introits, to be used instead of metrical hymns, in the interval between Morning Prayer and the Communion Office. As to these last, I do not believe that such a collection of hymns as we are now getting to have, will ever be crowded out of use in our congregations by introits. There is a reform that has often occurred to me, in reference to this part of the service. That is to have the hymns to be sung, indicated, as they are in many foreign Churches, and in some of our own, by signs, conspicuously displayed about the Church, and then let the service proceed at the proper time to the singing

of the designated hymn, without calling on the minister to give it out. This could be easily arranged so that there would be no more need ordinarily of "giving out" the hymn which is to be sung, than of "giving out" the *Venite* or the *Jubilate*. Where the number of the hymn only is announced, it is simply an unnecessary break in a Liturgical service. But where the clergyman reads the whole hymn, and then the choir or congregation repeat it musically, one cannot help sometimes thinking, especially when the reading is a highly rhetorical recitation, as we often hear it, that the idea is, to see whether the orator or the quartette, can give the poetry most effectively.

The Baptismal office has been a part of the Prayer Book around which controversies have raged. Happily their fires seem to be quenched, at least on our side of the water. Those who do not accept the high Church theories of the Sacraments, are content with such explanations of the formularies, as Bishop Hobart adopted in 1827, in recommending the alternative prayer which the General Convention proposed to permit in the Confirmation Service. If any suggestions are made in respect to this part of the Prayer Book, I submit whether some more fitting conclusion could not be given to this solemn Service, than the sentence, which sounds as much like a rubric as an exhortation, requiring sponsors to bring the child to confirmation, as soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Catechism. This seems better adapted to the age when it was written, than to our own. I suppose every clergyman has to explain to candidates for confirmation, that this is not all which the Church expects, in order to a due profession of faith and obedience in that rite.

This Confirmation Service again recalls the movement of 1826. Without urging the changes then proposed in the office, it may not be amiss to suggest the study of the movement, in order to see how far men, whose assertion was unflinching, of what were then recognized as High Church opinions were willing to go, for the sake of comprehension and harmonious growth, and of making the Prayer Book more practically useful. In the Convention Address from which I have already quoted, Bishop Hobart called attention to the fact, that the Confirmation Service was framed for a very different state of things, from that which must be found in a country like this. It implies a population which is universally born, baptized and brought up, in the

Church, coming to Confirmation after Baptism, as they come to years of discretion. It is not apt for use among a people who have been strangers to the Church, and who come to the rite as adults, and as those who have been strangers. Dr. Huntington suggests these imperfections, and the way to their cure. Here I will venture to call attention to the rubric at the end of this office, which declares that none shall be admitted to the Communion, until they have been confirmed, or are ready for confirmation. This belongs to an age and country when the Church and the nation were conterminous, and when men might not only be required but expected, to travel from the beginning to the end of their lives, in the old orderly paths. The framers of this Service did not dream of times and countries, where a literal adherence to this rule would shut the doors in the face of thousands of faithful souls, to whom the Master has not denied his grace, and the Church dare not deny Her Sacraments, however she may teach and strive to make them submit to her ordinances. The Communion Office puts no barrier in the way of the acceptance of its invitations, but evil living. We have no inquisitorial examinations into what is called experience, and do not impose the acceptance of any doctrinal system. The rubric to which I refer, is of necessity construed, by reasonable Christian ministers, as applying only to those who are, or intend to be recognized, as belonging to our Communion permanently. But occasionally some over zealous, or over conscientious minister, feels constrained to make use of the power which this rubric gives, in a way which shocks true piety, and repels from the Church devout persons, not of her fold, but who are feeling the attraction of her system and her services. It may be that the clergy do not feel any difficulty from the rubric to which I am referring. The Church and the interests of the Gospel would, I cannot but think, come to suffer no little injury, if it should be literally applied to all Christians.

I have said that our Marriage Service is an improvement upon that in the English Book, but I cannot see the wisdom of the suggestion which seems to be made in the Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI, that it would be an improvement of our office, to add to it the administration of the Holy Communion. Without saying that the connection between the two acts and offices does not seem to be so intimate or essential, that marriage cannot be

sufficiently hallowed by prayer and benediction, without blending with it the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it may at least be asked, what is the real intention of the proposal. Is it meant to deny the presence of the ministers of the Church, with her admonitions, prayers and blessings, to all persons who are not ready to come to the Lord's Supper? The result would be, either to turn away multitudes from the use of this office, or to bring them to the most solemn act of Christian worship, much in the same way and in the same spirit as men were driven to the Communion, when its reception was required as a condition of holding office, by the English Test and Corporation Acts.

There is one part of the Marriage Service to which I beg to call attention. The man is made to say, "With this ring I thee wed, and with all my wordly goods I thee endow," and the most solemn adjuration is added. But nothing of the kind is the result of marriage under our laws. Indeed, until the reforms which have been introduced within a few years, it would have been more veritable to have put these words into the mouth of the woman. She did endow the man she married, with all her wordly goods. He could take them all, and leave her penniless, while all with which she was endowed by her husband, was a life estate in one-third of his lands, a support as long as he lived with her, and whatever else he chose to give her. We have changed that indeed, so far as to allow the woman to keep her own, but she gets no more from her husband. This asseveration, which we put into the mouth of the bridegroom, is either unmeaning or untrue.

With what Dr. Huntington says of permitting a freer use of the Psalms, so that not merely the present selections, but any two or more Psalms, may be used in place of the Psalms for the day of the month, I suppose everybody will agree. The Psalms do not follow each other in the Book of Psalms, in an order of date or of subjects. Of course, dividing the whole book as it stands, into portions, one for each day of the month, often brings about an incongruous juxtaposition of subjects, and often makes the Psalter for the day too long. The plan of selections which was introduced in our Prayer Book is a partial remedy, but it will be well to apply the principle more liberally.

The Burial Service needs to be supplemented, as Dr. Huntington points out, by an office for the burial of infants and young children. The restoration of an order for the

celebration of the Holy Communion at Funerals, as used in Queen Elizabeth's time, which we are recommended by Dr. Dix to take from the book of Edward VI., would not, I believe, commend itself to American Churchmen. It will be difficult to explain the peculiar appropriateness of the Eucharist at funerals, without falling back upon the doctrine which lies at the root of the practice of Masses for the dead, from which, in the days of Elizabeth, the Church of England had not quite freed itself. If it is believed and intended to teach, that the celebration of the Holy Communion is a sacrifice, by which the merits and death of our Saviour are presented, or represented, to the Father, in such a way as to be more efficacious than any other act of supplication or prayer, in behalf of a departed soul, then we can understand the desire to introduce this service. If this meaning or belief is disavowed, it will remain for the advocates of such an addition, to explain its especial significance. It will not be contended, that any such recognition of a sacerdotal system, is to be found anywhere in the present book. According to the views upon which the present paper has been written, and which I believe many will endorse, who may not agree with all the writer's opinions, it will not be accepted by the American Church as a satisfactory reason for any additions to our service, that they would set forth more distinctly the views of any particular school, or that they were taken from manuals or formularies which were the product of a time when these views were the general teaching of the clergy, perhaps before the lay people generally had, or could express any opinions upon the subject.

In one practical respect it seems as if the Burial Service, as we have it, might be wisely added to. It will be remembered that the service was prepared for a time and a country, when the actual burials took place in Churchyards immediately about the Churches. All funerals were in Churches, and the whole service could be gone through with, as it is intended to be, with no other interruption than the passing from the interior to the exterior of the Church. In this country all this is for the most part changed. Funeral Services are sometimes held in houses, without going to the Church, often for good and sufficient reasons. Burial places are rarely about the Churches, never in cities or in towns of any size. The result is, that in our great cities the whole service, including what is called the committal, is generally performed in the Church. It is sometimes all said in a house. The actual interment takes place without a

word of prayer or consolation to the surrounding mourners. In the cities this cannot altogether be prevented, although the service thus rendered has something incongruous about it, unless provision could be made for the constant attendance of a clergyman, and perhaps for a Mortuary Chapel, at the cemeteries. It is obviously impossible for the Rectors of city Parishes to accompany every funeral to our distant cemeteries. Occasionally, however in our cities, and I think almost invariably elsewhere, the officiating clergyman goes to the grave, and the committal service is said there, where it belongs. The point to which I wish to draw attention, is the propriety of setting forth a conclusion of the service in the Church, when all of the present office proper after the lesson, is to be said at the grave. It might well consist of the Creed, a hymn or anthem, and suitable collects and prayers. It is well known that the practice of clergymen varies greatly in this matter. I have known one so scrupulous that he dismissed the congregation, which had come to Church to testify their respect for a dead man, but which could not follow his remains a mile further to the burial ground, without a single word except the Sentences, the Psalms and the Lesson, and notice that the remainder of the service would be said at the grave. We have pretty well outgrown that type of conformity. But it might be a relief to recognize the altered circumstances of our day, and to have a service judiciously framed, which might at least be allowed, in cases such as those to which I have referred. Similar reasons might lead to the preparation of a form or order, more or less full or precise, for a funeral at a house.

I will not occupy any more space with suggestions as to details or particulars. The article of Dr. Huntington seems to me to be eminently considerate and thoughtful in its proposals in this respect, and to show a purpose of breadth and comprehension, as well as a thorough understanding of the condition and needs of our Church, and the real object and method of "revising" the Prayer Book.

Our people, the most of them at least, are not very much disturbed by some things which in the mother country, have been the cause of the utmost excitement, and even very serious consequences. Lights, flowers, crosses and ornaments upon the Altar, or Communion Table, as the Prayer Book calls it, excite little remark. Vestments are not considered vital, and different, colored hangings, at different seasons, are regarded as a matter of taste. The position of the

officiating minister even, does not much disturb us, perhaps because we do not fully understand what it is intended to signify, unless it is distinctly made a posture of adoration of the Altar, or of something upon it. A true work of Liturgical enrichment can more readily be accomplished here than in England, for many obvious reasons, growing out of the temper and character of our people, as well as the nature of our polity. We may work hopefully for the success of a movement with that purpose, conducted upon the principles indicated in the utterances of Dr. Huntington.

It seems impossible to leave the subject, without saying somewhat more upon the Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI., delivered and published by the Rev. Dr. Dix. These discourses come from one of equal authority, and, it may be, of greater power, than Dr. Huntington. Their author, besides being a man of conspicuous ability, and large influence, in controlling both thought and action, is a member of the Committee of the General Convention, having in charge the revision of the Prayer Book. The Lectures in question seem to be intended as a statement of the author's views, of the proper object and method of revising our Liturgy. A discussion of the subject, as it has been thus far presented to the Church, if it did not refer to the views put forth from such a quarter, and in such a manner, would be as incomplete, as if it omitted to mention the views of Dr. Huntington.

Dr. Dix, holds up the Prayer Book of Edward VI. as a model Liturgy, from which every departure which has since been made, is a misfortune and a mistake. Cranmer, Ridley and Hooper, who are charged with being the authors or instigators, of the changes from the first book, which appear in the English Book of Common Prayer and our own, are treated with marked severity. Hooper especially is the subject of denunciation, which may fairly be called unmeasured, for his inclinations to Puritanism. A Protestant could hardly say harsher things of Bonner, for his persecution of the Reformed.

The losses which have been sustained in the alterations of the Prayer Book of Edward VI., besides the exclusion of the so-called Athanasian Creed, which our American Revisers struck out, are stated to consist in the omission of certain services, and of the sanction of certain practices. The practices which are mentioned, as sanctioned by the elder Book, and giving it a value which the later Liturgies do not possess, are auricular confession, prayers for the faith-

ful dead, the prescription of vestments, the sign of the cross in public and private devotions, and the unction of the sick. It is no part of my purpose to go at any length into the statements, historical and other, of these Lectures, far less to discuss their arguments, or any doctrines, which they are intended to enforce, but only to present enough of their contents, to indicate their practical bearing, in my view of the subject, upon the matter in hand.

The sense of it is, if I understand the learned author, to exhibit the Prayer Book of Edward VI. as a book which presents and sets forth "by every act, word and symbol fitted for that purpose," the systems known as "Sacramental" and "Sacerdotal." The doctrines which make up this system are specified as being, Episcopacy (as a direct divine institution), the Apostolic succession (in a series of persons), the true and proper priesthood of the clergy, Auricular Confession (not required but recommended), Priestly Absolution, a true and proper sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, and the Real Presence (in or with the elements). Besides these are, of course, others, which are common to this, and other systems of Christianity. The hope is expressed, that a revision of the Prayer Book may result in conforming it more to the model of the Book of Edward VI., and is restoring to our Liturgy, services, practices and expressions which should restore to these doctrines the sanction and expression which they do not now possess, in consequence of the changes which have been made from the first Reformed Liturgy. The idea thus put forth is to introduce changes in order to restore doctrines.

I need not repeat that I have no quarrel here with the devout and able men who hold these doctrines. I recognize fully their right to hold them all, as scriptural, primitive, reasonable and true. Nay I would not deny their right to teach them, so long as they do not alter our services, so as to compel me to accept them. For everybody knows that there are and always have been, in the Church of England and in our own church, men of learning and devout piety, who deny that these doctrines are either scriptural, or primitive, or reasonable, or true. If men holding this latter opinion, have an equal right in our Church with the contrary party, which I cannot imagine will be denied, have they not a certain right to protection in their opinions? All that such protection consists in is, that the Liturgy of our Church should not be so framed, or

so altered, as to make it impossible for them to use it without condemning themselves, and proclaiming what they do not believe.

The greater or less number, or the greater or less learning or wisdom, of the clergymen or laymen, who do not accept the system which the Prayer Book of Edward VI. is claimed to present and enforce, is not material, so long as the right to differ in these points is admitted. In point of fact, I suppose that a large majority of our clergy and laity do not accept all the doctrines I have mentioned. I suppose that a very considerable and influential number do not accept any of them, in the sense indicated by the clauses in brackets which I have introduced, intending to express plainly but fairly, what I understand these doctrines to mean. My whole purpose in this part of this paper is, with due respect, to express the opinion that the introduction of or the emphasizing and expressing, any doctrinal views is not the principle or purpose, with which a revision of our Prayer Book should be undertaken. I will venture to add, that it is not a principle or a purpose, with which any such undertaking can succeed.

The Rector of Trinity Church states his position plainly enough. He would prefer to have the Prayer Book "kept as it is, *verbatim, literatim, punctuatim*, a hundred years more, rather than lose one smallest portion of the strong meat which, with all its imperfections, the book now contains." Have not Churchmen, who differ more or less widely with Dr. Dix, an equal right to say, that they would prefer to keep the book as it is, rather than to be compelled to swallow any additions of what Dr. Dix calls "strong meat?" Fortunately for the success of the present movement, its promoters have not undertaken it, with any desire to add or take away doctrinal teaching. In that respect the movement differs somewhat from the memorial movement of Dr. Muhlenbergh. The undertaking is defined in the resolution adopted by the General Convention, as seeking alterations, in the direction of enrichment, and increased flexibility of use. The Committee appointed by the Convention acted in the spirit of their appointment, when at their first meeting, on the motion of the Bishop of Albany, they unanimously placed on record their conviction, that no alteration should be made, touching either statements or standards of doctrine. That decision covers additions as well as subtractions. If that rule be fairly acted up to, the movement may lead to a practical result.

The movement which I have been discussing will be a crucial test of the temper and character of our Church at the present day. It will show whether what we have been hailing as an era of reconciliation and peace, and therefore of assured growth and power in the Church, is after all nothing but a truce between contending parties. We shall see, by what comes to pass in the next three years, whether the differing schools which our communion comprehends, are willing and able to sink their differences, in a common effort to make their Church better equipped and better able to discharge its mission to the souls and bodies of men, or whether they care for nothing better worth striving for, than the poor purpose of making the Church the exponent of their own peculiar views.

The question may thus have a broader aspect than merely the Revision of the Prayer Book.

JAMES EMOTT.

THE TRICHOTOMY OF MAN.

THE present discussion of this subject has been undertaken with the purpose of calling attention to a remarkable book in which it is incidentally treated.*

It appears from its title that the author believes in the objective reality of things. If he were to write a treatise on Ethics, we would expect him to take ground in favor of the objective reality of moral distinctions. Indeed he stands committed to that already, for the argument which establishes the objectivity of Beauty does the same for the material and spiritual universe of which Beauty is a characteristic. It will be seen that the author takes his stand in the ranks of those philosophers who are battling for the True, the Right and the Good, as well as for the Beautiful.

Only a philosophical mind, in writing a book on *Æsthetics*, would feel the necessity of discussing a topic apparently so remote as *Psychology*. But the author has felt this necessity. We are therefore to expect not simply a handbook on the subject, but rather a philosophical treatment of its underlying principles. The preface, in fact, assures us that this is the purpose of the book.

* *The Beautiful and the Sublime, An Analysis of these Emotions, and a Determination of the Objectivity of Beauty.* By John Steinfort Kedney. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1880.

I shall not discuss the theory of Beauty advocated in this volume. Those interested in the science of *Æsthetics* will find that theory original, and the treatment of it profound. Instead, therefore, of undertaking a review of the book as a whole, I shall content myself with a consideration of the psychological theory contained in it. The subject may be introduced by the following short paragraph:

"The old Dichotomy, which regards soul and body as disparate entities, has for a long time been weakening as a satisfactory explanation of man. It fails to show any unity of these, as juxtaposed constituents of human nature, or even to show any necessary relation between them."

Every thoughtful person who takes into consideration the great frequency with which, in Sacred Scripture, the three constituent parts of man's nature—body, soul and spirit—are mentioned, must feel dissatisfied with the prevalent Dichotomy in which the whole of man's being is summed up under the heads of soul and body. Then, too, the prevalent doctrine of the immortality of the soul, seems to leave the body out of view as a necessary part of man. The soul has been regarded as the human person, and the body as only its instrument. According to this view there is no logical place for the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead.

In the ancient Greek Philosophy the soul was regarded as constituting the human person, and it was supposed to continue in a shadowy existence forever after its separation from the body. This philosophical tenet explains the reception that S. Paul's sermon met with on Mars' Hill. The philosophic idlers that listened on that occasion, heard S. Paul respectfully until he came to the doctrines of Eternal Judgment and the Resurrection of the Dead. But "when they heard of the Resurrection of the Dead, some mocked; and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter."

The too ready adoption of this doctrine concerning the human person has brought forth evil fruit in our time. As a result the Resurrection of the Body has been extensively denied, or explained in such a way as to amount to a virtual denial. For instance, Emmanuel Swedenborg teaches that the Resurrection takes place at death, and consists of the soul taking to itself another body, suited to its changed condition, as the old body was suited to its

condition here, and denies that the body that was laid in the grave rises again. This view is not confined to the followers of Swedenborg, but is, in other quarters, often, by those who should know better, advocated as the true teaching of Scripture on the subject.

However others may reconcile this with their convictions of truth, such a course is clearly impossible to a Churchman. The definition of faith is forever settled for him in the Creeds, as well as in the solemn formulas of the Communion Office:

"The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, *preserve thy body* and soul unto everlasting life."

"The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, *preserve thy body* and soul unto everlasting life."

S. Paul, as if with prophetic foresight of the evils of these times, places the doctrine of the Resurrection among the fundamental verities of the Christian faith. He makes the first principles of Christianity to consist of two experiences, Repentance and Faith; two ordinances, Baptism and Confirmation; and two beliefs, the Resurrection of the Dead and Eternal Judgment. What he means by the Resurrection of the Dead he shows unmistakably elsewhere.

If now the resurrection of the body be an essential doctrine of Christianity, then it follows as matter of course, that the body is an essential element of the human person. But this the popular Dichotomy denies, because it makes the soul alone to constitute the human person. However, a Dichotomy of itself does not necessitate any such conclusion. In fact, the Dichotomy of the Fathers is a virtual Trichotomy, as shall be presently shown. Athenagoras, the Athenian Philosopher and Christian, in his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, whilst teaching an apparent Dichotomy, emphasizes the fact that the personality of man is compound, consisting of soul and body together. His language is so pointed and pertinent that I cannot forbear quoting somewhat at length from the fifteenth chapter of his treatise, in the translation of the Ante-Nicene Library. He says:

"For if the whole nature of man in general is composed of an immortal soul and a body which was fitted to it in the creation, and if neither to the nature of the soul by itself, nor to the nature of the body separately, has God assigned such a creation or such a life and entire course of existence as this, *but to men compounded of the two*, in order that they may, when they have passed through their

present existence, arrive at one common end, with the same elements of which they are composed at their birth and during life, it unavoidably follows, since one living being is formed from the two . . . that the whole series of these things *must be referred to some one end.* .

. . . Man, therefore, who consists of the two parts, must continue forever. *But it is impossible for him to continue unless he rise again.* For if no resurrection were to take place, the nature of men as men would not continue."

Again in his twentieth chapter he argues the case on the ground of equity, showing that if the body is not raised and the soul alone is judged, that the compound being that sinned is not judged at all, and equity would therefore be wanting to the judgment. Whether or not the Romish doctrine of purgatory would have been possible if this primitive teaching had been held to, the thoughtful reader may determine for himself.

It remains now to be shown that the Dichotomy of the Fathers was in fact a true scriptural Trichotomy. Even Plato himself taught a doctrine somewhat resembling this, though he erred in his doctrine of the personality of man. In the *Timæus* he distinguishes between what he terms the sensual and mortal soul, and the immortal soul. In Prof. Jowett's translation the passage is as follows:

"Now of the Divine He Himself—*i. e.* God—was the Creator, but committed to His offspring the creation of the mortal, and they imitating Him, received from Him the immortal principle of the soul; and around this they fashioned a mortal body, and made the whole body to be a vehicle of the soul, and constructed within *a soul of another nature* which was mortal, subject to terrible and irresistible affections."

Philo Judæus, well known as a student of Plato, and who desired to reconcile the Greek Philosophy with the teachings of the Old Testament, in the 24th section of his treatise on "The worse plotting against the better," represents Moses as teaching that God "breathed into man from above something of His own divine nature, and His divine nature stamped her own impression in an invisible manner on the invisible soul, in order that even the earth might not be destitute of the image of God." This is still nearer to the scriptural Trichotomy than the teaching of Plato. According to this, man has a body, a soul, and the impression of the Divine nature stamped upon the soul.

It is, however, when we come to the Fathers of the Christian Church that we find definite clear and unmistakable teaching on the subject. Irenæus, in the second generation from the Apostle S. John, in his great work against heresies discusses the subject in full. Among many passages the following in Book 2nd, chap. 54, may be chosen:

"All who are enrolled for Eternal Life shall be resurrected, having their own bodies, and having their own souls, and their own spirits in which they pleased God."

Justin Martyr, in the tenth chapter of his treatise on the Resurrection, says: "The body is the house of the soul; and the soul the house of the spirit. These three, in all those who cherish a sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved."

Hagenbach, in his History of Doctrine, quotes Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin, Tatian and Origen as holding the scriptural Trichotomy. It will not be necessary, however, to verify his references. One more clear quotation must suffice. The clearest and fullest testimony is given by S. Augustine, In his "De Fide et Symbolo" he argues the point at length:

"There are three things whereof man consists—spirit, soul and body; which *are again called two, because often the soul is named together with the spirit*; for a certain reasonable part of the same, which beasts are without, is called the spirit; that which is chief in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are joined unto the body, is called the soul; finally, the body itself, since it is visible, is that in us which is last."

In the following chapter, the 24th, he answers the objection which may be urged against the resurrection of the flesh:

"Therefore the body will rise again according to the Christian Faith, which cannot deceive. Which if it seem to any one incredible, he regards what the flesh now is, but considers not what it shall be, because in that time of angelic change, it will be no longer flesh and blood, but only body. . . . Therefore that which the Apostle says, 'Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God,' contradicts not the resurrection of the flesh; but declares what that will one day be which is now flesh and blood. Into which sort of nature *whosoever believes not that this flesh can be changed, he must be led step by step unto the faith.*"

We see by the last sentence of this quotation that S. Augustine was not here setting forth his individual opinion, or putting forth a private speculation, but that he regarded himself only as making a statement of the common Christian Faith. We find here too, most clearly stated, that which we set out to prove. That the common language of Christendom that speaks of man as having soul and body only, gives no countenance to the philosophical error of a Dichotomy, but when properly understood implies a real Trichotomy, because the soul of man is a *spiritual soul*. This point may be abundantly proved from the Christian literature of any age, as the above quotations prove it, for the age of the primitive Church.

That there have been great men who have held to other views cannot be denied, but yet even in their cases it can be shown that they have not consistently held the philosophical Dichotomy. A very noted instance of this is the case of Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*. He distinctly announces in his first chapter the platonic tenet that the soul is the living agent, and the body only an instrument that it uses, but the whole structure and validity of his argument proceed upon the implied assumption of a spiritual soul, or a true scriptural Trichotomy.

It must be confessed, however, that, in the present age, the whole subject has fallen into confusion, from the confounding of the Christian Dichotomy, shown to be a real Trichotomy, with the philosophical Dichotomy, which is a denial of the Christian doctrine. In recent times the great work of Delitzsch, on *Scriptural Psychology*, has turned the minds of thoughtful men to the subject anew. And so important a contribution is it that no man can be said to be really informed upon the subject who has not read it. It will be impossible to review that treatise here. Its results must be taken for granted, or only incidentally mentioned.

We have now arrived at the point in the discussion of the subject where Dr. Kedney's ideas may pass under review. In the first chapter of his book he gives a table of definitions; among them he defines the term soul as follows:

"I use the word '*soul*,' meaning that the soul is the true concrete. It is *spirit* as related to the realm of ideas, or of thought. It is *body* as related to the physical universe. The notion '*mind*' is reached by abstraction. It

is the soul regarded as knowing or thinking; as 'will' is the soul regarded as acting, concentrating itself for a purpose, governing, regulating, adapting its own movement."

"It belongs to the soul to *feel*, by virtue of its relation to either realm. It feels because of nature, and by virtue of the sensitive organism. It feels because of spirit, by virtue of the attraction and repulsion of ideas. It belongs to both realms, which meet in it. We know it only as the synthesis of the two, and not as pure nature, nor pure spirit. It is the subjective unity of the two, which may make itself objective in the idea, 'man,' of which it is the concrete manifestation, even though it be determined by its heredity and environment to an idiosyncrasy."

"The human soul is called a 'self' because in its consciousness it distinguishes and relates the two realms, or material therefrom; and all of its states are determinations from both sources, amid which it determines itself, and out of which it constructs its own world."

In the second part of the book there are two chapters devoted to the subject in the way of elucidation of the above, and of application of it to the Philosophy of *Æsthetics*. For the present purpose, however, the quotation just made shall suffice, as being in itself a sufficient presentation of the author's ideas. It becomes us now to enquire what contribution to the science of Psychology, if any, has Dr. Kedney made?

The position of the science as left by Delitzsch was that the *spirit* in man is the centre of the human person; that the soul is the product of the spirit, and the means whereby it is united to the body. In other words, that the soul is the clothing of the spirit, and the body the clothing of the soul. Or to reverse the conception—that the body enshrines the soul, and the soul enshrines the spirit. This may be regarded as in elucidation of Justin Martyr's statement, that "the body is the house of the soul, and the soul the house of the spirit." It may be taken also as being essentially at one with the speculation of Athenagoras that man is a compound being made up of parts, and last of all, it may be accepted as identical with the explanation of S. Augustine that "that which is chief in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are joined unto the body, is called the soul; finally, the body itself, since it is visible, is that in us which is last."

This patristic doctrine, essentially the same as that elucidated and defended by Delitzsch, offers no philosophy

of the conception of the human person. That is to say, while it teaches that man is compounded of three factors, it does not teach us how these factors are all essential. It teaches that they are essential, but does not explain how they are so. So far as any philosophical understanding of the subject is concerned, we are scarcely better off than before under the old philosophical Dichotomy of the Greek philosophy.

This deficiency Dr. Kedney attempts to supply. He would show us that man is not a simple aggregation of parts, but a true unit. In chemistry certain elements may be mechanically mixed, as oxygen, nitrogen and carbonic acid gases are in the atmospheric air. There is here no chemical combination, and there is no such thing as a molecule of air. In water, however, we have no longer a mechanical mixture, but a chemical combination of oxygen and hydrogen gases, forming true molecules of water, composed of the atoms of these two gases. In an analogous way, Dr. Kedney would show that there is a true union and not an unessential aggregation of the component parts of man. This he would show us by making—not the spirit—but the *soul* the true concrete. That the soul is itself body, as related to the material universe, and is itself spirit as related to the spiritual universe. Not that man *includes* body, soul and spirit, but that he *is* body, soul and spirit, and that he is so all these not as being three things, but as being *one*, that is to say, a *living soul*, which living soul is, according as it may be viewed, either Body or Spirit, or in their synthesis both Body and Spirit.

To elucidate this view perfectly, a separate and full treatise would be demanded, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Kedney may yet give us such a work. I shall not now attempt to defend this view, but as a working hypothesis, we may see how far it meets the demands of the case. I think it will be found, singularly well, to meet some of the requirements of Scriptural Exegesis. The use of the term *soul* in Holy Scripture is very perplexing, except on some such hypothesis. The Hebrew word *Nephesh*, and the Greek *Psyche*, have a manifold use, which this theory goes very far to explain. The various uses will be found set forth and illustrated in good Hebrew and Greek dictionaries, and even in Cruden's Concordance. I believe it can be shown that the meanings of these words may be classed under four heads. They stand for: 1st. The human person; 2nd. The sensual soul, or life of both man and beast;

3rd. The soul and spirit combined as the non-material, emotional, intellectual, moral and spiritual part of man's nature; 4th. The dead body of man, answering to the Greek *Nekros*. This classification is possible only after eliminating at the outset the mere etymological meaning *breath*, and the tropical use, as illustrated in Isaiah iii., 20, where it means *perfume*. And the grammatical use where it means simply *self*, as in Isaiah v., 14: "Hell hath enlarged *herself*."

It will not be necessary to cite many texts of Scripture to show that this classification is just. But to prove that it is exhaustive would require a laborious citation, which shall not be undertaken here. For the 1st sense one reference shall suffice, Gen. xlv., 27: "The sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two *souls*. All the *souls* of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt were three score and ten." For the 2nd sense, the animal life of both man and beast, Gen. i., 20: "And God said let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath *life*." Also, Gen. ii., 7: "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living *soul*." This last text, however, might be equally well cited in behalf of the first sense, or the third. In addition to this for the third sense, among many others may be cited as especially convincing Matt. x., 28: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the *soul*; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both *soul* and body in hell." For the 4th sense, meaning the dead body—*Nekros*, Numbers, vi., 6: "All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall come at no dead *body*." Also, Numbers ix., 6: "Then were certain men, who were defiled by the *dead body* of a man, that they could not keep the passover that day." If, to any mind, the texts here cited should appear insufficient to establish the classification laid down, then a very slight search, with the proper aids, of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures will certainly suffice.

If now, according to Dr. Kedney's theory, the soul is the synthesis of man's entire being, and thus man himself, then the scriptural and even modern use, whereby the soul stands for the man, is explained. If, in the second place, the soul may, in one way of looking at it, be regarded as the *nexus* between spirit and matter, as that whereby a human spirit and a human body are united in one person,

then the scriptural use which regards the soul as the *life* is abundantly explained. If, in the third place, the soul as related to the spiritual realm may be called *spirit*, then the scriptural and ordinary use, whereby the term soul is used to designate man's spirit, is fully justified. The popular phraseology whereby man is described as being made up of body and soul is therefore proper, because as S. Augustine says: "Often the soul is named together with the spirit." In sacred Scripture the Dichotomy of man is that of a *spiritual* soul and a material body, which is again made a real Trichotomy by S. Paul, when he says, in I. Thes. v., 23: "I pray God your whole *spirit*, and *soul* and *body* be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Last of all the 4th use, whereby the term soul stands for the dead body, is entirely explained. For if the term soul is rightly used to designate the body of a living man, how very natural that it should come to be used as a general term for the body, and thus to be used for the body of a dead as well as a living man. And still further, if the soul may stand for the man himself, then the transition is easy to speak of the lifeless body as the dead man, and if man be soul, then as the dead soul.

There is a corresponding use of the term *sheol* that is explained with equal felicity. Properly speaking, *sheol* is equivalent to the Greek *Hades*, and is the place of the spirits and souls of men between death and the judgment. But if the term soul may be used to describe the lifeless bodies of men, then the term *sheol* may be used to designate the *grave*, where the lifeless bodies of men are placed. A good text to illustrate both uses of the term *sheol* may be found in Ps. xlix., 14, 15, which in the authorized version is translated: "Like sheep they are laid in the *grave*; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning, and their beauty shall consume in the *grave*, from their dwelling. But God will redeem my soul from the power of the *grave*, for He shall receive me." The translation in the Psalter in some respects gives the sense even better: "They lie in the *hell* like sheep; death gnaweth upon them, and the righteous shall have dominion over them in the morning; their beauty shall consume in the *sepulchre* out of their dwelling. But God hath delivered my soul from the place of *hell*; for He shall receive me." Here the one Hebrew word *sheol* is translated by the three English words *grave*,

sepulchre and *hell*. All three of these uses are legitimate; and can be paralleled by many other passages in the Old Testament. The possibility of such use is explained by the fact that the term *soul* may be properly used to designate a lifeless body, and, consequently, that the term *sheol* may, with equal propriety, be used to designate the receptacle of a lifeless body. But none of this would be possible unless the term *soul* so stood for the whole man, as that whilst retaining its own proper significance, it might be also used to designate his spirit on the one hand and his body on the other.

As far as we have got, the theory of Dr. Kedney's book serves the purpose remarkably well. It is somewhat doubtful, however, if upon further examination it will give equal satisfaction. The Unitarians, for instance, in their zeal to maintain the unity of God, sacrifice his three-fold personality, whilst the Church, which has in all ages accepted the doctrine of the Trinity, has her long list of martyrs who have testified, to the death, in behalf of the Divine Unity. As it has happened about the personality of God, so may it also happen about the composition of man's nature. It may be possible so to set forth the unity of that nature as to confound the separate parts. And this is the criticism that I would make on the theory of this book. It seems not to take into account those frequent expressions of sacred Scripture which speak of man's nature as being made up of body, soul and spirit as essentially discrete parts. That spirit and soul may both leave the body, and both return to it, is positively certain. When the Prophet Elijah restored to life the son of the widow of Sarepta, he prayed, "Let this child's soul come into His inward parts again." The death of our Lord upon the cross is described by a verb, the radical idea of which is *spirit*. Thus we see that, according to the Scriptures, both soul and spirit are separated from the body in death. With equal precision do the Scriptures also distinguish between soul and spirit, as in Hebrews iv., 12: "The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." If, now, the soul and spirit may be divided asunder, then it remains to be shown how, according to this theory, the soul *is* the spirit, for how could the soul be divided from itself? So in like manner, if the soul *is*

the body, then one of two things follows—either the soul is not separated from the body in death, or that from which the soul is separated is not the body. But if it be not the body, why then give it Christian burial?

There is one passage in the book which may be permitted to speak for itself. It may be found in chapter ii., of Book ii:

“We know nothing of an animal soul without body, or of a body without soul. The dead corpse is no body, but mere material elements, subject now to the lower forms of force exclusively chemical and mechanical.”

But this again seems to be in direct contradiction to the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead as stated by S. Paul, who declares it to be the *standing up of corpses*. But the resurrection of the body is that in which we believe, and if the corpse is not the body, then why does it stand up at the last day? Nor is it satisfactory to say that although the corpse be not the body, yet when the soul re-enters it, it becomes the body again. For this again contradicts the language of the Prayer-Book, which makes our bodies to be *preserved* unto everlasting life. But that which has ceased to be, and is brought into existence again, is not *preserved*, but *restored*. Neither will it do to say that the corpse is the *seed* from which the new body is produced in the resurrection, but is not that body itself. This would be to misunderstand S. Paul, who hereby only explains the change that passes upon the body and sufficiently asserts the identity of it when he says: “It is sown in corruption; *it* is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor; *it* is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; *it* is raised in power; it is sown a natural body; *it* is raised a spiritual body.”

In justice to the author it is proper to say that his language is used in a philosophical and metaphysical sense, not intended to deny any article of the Christian Faith, but, on the contrary, rather to defend and to show the reasonableness of the faith. And also that the topic under discussion is but incidentally treated in the book, and that if he were to write at length on the subject he would doubtless bring strong arguments to justify the language that he uses.

The justification that I offer for myself in making this criticism is that the book is offered to the world and must be understood by what it contains, and that it is reasonable and just to point out difficulties in the way of its

theory as a contribution to the general discussion of the subject; always provided that this be done according to the principles and in the spirit of the Golden Rule.

The real solution of this question seems to me to lie in a direction not indicated by Dr. Kedney's work, but to which it, curiously enough, lends the strongest support. I could not desire, for the elucidation of my own views upon the subject, better help than this book furnishes. Dr. Kedney is right in affirming that "the soul is the true concrete." Neither the spirit nor the body, in Holy Scripture, stands for the man, but the soul always so stands. This, however, is not because the soul is in itself the most important, or in point of dignity the most exalted factor in man. The spirit is immeasurably the loftiest. But the soul, not in itself, but relatively, to man as *man*, is the only part of his nature that can stand for the whole. All animals have souls, but not having spirits they are not *living* souls, hence they are not persons and cannot properly be termed souls. They *have* souls, but they are not themselves souls. It is possible that all created spirits have bodies, but their bodies are spiritual and not natural; hence they cannot be termed souls, although they are persons, because the term soul as describing a living being is that whereby a natural body and a created spirit exist together in one person. There are, therefore, persons that are not souls, as God and the holy angels; and there are beings with souls that are not persons, as the beasts. Only human beings are both persons and souls. The soul is the man in a sense which cannot be predicated of the spirit. If man's body were spiritual, then the spirit would stand for and represent man; but man's body is natural, not spiritual, therefore the soul, whereby the natural body and the spirit co-exist in his personality, stands for and represents that personality.

This suggests another inquiry. S. Paul tells us that our bodies, which are sown natural bodies, shall be raised spiritual bodies. Does it therefore follow that man shall cease to be a soul? If the soul or *Psyche* is necessary now in order that the natural or *psychical* body shall co-exist with the spirit in man's personality, then when the body ceases to be natural or *psychical*, shall the functions of the soul or *Psyche* cease?

The explanation of this difficulty is found in the use which S. Paul makes of the terms *natural* and *spiritual*. He describes three kinds of men: *carnal* men, *natural* men,

and *spiritual* men. A *carnal* man is one who brings his soul and spirit into subjection to the flesh. The carnal man is a sensualist. Having brought his spirit into bondage to his flesh, he exhausts his flesh, and destroys himself in the vain attempt to gratify the immortal longings of the spirit, through and by means of the mortal flesh. The spirit was made for God, and can be satisfied only in Him. The attempt to satisfy it through the flesh, cannot be successful, and must be disastrous. The *natural* man is a grade higher in the scale of being than the carnal man. He is one who has subdued the flesh, not to the spirit, but to the soul or psyche, hence he is a natural or psychical man. But the natural man instead of subduing the soul to the spirit, subdues the spirit to the soul. He would gratify and satisfy his spirit with the aims and ends of this mortal life. Such men frequently pursue careers that have something of nobility in them. They feel that the dignity of manhood is incompatible with sensuality. They often crucify the flesh to their natural desires. In pursuit of scientific knowledge they endure hardness and undergo privation. Their purposes are often benevolent and far reaching. But their benevolence is comprehended within the limits of this natural life, and would have all men to be sated with its pride. Such men may be great conquerors, statesmen, philosophers, poets or inventors, but their spirits and their bodies are yoke-fellows in bondage to the pride, excellence and greatness of this natural life.

The *spiritual* man, the third in the classification of S. Paul, is the man who subdues the flesh to the *spirit*. In his case the pyramid stands not upon its apex, but upon its base. Lowest in dignity is the flesh, above that is the soul, and above that is the spirit. The spirit rules the soul, the soul rules the flesh. Therefore, mediately the spirit rules the flesh. But this dominion of the spirit is, in this life, always imperfect, for the reason that whilst the spirit is regenerated here, the body shall not be regenerated until the resurrection of the dead. When, therefore, in the resurrection, the body shall become perfectly subdued to the spirit, it shall no longer be a recalcitrant factor in the human person, but being subdued to the spirit, and fitted to the purposes of the spirit, it is called a spiritual body.

But the question still remains, What is the function of the soul in the spiritual man, when in the Resurrection of the Dead the body becomes fitted to the purposes of the

spirit, and becomes thus a spiritual body? The answer is, that it has the same function then as now. The spiritual ceases not to be a living soul. He is the same being only developed.

The difficulty may be further urged. If the angels who are spirits have spiritual bodies, but not souls, why should man when his body becomes spiritual, have a soul, seeing that the angels have none?

The explanation of this lies in the fact that man's nature is the bond that ties two worlds together. He is spirit and he is matter. The material universe furnishes the substance of his body, and that lies under the curse of sin. It groans and travails in pain together until now, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, when it shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. The regeneration of man's body is followed by the regeneration of the entire material universe. And man's body will bear the same relation to the material universe then that it bears now. The regenerated body and the purified spirit shall then subsist together in one person by means of the soul, and all the same as now.

A further question now arises: Is man's body regenerated because the material universe of which it is a part is regenerated, or does the regeneration of the material universe follow as a result from the regeneration of man's body, which is a part of it? This question is answered in favor of the latter alternative by S. Paul, who tells us that the creation shares in the freedom of the sons of God, and not the sons of God in the freedom of the creation.

It is fair to presume that the final destiny of the material universe, in the regeneration at the Resurrection of the Dead, was the purpose from the beginning. This result is attained through the regeneration of man's body. Therefore we infer that it was the purpose from the beginning that it should be attained in this way. If this be so, we are enabled to see a part of the Divine plan in the creation of man. Geology teaches us that disorder, suffering and death existed in this world long before the creation of man. The difficulty of reconciling this with S. Paul's statement that death came by the sin of Adam, has been felt. But there is nothing in the Apostle's argument to convey the idea that he meant anything more than the death that afflicts the human race. Man was immortal as long as he had access to the sacrament of the Tree of

Life. When he had sinned he was denied this sacrament, and he was cast from the Garden of Eden, where no death was, out into the earth, where death reigned, and became subject to it the same as other animals.

It is perhaps not unwarrantable to assume that if man had not sinned, but had "kept his first estate," he would have become immortal, and thus would have rescued that part of the material universe which composed his body from the curse of sin, and then as a result the remainder of that universe would have been lifted out of that curse, just as it shall be now in the Resurrection of the Dead. Some things look as if this might be true. Man was placed in the Garden to dress it and to keep it, but he was to *subdue* the earth. His dominion over that was one which he was to conquer unto himself. By keeping and dressing the Garden, and gradually extending its boundaries until it should have covered the earth, he would have subdued the earth, and its subjugation would have been its deliverance from the curse of sin.

The enmity of Satan is thus accounted for. He saw the fair beginning in the Garden, which was a provisionally redeemed and sacramental spot. He saw the encroachment of its boundaries on his domain, and with subtle craft, he discerned the end from this beginning. All his malice, aided by all his cunning, was brought into requisition to thwart this all-merciful scheme. The result we know. The first Adam failed. The earth, which before lay under the load of the angels' sin, was now freighted with that of man also; and death, which before had not touched the human race, now became universal.

The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Every human being must live again. And after the Blessed Lord shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God even the Father, this natural death shall never occur any more. Death shall never do its full work on any human being. Our Lord is the Saviour of *all* men, but especially of those that believe. He saves all men as far as they can be saved without their own consent. He *especially* saves those that believe, because they give their consent, and their salvation can therefore be completed. But He saves *all* men, in that he rescues all from the dominion of natural death, which comes upon all men without their consent. But inasmuch as spiritual and eternal death can come upon no man without his own consent, neither can any man be delivered from it without his own consent. But

his consent can no longer be given when the mediatorial Kingdom shall have been surrendered to the Father.

We see now a reason why there can be no repentance between death and the judgment. The human person is under the paralysis of natural death. The elements of his personality are separated, so that he cannot perform a moral act. If men could perform moral acts between death and the judgment, then would they be judged for those acts. But the Scripture teaches us that man shall be judged *only for the deeds done in the body*, and even that judgment cannot proceed until such time as man appears in the body. Man's probation must necessarily end when the paralysis of death comes upon his person.

The preaching of the Blessed Lord to the spirits in prison was not addressed to them as in a state of probation, and it called forth no moral act on their part, but increased the blessedness of those who had died in faith, however imperfect, and enhanced the wretchedness of those who had died in unbelief.

The sleep of death is not an unconscious state, but is the suspension of moral activity. The righteous dead enjoy God, but do not praise Him as the living do, neither do they know anything as do the living. But in so far as enjoyment of God is knowledge, and basking in His favor is praise, so far do the righteous dead both praise and know.

Every moral act affects our condition before God, and is taken account of in the judgment. But no acts are taken account of in the judgment save such as are done in the body; hence there are no moral acts done except in the body.

The state of natural death is not the full penalty of sin, because it is not death in the full sense. Our Lord taught the Sadducees that God is not the God of the dead but of the living, and that all the dead live unto God. Therefore natural death is not complete and entire death, because in a sense known to God, all the dead *are* living, and in a sense known and understood of men, they all *shall* live again. Man's personality, therefore, in death is not destroyed, it is only functionally deranged, and shall be restored to full activity again. Therefore his body, under the dissolution of its material structure is not destroyed, but is *preserved*, and in the company of the material universe of which it forms a part, is awaiting its change; when it shall be delivered from its bondage and enter into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

I hope to be pardoned for having wandered from the proper province of the reviewer. My apology must be found in the fact that the book which has been in part reviewed has been found so wonderfully suggestive. It has taken proper ground in a multitude of ways. It is always original, and is throughout profound. It is possible that when the author comes to elucidate his theory the objections which have been urged in this review may all be satisfactorily met, and yet, possibly, not so met as to render entirely useless what has here been said.

E. S. WILSON.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

III.

LOUKARIS' death did not end the struggle between the reform and the conservative parties. Some months after Cyrillus Loukaris' death, Kontaris assembled a synod at Constantinople for the purpose of anathematizing his predecessor.* One notes with surprise among the signatures of these violent decrees dictated by a Patriarch devoted to Rome, that of Mitrophanes Kritopoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria, disciple of Loukaris, who had had him instructed in England, and who during the lifetime of his protector published a confession of faith regarded by Rome as favorable to the ideas of the Reformers. Such a manner of acting sheds a melancholy light upon the character of the Greek prelates of that epoch. Cyrillus II. (Kontaris), who gave them the example of greed and of servility, did not long enjoy the fruits of his intrigues. One year after his elevation to the throne he was exiled and strangled. Parthénios I., surnamed the Old, who succeeded him, did not manifest the same hostile spirit to the memory of Loukaris, although he believed it to be his duty to take every means to give an extraordinary *éclat* to the condemnation of his opinions. Moldavia, neighbor

* All the decrees of this Council end with the word *ἀνάθεμα*.

at once of Russia, of Poland and of Hungary, seemed to be a country well fitted to reunite the prelates belonging to the various Orthodox States. Also Parthénios, after having condemned Cyrillus' confession in a synod (1642), sent this condemnation to the synod of Jassy, * where it was signed by Varlaam, Metropolitan of Kief, a celebrated theologian of the Russian Church, by Arsenius, Leopold, Bishop of Ludow and of Kaminiack in Podolia, and by other dignitaries of the Orthodox Church. At the same time Parthénios, who was not, like Kontaris, an agent of the Jesuits, guarded carefully the person of his predecessor, "who was neither heterodox nor worthy of censure, and whose sole fault was not to have protested against the matters" attributed to him, although knowing the troubles they had excited in Poland and in Russia.

The Synod of Jerusalem, held at Bethlehem in 1672, is still more respectful to the illustrious Pontiff, the victim of patriotic zeal for his country's † regeneration. The Prelates seem to be more wily than conscientious in the measures which they took to make Cyrillus appear an orthodox like themselves. In their judgment Cyrillus' confession was an "untenable invention" of the heretics of Germany "who wished not to be convicted by all the Christians of Europe and condemned as public impostors by those in the East." ‡ The Pontiff whom Kontaris had covered with anathemas in the synod of 1638, is to the Fathers of Jerusalem a Bishop "whose piety was acknowledged by more than a thousand eye-witnesses of it" and who was "elected by the vote of the entire Clergy of Constantinople, who had each given a hearty consent." ¶ Thus the memory of Loukaris is officially reinstated by an assembly whose decisions are called "sovereign," an assembly named a solemn reunion of the Eastern Church, and compared to the synods of the first centuries of Christianity. ¶ But if the "seventy-one Patriarchs, Bishops or Dignitaries"

* These decretals are found in J. Aymon, *Mon.*, etc., 335-363.

† A learned contemporaneous Greek writer who does not agree with Loukaris' views, renders full justice to his unquestionable patriotism. "We must admit that his errors were the illusions of a noble heart, and that though he may have been deceived as to the way, he believed himself to be conducting us to regeneration and to liberty." Renieris, *Cyrille Lucari ou l'Eglise grecque pendant la guerre de trente ans*, 27.

‡ Private letter to all the Orthodox Bishops of the Council of Jerusalem, ch. I.

¶ Council of Jerusalem, ch. I.

¶ Renieris, *Cyrille Lucari*, 31.

assembled "under the presidency of the illustrious Dositheos," Patriarch of Jerusalem, showed so little perspicacity or good faith in the appreciation of Loukaris' work, can confidence be placed in their enlightenment in matters of theology, remembering all the Patriarch said of their profound ignorance in his correspondence with the West; * does their independence inspire much more respect when it is remembered that their synod was "a manifestation caused by the Ambassador of Louis XIV., that Prince who was at the same time persecutor and dissolute? If it be right to reproach Loukaris for not having "died for the Greek opinions," can they be considered as warm partisans of those ideas who acted, after receiving "the encouragements of M. de Nointel," necessarily in conformity with the interests of that Catholic propaganda which Loukaris names in one of his letters "propaganda of infidelity?" Besides, why exaggerate the importance of the synods? At every epoch have they not been observed obeying exterior influences; to-day condemning the Arians and to-morrow declaring them to be Orthodox, pronouncing sometimes in favor of the iconoclasts and again the defenders of images? In the eyes of impartial history neither Loukaris nor his adversaries were the true representatives of ancient Christianity. Doubtless this Christianity had never taught that "God predestined His † elect to glory, irrespective of their works," or that "free-will being dead in the unregenerate, all that they do is sin." ‡ But, on the other hand, how find in the old Eastern Church the bread transubstantiated into the Body§ of Jesus Christ? ¶ These formulas, these complicated theories are as foreign to the ancient doctrine of the East as the infallibility of the Pope or the immaculate conception of Mary. Faith is doubtless at liberty to admit them, but history does not

* Aymon, *Mon. auth.*, p. 201. Letters of the Patriarch Lucar.

† Confession of Cyrillus, ch. iii.

‡ Confession, ch. xiv.

§ It is well known that the Orientals differ in their explanations. If some attach to it a literal meaning, others are far from so doing. An ancient Doctor of the East, Theodoret, gives to the sign the name of His body (τῷ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ συμβόλου δέδειχεν ὄνομα, τῷ καὶ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος). Maximus, the commentator of Dionysius the Areopagite, advocates strongly the symbolic meaning when he says : Σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖα. These things are signs, not realities.

¶ Decret, 17.

allow them to be attributed to an epoch when beliefs were more spontaneous than systematic.

Loukaris had proposed to himself two things, an interpretation of dogma and a revival of learning. A single man, although he might be superior to Loukaris, would be unable to accomplish such a task. Each generation has its rôle in history. If the Greeks had not aroused in the West the glorious movement of the Renaissance, Zwingli and Luther might have failed as did Wycliffe, or have been burned as was John Huss. The author of the *Ver rongeur*,* the famous Abbé Gaume, an ardent defender of ultramontane principles, well understood that the Reformation was but one of the results of the fruitful Renaissance, which originated in the East. The reformers of the XVIII century, although not having the vast projects of the Patriarch martyr in view, saw better than he the necessity of attacking ignorance. The century of Montesquieu and of J. J. Rousseau was in the East, as in the West, a century of progress and of reforms. In France as in Greece, the men of letters prepared the way for the political regeneration of 1789 and of 1821. But the movement which among the French became hostile to their Church, whose Pontiff—a foreigner—inspired them with a strong antipathy, was directed among the Greeks by the liberal thinkers, and had for its leaders the most distinguished of a Clergy † that had remained very popular, owing to the patriotism with which they were animated. The promoters of this reform which had so many grand results, were the Patriarch Samuel and two prelates, born in the Ionian Isles, at Corfu, Eugene Voulgaris and Nicephorus Theotoky, whose memories remain precious to the Greeks.

Samuel I., surnamed “the very celebrated,” born in the city of Constantine, after having distinguished himself in the Greek schools of that city and showing as much natural talent as application, entered the Ministry, and became Archbishop of Derkos. His vast erudition, the admirable clearness of his discourses, his skill in business,

* This graceful name is given in the spirit of the Renaissance. In this kind of polemics, very much à la mode in our days, invective and anathema take the place of reason.

† The important work by M. A. Pappadopoulos-Vrétois, Athens, 1854-57, proves that the Clergy kept abreast of the literary movement of this epoch. Two hundred and thirty-two ecclesiastical works appeared at that time.

his energy of character, fastened all eyes upon him, and in very difficult circumstances, the synod deemed it necessary to call him to the Patriarchal Throne (1764). The Mahometan propaganda had at this time some real successes; for the progress of the Russians had awakened among the Ottomans the fanaticism of their ancestors and they neglected no means of persuading the people to abjure the Christian Faith. Samuel, while making considerable concessions to the Laic element, believed the best means of resisting Islamism was to awaken among the Greeks an ardor for science, which had been their glory and which was irreconcilable with the Mussulman system. Although the Turks were very hostile to the founding of public schools controlled by Christians, he was not afraid to engage in this excellent work and to brave the Pasha's anger. Knowing that example has more force than words, he himself, notwithstanding his many pursuits, began to comment upon the ancients, upon the harangues of Demosthenes and Plato's Dialogues, while writing in modern Greek, Works and Sermons which could by their purity of style serve as a model for his contemporaries. The West is in error in holding that the pulpit remained mute after the taking of Constantinople. The adherents of the Roman Church who rather like to repeat this assertion, cannot be ignorant that Catholic censure* has suppressed a mass of sermons because they contained discussions "dictated by the schismatic spirit." In this way have perished the eloquent works of several distinguished preachers, such as Damodos, Elie Miniatis, the Patriarch Samuel, Notaras, and Meletios of Janina. Meletios, orator, philosopher, astronomer and physician, made a great impression upon the Greek mind by publishing a comparative geography—a geographical archæology of Greece. This work acquired a European reputation, and while giving to a country which had held so great a place in the world, the picture of her past splendor, in contrast with her present misery, it increased the hatred which foreign domination was exciting in all hearts.

The zeal of Samuel I. for national literature was neither narrow nor exclusive. It was he who originated the idea of translating the most celebrated works of the West. Guided by his counsel, Jean-Nicholas Karadzas published a translation of the "*Essai sur les mœurs*," and the "*Siècle*

* The Greeks had their printing done at Venice at this time.

de Louis XIV." by Voltaire.* Alexander Mavrocordatos, Domnu of Moldavia, who understood the bearing of this innovation, had a *Dictionnaire grec-français-italien* printed, which was of very great service in facilitating the study of the master-pieces of France and Italy to the Greeks. The choice of the works translated by a friend of the Patriarch in no way proves that fanaticism was the characteristic of the Greek Clergy. This was not an isolated fact. A member of the Clergy, who signalized himself by his talents in the Wallachian schools and later by his intrepidity in the Greek insurrection, † Gregory Konstandas, did he not translate the "*Éléments d'Histoire générale*, by Millot, which the Popes have forbidden to be read. ‡ Another ecclesiastic, his friend, Daniel Philippidis, born at the foot of Mount Pelion, and Professor in Wallachia, translated a work equally proscribed by Rome, *La Logique de Condillac*, || a philosopher for whom M. Taine has made so adroit an apology, ¶ and popularized in Greece Brissot's *Physique*, Fourcroy's *Chemistry* and Lalande's *Astronomy*. But it is above all to Nicephorus Theotoky that must be attributed the scientific movement of the Greek Schools, to which the Patriarch Samuel showed himself so little disposed.** After having made a voyage into the West to study science, Nicephorus came to Constantinople, where the Patriarch Samuel, far from fearing the natural independence of cultivated minds, was happy to have all those enter the ranks of the Clergy who were interested in the renaissance of study. But the stern prelate, less indulgent than Bossuet and Bourdaloue, would not tolerate the eulogies which the pulpit pronounced upon the great of the world. †† The already renowned orator, Theotoky, was charged with pronouncing the funeral oration of the mother of the Domnu of Moldavia, Gregory III. Ghika. The Patriarch and Holy Synod were present at this discourse.

* André Pappadopoulos—*Vr̃stos*, 273-4.—M. Pappadopoulos says he does not know whether these works have been printed or not.

† A. Papp. *Vr̃stos*. *Neo-ελληνική φιλολογία*, Μέρος Β. 290, I. Κωνσταντίας.

‡ Bouillet, *Dict. univers. d'histoire, art. Millot*.

|| Bouillet, art. Condillac.

¶ M. Taine, *Les philosophes français du XIX. siècle*.

** In the *Albanesi in Rumenia, Storis dei principi Ghika*—Gregorio III. I have shown the causes for the hostility of the Prelate litterateur against positive science.

†† Bungener, *Trois sermons sous Louis XV.*

Theotoky, who owed much to Prince Ghika, who had energetically protected him against his enemies, used hyperbole that was tolerated by the people; but when he descended from the pulpit and approached the Patriarch to kiss his hand, as was the custom, the austere Prelate said to him rudely: "The Church needs preachers, not flatterers." Theotoky, wounded by this public affront, left Constantinople and withdrew to Jassy, where he was placed at the head of the Dean's school. He afterward went to Leipzig, where he published the greater part of his works. The principal ones are upon Geography, a Treatise on Physics and a course upon Mathematics, which were adopted in all the Greek schools. Later, the Holy Synod of Russia called him to the Archbishopric of Kherson, from whence he was transferred to that of Astrachan. After having brought into the Orthodox Church 5,000 *raskolniki* by his gentleness and his powerful speech, he renounced the honors which he received from Catharine the Great, and withdrew to Moscow, to devote himself entirely to his scientific researches.*

While Theotoky was in Saxony he met one of his compatriots, older than he by twenty years, who became his intimate friend and whose life bore some very singular analogies to his own. Nevertheless, Eugene of Corfu, surnamed Voulgaris, was very superior to Theotoky in energy of character and in that generous ardor which laughs at all obstacles. "He had," said a fine Greek writer, "that perseverance and that confidence which are peculiar to great reformers." But reform met with many obstacles of all kinds in the spirit of routine in the convents. The disposition of the Eastern monks is not to annoy, betray and rule; but they oppose any new ideas by the great force of inertia. Without asking if it was possible to reconcile the doctrines of the philosophy of Stagira with the mystic theories, they were not less attached than the convents of the West to the materialistic sensualism of Aristotle, accepted by long tradition.† The name of

* Several writers have written the biography of Theotoky. I will only mention A. Papp. *Vratos*, and Stourdza, and the *Nouvelle Pandore*, November, 1853. This article is accompanied by a portrait of Theotoky. In the *Mentor* of Smyrna the biographer gives some very interesting details upon his relations with Gregory III. Ghika.

† The very curious works of P. André in the *Bibliothèque Charpentier*. There are found here a thousand proofs of the persecutions the Jesuits made him suffer for having attacked Aristotle, whom the middle ages had in some degree canonized.

Mallbranche scandalized the *religieux* of Saint Basil, quite inclined besides to believe like Pascal that no philosophy was "worth a quarter of an hour's trouble," as it did the Jesuits. Grammar, a sterile rhetoric, in a word purely intellectual gymnastics usurped the place of history, philosophy and the sciences. Voulgaris was so cautious that he succeeded in keeping eight years the chair of philosophy and belles-lettres at Mount Athos, a celebrated monastic republic, which had then an importance it has not entirely regained since the emancipation of Greece. Near the convent of Vatopédi is still visible on "the holy mountain" the tower of "false sciences," as the Caloyers gloomily called it. This tower, which was constructed by a great savant, was some day to be united to "the Academy of Mount Athos." Distinguishing carefully between theology and philosophy, Voulgaris, who was the founder of this Academy, taught his disciples that while theology has faith for its basis, philosophy rests upon free investigation. This distinction, which did not preserve Descartes from the censure of Rome, ended by appearing suspicious in the "workshop of the virtues." The multitude of students who hastened to the indefatigable Professor, probably disturbed the repose of the *skiti* (ascetics) and the ecstasy of the very blessed *Hysychastes* (absorbed in God). Voulgaris occupied himself more in study than in holy meditation. Not satisfied with training scholars, which later ruined scholasticism in the Greek schools, he composed a Logic and Physics, which he had printed in Germany. Proficient in all, he was engaged at the same time with literature, theology, philosophy, mathematics and natural sciences. But all the innovations which he introduced were not better received at Mount Athos than at Janina. Wearied with these monastic persecutions, he listened to the offers of Catharine II. After having accepted the Archbishopric of Kherson, he gave up his episcopal functions to establish himself at St. Petersburg, where he died in 1856, wholly occupied with his scientific and literary labors.*

Benjamin of Lesbos, founder of the celebrated school

* The biography of Voulgaris, likethat of Theotoky, was by A. Stourdza and by the author *Ιστορικαὶ διασφαῖσεις ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως Ζακυνθίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σλαβώνιος καὶ Χερσώνος*. Zante, 1854—the *Νεὰ Πανδώρα*, 1853, contained Voulgaris' portrait.

of Cydonia (Asia-Minor), must be counted among those who contributed most to substitute a more fruitful teaching for the scholastic system. Like Voulgaris, he had to struggle against the opposition to this routine which so aroused the indignation of the learned P. André. "Jesus Christ," said the latter ingeniously to the Jesuits, his confrères, "has said 'I am the truth'; but he never said that he was the routine."* Before Benjamin had awakened in Cydonia the spirit of investigation, the Cydonians had lived as slaves to the traditions of the middle ages. Their city, enriched by commerce and whose situation was charming, for the view extended over a multitude of isles, always green, named the "perfumed isles," finally conceived the necessity of combining knowledge with material well-being. Benjamin, who had returned from Italy and had in vain essayed to found a school in Mitylene, his native place, was called to Cydonia by the *primates* who governed the city. Thanks to the zeal of the demagogue Iconomos, the religious savant had soon at his disposition a vast college, which was resorted to from all parts of Greece.† Benjamin taught there in peace fifteen years. Then, fatigued by the ennui, which overwhelmed him, he accepted from the Domnu John II. Karadja, the chair of philosophy in the college of Bucharest. But the Metropolitan and Wallachian Bishops, who always considered him too independent, obtained his expulsion. Benjamin left without regret the borders of the Danube. A member of the Greek Confederation, he knew that the day to devote himself to the defense of his country was not distant. After having displayed an admirable energy in the national insurrection, and having preached war against the Turks with indefatigable ardor, he died of typhus fever at Nauplia.‡ These were the members of the Clergy, such as Benjamin of Lesbos, Neophyte Vamvas, Iconomos, Pharmakidis, etc., who formed the generation destined to accomplish the Greek revolution of 1821. Vamvas|| and Iconomos lived until our day and enjoyed their work. Constantine Iconomos, poet, orator, philosopher, philologist, and exegetist, Iconomos who had taken part in the insurrectional movement attempted in

* His works published by M. Marma.—Paris, Charpentier.

† Doctor George Typaldos, an old scholar of the college of Cydonia, published a pamphlet on this establishment.

‡ A. Papp. *Vrétos*, 245.

|| A. Papp. *Vrétos*, 243, Βάμβας.

Thessaly (1806) by Vlachavas, * became director of the gymnasium of Smyrna, and instructed during ten years a part of the men who restored the Greek nationality.† He was not so distinguished in the sphere of thought as in that of erudition. To justify this assertion it suffices to give a hasty glance at his *Histoire de la fondation de la grande grotte* (Mégaspiléon). In giving a careful analysis of this work, ‡ I have shown how far Iconomos is inferior to Hippocratus as a philosopher and an observer. If the portrait which was in the apartment I occupied at Mégaspiléon is exact, the physiognomy of the Thessalian theologian was in agreement with his ideas. His features were beautiful, but the expression not free from an imperious hardness. A long white beard gave him the air of a Pontiff of the ancient Orient. His head-dress was the Kamilakhi (bonnet of a monk) upon which shone a Greek cross. He wore upon his neck a Russian decoration and the cross of the *Sotir* (Savior). Much more independent of superannuated traditions than the historian of the Mégaspiléon, the learned Archimandrite Theoclitus Pharmakidis rendered no less service to the national cause. He was one of the principal collaborators of the *Λογος Ερμης* the political influence of which was so considerable, and when the revolution triumphed it was to him the provisory government assigned the publication at Nauplia of the official newspaper, the *Journal général de la Grèce*. These two personages later on embodied in free Greece two opposite theological tendencies.

The Association so instructed the Greeks as to render possible their uprising. No one will question the great part the Clergy‡ had in the founding and development of the friendly Confederation. The Archimandrite Dikeos, better known by the name of Papa-Phlekas, was one of its three founders. The Priest George became its most zealous advocate in Constantinople. Armed with two cutlasses, which he concealed under his fustian mantle, he traversed the bazaars, the public houses, all the by-places of the city of the Cæsars, without fear of the plague which was then raging, and succeeded in two

* I have spoken of Vlachavas in the *Poésie grecque dans les Iles-Ioniennes*.

† His biography in the eighty-seventh volume of the *Spectateur de l'Orient*, Athens, 1857, and A. Papp. *Vrétos*, 313.

‡ *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée, Part II, B. I.*

§ The Monk Samuel had given at Souli an admirable example of patriotism to the Greek Clergy.

months in recruiting 15,000 associates. "A multitude of Archbishops"* entered into the Confederacy. The most successful of these Prelates was Ghermanos, Archbishop of Patros, an eloquent orator and adroit politician. During the early part of March, 1821, he united at Kalavrita, city of ancient Achaia, a certain number of Primates (Greek functionaries) of the Peloponnesus, and induced them to rise against the Turks, and had the glory of planting the standards of liberty upon the same rocks where had been formed the famous Achaian league. No sooner had some hundreds of volunteers from Mount Cyllene ranged themselves under his banner than Ghermanos addressed the following proclamation to the Consuls of the European powers: "The Greeks, delivered over to the ever increasing oppression of the Ottomans, have unanimously resolved to conquer or die. We have revolted to secure our rights; we are sure that people and kings will recognize the justice of our cause, and will give us their support, recalling the services rendered to humanity by our ancestors; therefore we beseech you to gain for us the kindness and protection of your august sovereigns." I have found at Haghia-Lavra, (Monarchy of Achaia) the monastery from whence was given the signal of the famous national insurrection, many souvenirs of the celebrated Archbishop. A picture represents him holding in one hand a red silk mantle with a green border, the colors of martyrdom and of hope. The device *Elefteria i Thanatos* (Liberty or Death) has the same meaning as the colors of the banner. Since then I have been in correspondence with a prelate who, as a deacon, was then upon the side of Ghermanos. I mean the last Metropolitan of Athens, Theophilus, president of the Holy Synod, a prelate of ardent patriotism, and holding evangelic views, whose earthly possessions, when dying, were only a few drachms.

At the first cry of liberty, another Prelate, the Confederate Procopus, Bishop of Kalavrita, seized a torch, saying to the peasants of Elis, "Let us cease to live with our tyrants among the tombs, like the timid doves who make their nests in the midst of the cemeteries." Then he burns the hamlets and the harvests, and forces an entire population to follow him with his flock into the mountains. Gregory, Bishop of Methone (Modon), created the revolt in Messena. Diakos, des-

* These are A. Soutzos' expressions, *Hist. de la révol. grecque*, p. 23.

There is a martyr who had left the functions of death to the immortal immortals of Odysseus, was the first to inspire courage in Livadia * in favor of the insurrection. He engaged in an unequal combat with Omer-Vryonis, the first who brought before the Pasha. "Abjure thy religion," said the Pasha Omer to him, "or I will make thee taste of the sword." Command that the spit be brought, which Omer said, and he submitted to this atrocious punishment with an unflinching courage. Such a hero was worthy to excite the enthusiasm of the priests. Reuben, Bishop of Leucadia, took him as the subject of his songs.

While the various Patriarchs were arousing the people, a secret agitation was threatening the life of the bishops who had remained under the yoke of the Turks. The Greek Church is the group of the numberless martyrs which are the glory of the country's cause. Dionysius Kalliarkis, Archbishop of Thessalonica was one of the first victims of the Ottoman rule. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, who had never been called upon at Mount Athos, was arrested March 29, April 10, 1821, going from church, and was conducted to the Palace, where he was ordered to give the names of the leaders of the insurrection, and then become an apostate. "The Patriarch of the Christians will be a Christian," he replied. "Dragged to the door of the palace he was insulted & vilely maltreated" for having corrupted the slaves of the Sultan, who is the refuge of the world, and incited the infidel "enemies to rebellion." His death was followed by that of the Archbishops Proghios, Dorotheus and Eugenius and eighty Bishops or Exarchs. The body of Gregory, drawn through the streets and cast into the sea, was taken to Odessa, where the Emperor, Alexander I., himself ordered to be given him a magnificent funeral, and where Iconomos pronounced his funeral oration, which is one of the most beautiful discourses of this eloquent ecclesiastic. During his Patriarchate, Gregory had rendered the nation great services. He had re-established Greek printing, destroyed under Cyrillus Loukaris, had enriched the Patriarchal library, had labored

* Name given to Greece, properly, because of the important role assigned the Beotian City of Livadia by the Turks.

† *Ἀθανάσιος Διάκος* "πὸ Ἀριστοτέλους Βαλαωρίτου—Athens, 1867.

for the amelioration of the schools and for the promoting of instruction in the national language.*

The indignation which this butchery excited through civilized Europe must have disgusted Mahomed II. with such executions. At all events, he did nothing more. Kioutzouk-Mehemet, governor of Cyprus, had the Archbishop and the three Bishops of the island beheaded. The Captita-Pasha, Kara-Ali, inflicted horrible tortures upon the Priests of Chios who fell into his hands, when he transformed that flourishing island into a sterile rock. But everywhere, the courage of the Greek Clergy wearied the executioners, everywhere it gave the example of devotion to the national cause. The name of the Bishop of Rogas, Joseph, was famous, even compared with those of the most heroic defenders of Missolonghi. When all hope of defending the place was gone, the military and civil leaders resolved to cross the enemies' camp, sword in hand. But in this supreme moment they wished to consult Joseph and their wives. The Pontiff was first called into counsel: "Monaris is to die," he said, "sword in hand." Then the women were called: "Which do you prefer, death or slavery?" "Death! death!" they cried, with one voice. The Greeks asked for the Eucharist from the Bishop. "Your communion," said Joseph to them, "is the blood of your enemies." Resolved himself to perish with the wounded and the sick, the generous Bishop saw all leave the city, while declaring he would never abandon the infirm members of Jesus Christ. The brave men who went to the combat were compelled to return, and found him at his post, like those proud Roman senators who awaited the enemy on their curule chairs. The remnant of the immortal garrison of Missolonghi resolved to blow it up with their wives, their children and their conquerors. The Bishop, stationed in a tower from whence he commanded this sublime scene, exhorted the martyr heroes of the Cross. He perished while reciting words to the dying.

It does not seem difficult to explain the popularity the Greek Clergy preserved in the Greek Kingdom. It did so much for the country, that Greece will never forget its services. Nevertheless, Greece understood that gratitude

* *Vie du saint martyr Grégoire, Patriarche de Constantinople*, Athens, 1853. A nephew of the Patriarch has since collected in a beautiful publication all that can interest the numerous admirers of Gregory V. Eugenius I. succeeded him.

could be reconciled with the i
The condition of the regular
modified. The number of Monas
the Kingdom of Greece. But as
the war of independence the sc
tical learning, there is now propo
rior theological instruction. Thi
chiefly given at the University c
is, as in Germany, a Faculty of Tl
Faculties of Law, Medicine and
The literary hebraic course belong
sufficiently proves that there is
mense development that biblic
Germany. The Rizaris school i
the Kingdom. It owes its name
having led a life of privation, lef
an institution which he deemed
ment of ecclesiastical studies.
influence which sufficient instruc
staff assures to the Clergy the i
influence. The priests and the r
increased some years before r
5,236,* work under the orders
the various functions assigned

The Bishops alone receive a
a stipend which would seem ab
of the West. The Metropolit
drachms † a year, while His H
bishop of Paris ‡ accumulated
enormous stipends of archbish
(they belong to him ordinarily),
The bishops receive 4,000 drac
in "the palace" of a Western bi

Save some members of the se
missionaries and the professors
ter, some say, || do not deserve th
is only in her infancy), the Pries

* Official statistics published in 1852

† The drachm is worth about 18 cen...

‡ These were the titles employed by the *Moniteur universel* in those democratic times.

|| This music has found a defender in the learned Librarian of the Marciana, Prof. Veloudo. Πρὸς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους Ἑλληνας Περί τῆς καθήμ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς. Published by the Archimandrite Eugene Pezikary (Venice, 1852).

from the State. The Catholic travellers who accuse them of avidity are wrong in forgetting the Gospel maxim, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"* This humble condition is quite in conformity with the Greek ideas, who, whenever the conversation turns upon this subject, make the remark that when the Clergy ceases to depend upon the benevolence of the people, it becomes insolent, haughty and intolerant. They add that among them the State is not, as in the rest of the South, perpetually troubled by the intrigues of ignorant plebs, hired by the meddling priests.

It was to be expected that such a state of affairs should decide them to keep the Clergy under close surveillance; since this Clergy, possessing lands more or less extensive, has the means of action which the secular Clergy lack, and their celibacy would give them, in need, the greater part of the time for purposes of intrigue. Also a large part of the monasteries have been closed and their estates joined to the property of the State. Since the promulgation of the Constitution (1843), the ecclesiastical coffer having been suppressed, these effects are administered by the minister of finance. In the monasteries which have been preserved the rule is subject to more or less important modifications. At the Taxiarch,† for example, I have observed that the old monkish communism has been greatly softened. The monks never eat together except upon one day; they have each their own garden, which they cultivate themselves. The government is far from being supreme, the *igoumenos* (Superior) having a counsel of four *religieux*. Again, the *igoumenos* is exalted to the position of the Metropolitan of Kalavryta and of the Holy Greek Synod. The Bishop must know the misdemeanors of the monks, who are punished by fasting, confinement even in the convent or in a chapel, or by expulsion. As to the exile to the monastery of Mount-Sinai,‡ which is used as the house of confinement in the Greek convents, this grave penalty can only be inflicted by the Holy Synod.

The régime is less severe than formerly, since the use of

* S. Luke, VII, 3.

† The 8-20 of November, the Greek Church celebrates the *Σύναξις τῶν ταξιάρχων*. It is the feast of S. Michael ἀρχιστράτης and other spiritual powers.

‡ Upon Mount-Sinai. See chap. VI of the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition.

could be reconciled with the interests of the country. The condition of the regular Clergy has been greatly modified. The number of Monasteries has been reduced in the Kingdom of Greece. But as the convents were before the war of independence the sole asylum for ecclesiastical learning, there is now proposed the creation of superior theological instruction. This instruction is at present chiefly given at the University of Athens, in which there is, as in Germany, a Faculty of Theology, besides the three Faculties of Law, Medicine and of Letters and Science. The literary hebraic course belongs to this last, a fact which sufficiently proves that there is no conception of the immense development that biblical exegesis has made in Germany. The Rizaris school is the central seminary of the Kingdom. It owes its name to its founder who, after having led a life of privation, left an enormous fortune to an institution which he deemed necessary to the development of ecclesiastical studies. Without counting the influence which sufficient instruction affords, a numerous staff assures to the Clergy the means of maintaining this influence. The priests and the monks, whose number was increased some years before my travels in Greece to 5,236,* work under the orders of the High Clergy to fill the various functions assigned them by the Hierarchy.

The Bishops alone receive a stipend from the State, a stipend which would seem absurd to the rich prelates of the West. The Metropolitan of Athens has 6,000 drachms† a year, while His Highness the Lord Archbishop of Paris‡ accumulated under Napoleon III. the enormous stipends of archbishop, senator and cardinal (they belong to him ordinarily), of the great almoner, etc. The bishops receive 4,000 drachms, the wages of a cook in "the palace" of a Western bishop.

Save some members of the secular Clergy, who, like the missionaries and the professors of sacred music (these latter, some say, ‖ do not deserve their money, for sacred music is only in her infancy), the Priests have nothing to expect

* Official statistics published in 1853.

† The drachm is worth about 18 cents.

‡ These were the titles employed by the *Moniteur universel* in those democratic times.

‖ This music has found a defender in the learned Librarian of the *Marciana*, Prof. Veloudo. Πρὸς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους Ἑλληνας Περί τῆς καθημῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς. Published by the Archimandrite Eugene Perdikary (Venice, 1852).

from the State. The Catholic travellers who accuse them of avidity are wrong in forgetting the Gospel maxim, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"* This humble condition is quite in conformity with the Greek ideas, who, whenever the conversation turns upon this subject, make the remark that when the Clergy ceases to depend upon the benevolence of the people, it becomes insolent, haughty and intolerant. They add that among them the State is not, as in the rest of the South, perpetually troubled by the intrigues of ignorant plebs, hired by the meddling priests.

It was to be expected that such a state of affairs should decide them to keep the Clergy under close surveillance; since this Clergy, possessing lands more or less extensive, has the means of action which the secular Clergy lack, and their celibacy would give them, in need, the greater part of the time for purposes of intrigue. Also a large part of the monasteries have been closed and their estates joined to the property of the State. Since the promulgation of the Constitution (1843), the ecclesiastical coffer having been suppressed, these effects are administered by the minister of finance. In the monasteries which have been preserved the rule is subject to more or less important modifications. At the Taxiarch,† for example, I have observed that the old monkish communism has been greatly softened. The monks never eat together except upon one day; they have each their own garden, which they cultivate themselves. The government is far from being supreme, the *igoumenos* (Superior) having a counsel of four *religieux*. Again, the *igoumenos* is exalted to the position of the Metropolitan of Kalavryta and of the Holy Greek Synod. The Bishop must know the misdemeanors of the monks, who are punished by fasting, confinement even in the convent or in a chapel, or by expulsion. As to the exile to the monastery of Mount-Sinai,‡ which is used as the house of confinement in the Greek convents, this grave penalty can only be inflicted by the Holy Synod.

The régime is less severe than formerly, since the use of

*S. Luke, VII, 3.

† The 8-20 of November, the Greek Church celebrates the *Σύναξις τῶν ταξιάρχων*. It is the feast of S. Michael ἀρχιεργάτης and other spiritual powers.

‡ Upon Mount-Sinai. See chap. VI of the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition.

meat is permitted Saturdays, Sundays and Tuesdays. The season reserved for sleep is always quite short, as rising every three hours and every two hours and a half upon feast days, is required.

The revenues of the Taxiarch are used only by the monks. The convent maintains three students at the University of Athens, and sends at its own expense five students to two of the most celebrated Universities of Germany, Leipzic (Protestant) and Freiburg in Breisgau (mixed). Besides in the monastery, two professors direct a school. It is true that I have not seen this either at Hosios-Loukas, or at the Megaspoleon, etc. Pharmakidis' influence had a happy effect upon the Taxiarch, while the other monasteries, for example the Mégaspiléon, where Iconomos counted many admirers, have remained more faithful to the old Monastic traditions.*

In every Church, as in political parties, there is a right, a centre and a left. In Italy, Gioberti was the leader of the left; Rosmini-Serbati, the chief of the centre; Mauro Capellari (Gregory XVI.), the chief of the right. In France, Père Hyacinthe, successor of Lacordaire,† represented the left; M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, is the organ of the centre; M. Veuillot, Director of *l'Univers* (who exerts more influence on the Roman Church than any priest), the leader of the right. In Greece, Kaïras sat at the left; Pharmakidis at the centre; Iconomos at the right. The Cretan Misail Apostolidis, Metropolitan of Athens, who died in 1862, may be regarded as a man of the centre. I have related in my "*Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*"‡ my interview with the learned author of the *Manuel de la morale chrétienne*, who was then at the head of the Church of Patras. Misail had studied earnestly in the German Universities, he had directed the Greek schools at Trieste and at Munich, and his studies, together with Western science, taught him to estimate at their just value certain dreams which everywhere delighted the last defenders of the middle ages.

To the same division belongs the Metropolitan of Syra

* Since my visit to Greece it is possible that some modifications may have been introduced in the régime of these convents. All things change so quickly in the East!

† Yriate, *Portraits cosmopolites*, Le Père Hyacinthe.—This work fully justifies its title; the author places him between Pius IX. and General Garibaldi.

‡ Part II, Book I, *Achaïe et Elide*.

from the State. The Catholic travellers who accuse them of avidity are wrong in forgetting the Gospel maxim, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"* This humble condition is quite in conformity with the Greek ideas, who, whenever the conversation turns upon this subject, make the remark that when the Clergy ceases to depend upon the benevolence of the people, it becomes insolent, haughty and intolerant. They add that among them the State is not, as in the rest of the South, perpetually troubled by the intrigues of ignorant plebs, hired by the meddling priests.

It was to be expected that such a state of affairs should decide them to keep the Clergy under close surveillance; since this Clergy, possessing lands more or less extensive, has the means of action which the secular Clergy lack, and their celibacy would give them, in need, the greater part of the time for purposes of intrigue. Also a large part of the monasteries have been closed and their estates joined to the property of the State. Since the promulgation of the Constitution (1843), the ecclesiastical coffer having been suppressed, these effects are administered by the minister of finance. In the monasteries which have been preserved the rule is subject to more or less important modifications. At the Taxiarch,† for example, I have observed that the old monkish communism has been greatly softened. The monks never eat together except upon one day; they have each their own garden, which they cultivate themselves. The government is far from being supreme, the *igoumenos* (Superior) having a counsel of four *religieux*. Again, the *igoumenos* is exalted to the position of the Metropolitan of Kalavryta and of the Holy Greek Synod. The Bishop must know the misdemeanors of the monks, who are punished by fasting, confinement even in the convent or in a chapel, or by expulsion. As to the exile to the monastery of Mount-Sinai,‡ which is used as the house of confinement in the Greek convents, this grave penalty can only be inflicted by the Holy Synod.

The régime is less severe than formerly, since the use of

*S. Luke, VII, 3.

† The 8-20 of November, the Greek Church celebrates the *Σύναξις τῶν ταξιάρχων*. It is the feast of S. Michael ἀρχιεπίσκοπος and other spiritual powers.

‡ Upon Mount-Sinai. See chap. VI of the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition.

cause—independently of the despotic use of power, the monastic influence, very much lessened in Greece, has preponderated in Greece enslaved. Now in the East, as in the West, the regular Clergy are essentially conservative.

I have endeavored elsewhere to explain the origins of Eastern monachism.* In the early centuries of Christianity, the position of the priests and the monks was very different from to-day. The last Patriarchs of Rome have more than once left their convents, as for example, Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. In the Greek Church, as in all the Orthodox Churches, there is more strictness, for if in the West a secular Priest may be elected Pope, as, for instance, Count Mastai-Ferreti (Pius IX.), with us a Priest not only could not be Patriarch, but he would never attain the position of governing the most humble bishopric. The two Churches are in greater or less degree removed from the discipline of the early ages which prohibited to the *religieux* vowed to asceticism, either the episcopate or even the priesthood, a derogation of great importance which has exercised no little influence upon their development. Napoleon I., who was opposed to the convents, never designed a monk should obtain the episcopate, and I believe that his successors, even Charles X., remained faithful to this policy.† If it was accepted in the East, if the monastery was no longer the entrance to ecclesiastical dignities, the secular Clergy again assumed the place which both Christian antiquity and the tendencies of our times assign it. It has been somewhere remarked that the Emperor Alexander II. wished to introduce this reform in Russia; but no decisive act proved that this was so.

At the same time the Greek monks—and this remark applies equally to the whole Orthodox Church—have never merited the reproaches cast at the Dominicans, the agents of the Inquisition and of the Jesuits, and defenders of an absolute policy. The reason is simple. The rule of S. Basil was not written by Spaniards ‡ exalted by a long

* *La vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition. Introduction. Origin of monachism, its progress and decadence.

† The third republic seems to differ from them, for recently an Oratorian has been given a bishopric.

‡ Oriental Monachism, originally African and very warm, as manifested by its founders, Antony and Pachomius, was, it must not be forgotten, reformed and in part hellenized by Basil the Great. As to Egyptian Monachism, there remains but the curious debris, of which I have spoken in the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, pages 255-262 of second edition.

from the State. The Catholic travellers who accuse them of avidity are wrong in forgetting the Gospel maxim, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"* This humble condition is quite in conformity with the Greek ideas, who, whenever the conversation turns upon this subject, make the remark that when the Clergy ceases to depend upon the benevolence of the people, it becomes insolent, haughty and intolerant. They add that among them the State is not, as in the rest of the South, perpetually troubled by the intrigues of ignorant plebs, hired by the meddling priests.

It was to be expected that such a state of affairs should decide them to keep the Clergy under close surveillance; since this Clergy, possessing lands more or less extensive, has the means of action which the secular Clergy lack, and their celibacy would give them, in need, the greater part of the time for purposes of intrigue. Also a large part of the monasteries have been closed and their estates joined to the property of the State. Since the promulgation of the Constitution (1843), the ecclesiastical coffer having been suppressed, these effects are administered by the minister of finance. In the monasteries which have been preserved the rule is subject to more or less important modifications. At the Taxiarch,† for example, I have observed that the old monkish communism has been greatly softened. The monks never eat together except upon one day; they have each their own garden, which they cultivate themselves. The government is far from being supreme, the *igoumenos* (Superior) having a counsel of four *religieux*. Again, the *igoumenos* is exalted to the position of the Metropolitan of Kalavryta and of the Holy Greek Synod. The Bishop must know the misdemeanors of the monks, who are punished by fasting, confinement even in the convent or in a chapel, or by expulsion. As to the exile to the monastery of Mount-Sinai,‡ which is used as the house of confinement in the Greek convents, this grave penalty can only be inflicted by the Holy Synod.

The régime is less severe than formerly, since the use of

*S. Luke, VII, 3.

† The 8-20 of November, the Greek Church celebrates the *Σύναξις τῶν ταξιάρχων*. It is the feast of S. Michael ἀρχιστράτης and other spiritual powers.

‡ Upon Mount-Sinai. See chap. VI of the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition.

may exist in the ranks of a Clergy charged with the power of providing for the spiritual needs of the *raïas*. Furthermore, one ought not to be astonished if at an epoch when the entire Empire was hastening toward decadence, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, constantly exposed to the caprices of a venal and corrupt government, did not always prove themselves faithful to their mission, and if their subordinates yielded too easily to the influence which produced the dangerous spectacle of universal greed. The chiefs of the Hierarchy, obliged to satisfy the every day increasing rapacity of the Ottoman functionaries, were led to obtain by every means in their power money demanded of them without ceasing. The Patriarch who, in conformity to his synod in the Counsel, was deprived of the right to name the Bishops, in contempt of the ancient canon,* often held of greater account the ducats of the aspirants to the episcopate than their talents or their virtues. Now the prelates owing their advancement to such means can become dangerous pastors when armed with both spiritual and temporal power. "If," said the celebrated Archimandrite Pharmakidis to them, "if you had truly the purpose of making Bishops both to watch and toil for the preservation of the Church, no one of you would be Bishop; for you could not give your money to buy watchers and toilers."† It results from such an organization that the Patriarch is interested in multiplying the changes which augment his revenues. Also when a bishopric becomes vacant, instead of sending there a newly ordained Bishop, the occasion is too often taken of causing a half dozen Prelates, owing their gift of installation to the successor of S. Chrysostom, to travel from one bishopric to another. "Last week," says, in 1853, a journal published at the expense of the Clergy of Constantinople, "came to the Patriarch the news of the death of the Holy Bishop of Nissava, Nectarios. In consequence of this news, the Very Holy Patriarch (*παναγιωτη*), with the Holy Synod, last Saturday named to the vacant Diocese Anthimos, Bishop of Stromnitza. The Holy Bishop of Imbes, Gregory, was named Bishop of Stromnitza. The

* But the Patriarch and his Clergy gave themselves the title *ἀκριβει φέλας τῶν κανόνων τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ* in the Bull which emancipated the Greek Church (scrupulous keepers of the canons of the Church).

† Th. Pharmakidis. *Ἀντίλογος ἡ περὶ ἀλήθειας*.

Holy Bishop of Lititza, Jounanikios, succeeded him, and Gregory, Bishop of Makariopolis, was appointed Bishop of Lititza," etc. *

In buying the bishoprics, the High Clergy are obliged to deceive their flocks, while selling them spiritual things. If at Rome dispensations are sold notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Infallible Council† of Trent*, if the single City of Paris furnishes fabulous sums ‡ to its Clergy, if the Popes have had in their indulgences a treasure almost inexhaustible, the Greek Bishops who have not the same resources have not had the courage to be condemned to the poverty of Christ and His Apostles. They have found in the temporal power confided to them by Mahomet II. a means of obtaining through authority that which conviction does not accord them. ||

The reign of the "Reformer Sultan" (Mahomet II.) did not alter the customs which had been observed by his adversaries before his reign. This "great genius"—he was so called by a Greek ¶ for the moment fascinated with the Roman Church—this man of gigantic ideas, never attempted the amelioration of the Greeks of his States. Abdoul-Medjid showed himself better disposed. The *tansimat* of Gulhané is an effort toward amelioration. Unfortunately, in Mussulman countries such efforts are always paralyzed by the malevolence of the agents of power. The creation of the *Medjliss* (Counsels and also provincial tribunals) has presented no serious obstacle to the despotism of the Pashas. Neither does it seem to have prevented certain Greek Bishops imposing heavy taxes upon the Orthodox and collecting them in scarcely an evangelical way. ** The petitions addressed to the Porte in 1851 by the faithful of the Diocese of Triccala (February 1) and that of Ambelakia (18th of March) give a sad idea of their proceedings toward their flocks. It is evident from these petitions that the Orthodox population "was ruined in order to pay the taxes the Bishops arbitrarily imposed,

* *Le Télégraphe du Bosphore*, January 17th, 1853.

† Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Stor. del Conc. di Trento*.

‡ Pressensé *Du Cat. en France*.

|| Justice will not permit us to forget that this temporal power although having its inconveniences, yet has rendered great services to the nation.

¶ Feu Pitzipios. The Propaganda of Rome has printed a large volume upon him as in favor of the Roman Church.

** Secours, droits canoniques, droits de l'Eglise, etc.

and forced them to pay by selling their beasts of burden, by taking their harvests, and by throwing them in prison, forbidding them to bury their dead, and refusing them all ministrations!" The Christians add that "since the *Tansimat* gives to every public functionary a permanent salary proportionate to his duty, it would be unjust should the Christian people alone, be deprived of the benefits accorded all the subjects of the Sultan by this administrative amelioration. But as the Church has not, as in Austria and elsewhere, territorial rights to furnish permanent salaries to the bishops, each Diocese promises spontaneously to assume the regular payment of a fixed yearly sum, sufficient to assure them a position suitable to their high dignity." It was asked in conclusion "that the Bishops might not in future have the right to put their hands in the purses of the Christian every time it should seem good to them, and to take as much as they might desire."

From the first step in this serious affair the Patriarch appealed at the same time to "the Apostolic traditions" and to the Firmans of the Sublime Porte. The Ottoman Government took advantage of the occasion which was quite awkwardly furnished it, to show that if it was insensible to the abuses charged upon the Pashas, those which were attributed to the Bishops were in no wise of so little import. "According to the Christian religion," said an official note brought to the Patriarch Anthimus V., February 4th, 1850, "they ought to lead it into the right way and to comfort it and never to oppress it. But several Metropolitans and Bishops committing in the provinces deeds of which the most despicable men would scarcely be guilty, the Christian population borne down by this oppression, continually address themselves to the government, beseeching it to grant them its assistance and protection. Consequently, the government could not refuse these lawful complaints of its subjects; it wishes absolutely that these disorders may cease. It invites the Patriarch to convoke an assembly of Bishops and of notables taken from among the co-religionist laics in accord with them, to think over fraternally the means for stopping these oppressions and these just complaints, by regulating their ecclesiastical and communal administration conformably to the precepts of their religion and to the institutions of the *tansimat*."

It seemed difficult to escape so pressing injunctions. But the clergy are fruitful in resources. The Patriarch

commenced by addressing a circular to the Bishops to inform them that "the general council of Constantinople and that of the Dioceses being encumbered by a debt of about 7,000,000 piastres," the Christians must first pay that sum before submitting the Bishops and the "Very Holy Patriarch" to the system of fixed salaries. The Orthodox people, terrified by this enormous contribution and alarmed by the opposition shown by the Clergy to the promoters of reforms, resigned themselves provisionally to the *statu quo*. The attitude of the Priests of the "great Church" is explained by the circumstances which have since 1821 left the field free to their influence. The Patriarch Samuel, Prelate and Reformer, to remedy the inconveniences of an organization too exclusively theocratic, had in 1764, realized some of the projects conceived by Loukaris more than a century before. He had done a very large share of what would now be termed "secularization." He had called the principal families of the Phanar and the most esteemed merchants to take part in the temporal direction of the Church, in the administration of the counsels, of the schools, hospitals, etc. The Lay element thus became a counterpoise to the influence of the theocracy.

The notable families of the Phanar, who since Nicholas Mavrocordatos had furnished the Domni to Wallachia and to Moldavia, had too important a position in Constantinople to be disregarded. But the national insurrection of 1821 had just changed all this. In Wallachia and in Moldavia, two Princes who were not Phanariotes, Gregory IV. Ghika* and John V. Stourdza† were called to take the place of the Domni of the Phanar, who at the same time lost the high functions which gave them the control of the foreign policy.‡ The massacres of Constantinople affrighted the rich Greek traders who sought refuge in insurgent Greece or in the West. Those who returned later, being placed under the protection of some foreign power, had no longer the right to mingle in the concerns of their co-religionists. The Lay element was no longer in a condition to oppose a solid enough barrier to the episcopal claims. The Low Clergy could not, more than the faithful, praise this development of an authority which ought to

* See my *Albanesi in Rumania*, Gregorio IV.

† My uncle was of Albanian origin and the Prince Stourdza of Roumanian. But the Ghika had reigned before the accession of the Phanariotes.

‡ My *Albanesi-Alessandro Ghika*.

have its counterpoise. Two French Priests, M.M. Allignol, in a celebrated production and* the Russian Priest who wrote (1859) the remarkable *Notice sur le clergé de village*, have shown us that the Priests see each day their rights restricted by the Episcopate, and their situation becoming more precarious. That which is occurring in France and Russia gives some conception of the vexations to which the secular Clergy submit in Turkey.

The desire for reaction against these abuses complained of, is visible in the *hatti-houmayoum*, 6-18 of February, 1856. It is there commanded that the Priest shall renounce civil authority.

About the time when the French Priest Bonavino renounced the Roman Church to take the name of Ausonio Franchi (1849), the Greek Government had Theophilus Kaïris arrested (1851). This Greek ecclesiastic had, like the Italian philosopher, † begun life by teaching. After having travelled through all the European cities, to obtain by the charity of the Orthodox Christians the funds necessary for the establishing of a house of education for poor orphans, he settled in 1834 in the Island of Andros, where he founded a *Ὁρφανοτροφείον*. Kaïras, whose adversaries never denied him as possessing "great erudition and austere manners," directed *The Orphan's Institute* with so much skill, he maintained such good order and gave the scholars such careful instruction that students were seen crowding there from Turkey and Greece. But it was not his sole purpose, like that of Samuel, Theotoky and Voulgaris, to strengthen the patriotic sentiment in awakening intelligence by a vigorous intellectual culture. Like Loukaris, he looked forward to the renaissance of study. While Voulgaris and his emulators, much more timid than Loukaris, had declared on every occasion that the spirit of inquiry ought to stop at the threshold of the Sanctuary and forbade all theological discussion, Kaïris considered the Patriarch martyr as too narrow a reformer, and proposed to substitute a philosophical Christianity quite similar to that of Kant, J. J. Rousseau and of Locke in the

* *De l'Etat actuel du clergé en France et en particulier des curés ruraux*, in 8 vols., Paris, 1839, compare with the biography of M. M. Allignol in the *Biographie du clergé contemporain*, 10 vols., 2nd ed., 1851, a very curious publication by M. Hippolyte Barbier, French Priest, author of the *Mystères du presbytère*.

† A. Franchi who had charge of the institution at Genoa is now Professor at the Academy of Milan, which is a kind of University.

dogmatics of the Orthodox Church. Kaïrism, the name given to the collection of these theories, made rapid progress. The students of Kaïris became its zealous missionaries during their vacations. A great part of the Lower Clergy of Andros pronounced themselves in favor of it, its propagation being furthered by the decadence of the Patriarchate. The Greek Government and the High Clergy of Constantinople, alarmed at the development of a religion so contrary to the beliefs as well as to the interests of the Church, undertook in order to prevent its being preached, to condemn Kaïris by the Greek tribunals to seven years' imprisonment,—a sentence truly extraordinary in a constitutional country. Kaïris died in prison, aged eighty-two. But this persecution, as so often happens, rather advanced the conversion to his school than destroyed it. In the shadow of secret societies his disciples labor to continue a work which has for its obstacles not only the boldness of Kaïris' theories, but the fear of withdrawing from the nation the sympathies of a Clergy which can contribute so much to the complete political emancipation of the Greeks, a part of whom remain under the domination of the Mussulmans.

As it is unknown whether the decisions of the *hatti-houmayoun*, dictated to Turkey by her powerful allies, should be considered as a prospectus or as a law designed to change the situation, lively discussions engage the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire upon the reform undertaken by Abdoul-Medjid.

First it must be remarked that the Padishah, as chief of a religion hostile to Christianity, must appear a strange reformer of the Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholics were indignant when Princes not belonging to their communion, the King of Prussia and the Queen of England, urged the Pope to listen to the protests of his subjects. Ought they then to be astonished if in Turkey the Priests and even many of the Laity are little disposed to consider the Sultan as an impartial arbiter in the adjustment of their religious affairs? Those who complain most bitterly of the abuse of the theocracy become suddenly indulgent when they see the Turks inclined to interpose between the Orthodox and their pastors, above all when they perceive that Rome favors with all its power the intervention of the Mussulmans in the difficulties of the Eastern Church; because she hopes to use to her profit the well known ignorance of the Ottomans.

It must be confessed that the manner in which the *hat* has been written affords to the Clergy many arguments to render it suspicious in the eyes of the Greeks. Also the Laics, who were in no way suspected of serving sacerdotal interest, are heard criticising eagerly an act which claimed to harmonize the ancient privileges with the new order of things. Thus the *Spectateur d'Athènes* says that if the idea of giving the Clergy a certain stipend be good, it has in Turkey many objections. As to the theocratic government, doubtless it is not conformed to the spirit of the times, but it is rendered necessary by the singular organization of the Ottoman Empire, which is exactly the antithesis of every idea of our century.

The insurrection of the Bulgarians against the Œcumenical Patriarch, favored by the Sultan, has given new strength to the party who regard as supreme imprudence the complaints addressed to the Ottomans against the abuse of power with which the episcopal body is charged. Hellenism, they say, environed by powerful adversaries, menaced at once by Islamism and Panslavism, must resign herself to great sacrifices in order not to divide her forces and compromise the future of a famous nationality which for so many centuries has represented in the East, progress and liberal thought.

DORA D'ISTRIA.

**BY WHAT LAWS THE AMERICAN CHURCH
IS GOVERNED AND HEREIN CHIEFLY, HOW
FAR, IF AT ALL, ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL
LAW IS OF FORCE AS SUCH, IN THIS CHURCH.**

IT may be assumed, as probably questioned by very few, that there are at least three distinct Codes of Law, to which this and every other National Church is subject. These are first, the Holy Scriptures, or Divine law ; which, as regards the Church organized, affects chiefly its Faith and Order ; second, that of the Catholic Church whose definitions of Faith and Doctrine, and whose Canons and with established usages, when in their nature and intention, enforceable and appropriate always and everywhere, or, according to some Canonists, when accepted by the National Church, are still of obligation ; and third, those laws which any National Church shall have prescribed for its own government.

The qualification as to the present obligation of the Canons and Usages of the Catholic Church, arises from the fact, to which attention should be called, that during the integrity of the Roman Empire, the Church was not only the Catholic but also was a National Church as well ; and much of its legislation was that of a National Church, and as such, of no binding obligation upon any other equally autonomic and independent Church.

The legislative power of the Catholic Church is co-extensive with the world, and includes all subjects proper for

Catholic ecclesiastical legislation ; except that it may not alter the Faith, the Sacraments or the Order of the Church, nor any other matter of Divine institution. Nor is the fact that owing to schism or other causes, this power cannot now be exercised, any argument against its potential existence, nor against the present authority of so much of its former legislation, as in its nature was not local, partial or temporary.

The only essential and elementary division of the Catholic Church is into National Churches and into families ; the former of which are co-existent as to time, though at first, perhaps, inchoate and unorganized, and co-extensive as to territorial limits, with the Supreme Civil Sovereignty to which its members owe allegiance.

Subject to the superior authority of the Catholic Church, and subject, of course, to the same exceptions which limit her powers, these National Churches are of right, wholly autonomic and independent of one another.

The existence of Mission Churches in heathen lands, planted by one or more National Churches, upon whose spiritual and material aid such missions in their infancy are undoubtedly dependent, does not disprove the foregoing proposition.

As regards the native baptised converts, their dependence upon the fostering National Church, is that of individuals, and not of organizations. They are not dependent as to ecclesiastical rights and powers ; though these at first necessarily and properly, lie dormant.

Should the native Churchmen of the English and American Missions in China, feeling themselves strong enough, at any time unite and organize the National Church of China, however we might doubt the expediency and propriety of the movement, and believe it premature and probably fatal, yet we could not deny its legality, nor, so long as they should hold to the Faith, Sacraments and Order of the Church, could we truly assert that they were in schism or deny their claim to be a living Branch of the one Church.

The inherent power of National Churches to adjust themselves to their civil environments was strikingly manifested in our late civil war. When our National government was divided, and for the time two governments *de facto* were in existence, the Church was also divided by the same lines, and the Southern section at once assumed what, if secession had been successful, would have been its lawful National autonomy ; and in such event, two National

Churches, by separation but not by schism, would have existed *de jure*. But as the result of the civil contest was otherwise, and the nation became One again, so the Church at once adjusted itself to this result, and, with no legislation, no recognition even of the past being necessary, became as if no division had ever been.

As with the Church in the Southern states during the Civil war, so with the Church in the Colonies during the Revolutionary war, the differing conclusions of the civil contest producing, and alone producing, the correspondingly differing results as to the subsequent status and organization of the churches respectively.

Excepting National Churches and families, all intermediate divisions of the Church, provincial, diocesan, parochial, are conventional merely, and not essential.

The importance of some of the foregoing propositions may appear hereafter, and at present will not be dwelt upon.

To the three systems of law above mentioned, the Divine, the Catholic, the National, to which this Church is admittedly subject, some very eminent American Canonists have added a fourth ; that is to say, certain portions of the English Ecclesiastical Code ; and the discussion of this question is the chief purpose of the present article. The expression, "certain portions," is admittedly inaccurate, for, waiving the great differences of opinion among these writers themselves, and adopting to the full, the hypothesis of any one of them, still the great *uncertainty* as to what portions of the English Code would then be actually of force in this Church, presents one of the strongest *a priori* arguments against the claim that any portion is or ever has been.

The maximum claim may be considered as represented by Judge Hoffman, and the minimum by the Joint Committee on Ritual in its report to the General Convention of 1871. Judge Hoffman's position is as follows : " The ecclesiastical law of England consists of, First, Such portions of the foreign Canon law as were adopted in England, including the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othobon ; Second, The Provincial Constitutions ; Third, The Statutes of the Realm and decisions of the Civil and Spiritual Courts ; Fourth, the Canons of 1603." " These," he says, " constituted the body of the law of the Church in the Colonies and are now presumptively the law of the American Church ; leaving him who denies their

authority in any given case to show that such law is repugnant to some principle, settled custom or institution of our own, secular or ecclesiastical. This position was stated by Chancellor Judd very clearly and concisely, though perhaps more strongly, in his speech on the Ritual Canon in 1871.

He says: "We brought the Common Law from England, and brought all the Statute Laws in aid of that Common Law with us, and that is in force as much as the Common law. So it is in the Church, the Common Law of the Church and the Statute Law of the Church, so far as it is applicable in aid of that Common Law are in force. The identity (of the Church) is the same. We are part and parcel of the Church of England only under another name, and until you repeal the laws of the Church of England they remain in force."

In this latter statement are included the two arguments from analogy, and from identity, which will be more fully noticed hereafter. I stop a moment only to propose in parenthesis, a test as to the tenability of the position assumed by these eminent Canonists.

The eighteenth Canon of 1603 directs that due and lowly reverence be made when, (not merely in Creed but) in Divine Service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned. Is this now the law of our Church or not? If it is, then a clergyman at least, may be tried and convicted for disobeying its mandate. But Chancellor Judd says it is the law now, unless it be shown to have been repealed, which is not pretended, and Judge Hoffman says it is the law, unless shown affirmatively to be repugnant to some principle, settled custom, or institution of our own, which likewise I think will not be asserted.

The minimum claim in behalf of English Church Law is presented in the Report of the Joint Committee to the General Convention in 1871, which gave rise to an interesting and extended debate. It asserts in substance, that together with our own Book of Common Prayer, and the legislation of our own Church, the Canons of the English Church *in use* in the American Provinces before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded here, provide now the Law of Ritual for this Church.

Of the Canons referred to in this Report, those of 1603, which are one hundred and forty-one in number, only six refer strictly to Ritual, and of all the others, only the ninety-ninth, upon the prohibited degrees, can have the slightest

claim to be in force in this Church.* So that this Committee certainly, have brought our portion of the English law to a very minute residuum. Yet large or small, the principle is the same; and the effort shall now be made to establish the position that *no* part of the English ecclesiastical law is, or ever has been, as such, of binding obligation in this National Church of ours.

It will conduce very much to a clear understanding of what may follow, if in advance, I define and explain such leading terms as are ambiguous, or likely to be misunderstood; and then by the aid of these definitions, relieve my main proposition from an entangling alliance with many kindred matters with which it has no necessary connection, and which have often served to embarrass its discussion and lead to wrong conclusions. Indeed, I hope to go far toward establishing the truth of our contention by first specifying that for which I do not contend.

By Law, as used in the following article, is meant a Rule of conduct prescribed for human beings by a superior power; there being, moreover, these two inseparable accompaniments to every law: on the part of the inferior, the duty to obey; and on the part of the superior, the right to punish for disobedience. By Ecclesiastical Law is meant a Rule of conduct prescribed by the superior or law-making power in a church.†

By the American Church is meant this particular National Church of the United States, whose organization as such,

* Hoffman's Ritual Law, ch. vii.

† These definitions have so important a part in sustaining this argument that it is proper to give the authority upon which they rest.

Law, a Rule of human action dictated by a superior. 1 Bl. Com., p. 39.

Law contains two essential ingredient ideas: disobedience and punishment. Christian, note *in loco*.

Law is the command of a superior. Sharswood, note *in loco*.

Municipal Law: "A Rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in a State commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." 1 Bl. Com., p. 44. Christian, in his notes, objects to the latter branch of the definition as being either tautological or false, and is sustained by other annotators. Sharswood, in his notes, defines municipal law as "a Rule of Civil Conduct, prescribed by the Supreme power in a State, commanding what is to be done and forbidding the contrary."

"*Jus civile est quod quisque sibi populus constituit.*"—Justinian Inst's, i 2, 1.

The word Superior is preferred to Supreme in this definition, because there may be grades of legislative power, both in State and Church.

was begun in 1784 and consummated in 1789, and which then first, coterminously with our National government assumed legislative power, and entered on its legislative existence.

And now let us see what extraneous matters have been eliminated from the discussion, by these definitions.

In the first place, Law being a Rule of conduct prescribed, we have no concern here with matters which involve questions of mere preference or permission, in which there is no element of obligation, as being the command of a superior power, to which obedience is due, and may be enforced.

Law is a *Rule*, as distinguished from advice or permission; our action in the latter case depending upon our own judgment or choice, whereas our obedience to the law depends not upon our approval, but upon the maker's will. A law which may or may not be obeyed at the will of the subject, is no law. There is no such thing as a law of liberty; and the being a law unto one's self is a contradiction in terms. Neither in this argument have we to do with the laws of good taste or of propriety, or with the so called canons or rubrics of common sense. If laws they be in the proper sense of the word, they have been prescribed by another power than the Church as such, and to that power alone, wherever it may reside, are those who violate them amenable. Paraphrasing Seneca, it may be said that good taste or common sense, often forbids what the law permits; and it may be laid down generally as to any system of law, that the subject may lawfully do any act which is not there prohibited, and refrain from any act which is not there commanded.

There is no rubric or law of this Church which prescribes that a minister when he enters the Chancel for the purpose of conducting divine service shall kneel in silent prayer, nor that he shall stand while reading the opening sentences, and should these reverend usages be violated, it is not believed that the offender could properly be tried

There may be a law perfectly valid and binding, though not enacted by the Supreme power. The council of a city may be to its citizens a superior power, whose ordinances to them are laws. But the Legislature of the State is of superior authority, and in some matters its enactments must yield to the Supreme power of Congress, legislating under the Constitution of the United States. And so in the Church, with the Diocesan and General Conventions, Provincial and Ecumenical Councils.

and sentenced by any Church Court, though undoubtedly he could and would be tried in another Court—that of public opinion—whose sentence would probably be more certain and severe than that of any Court ecclesiastical.

It should be noticed also that these definitions exclude all consideration of the English ecclesiastical law as being of authority in the construction and interpretation of our own laws. The authority which it has in this point of view, is not that of law, as a Rule of action, but that of a guide or instructor. This is an important distinction which is very often lost sight of.

Dr. Wharton (*Churchman*, July 17, 1880) claims that there is a common Canon Law in our Church, and that "the Canons of the English Church and of the Ancient Church are authoritative as representing that Common Law, by which ambiguous or incomplete terms in our Canons and rubrics are to be interpreted." And one of the illustrations he gives is the term, "decently habited," in the Ordinal; for the proper meaning of which we must appeal to the Common law of the Church as modified by our own usage. Now I can readily understand how the English Canon Law may assist us in ascertaining what our rubric intends by the words "decently habited," by showing us what was the decent or appropriate habit of the ministry at the time of the original rubric in the English Ordinal from which ours was taken, and which by the ordinary rules of construction would explain the meaning of the latter. But I cannot see how this fact would make the English Canon of any more authority in our Church than are the decrees of Trent or the Romish Common Law ecclesiastical, to which we must resort in order to understand and properly interpret our Article XXXI., which denounces "the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons," etc., as repugnant to the word of God; or Article XXXIII., which prescribes "the doing of penance" by an excommunicated person, before he be received into the Church.

The principle involved in all such cases is simply this, that in the interpretation of all laws or other writings, where there are technical or ambiguous expressions, or such as do not explain themselves, resort may be had to books of art, to contemporary usage or writings, or to other laws in *pari materia*. In a sense, all these, in the proper case, would be of authority, but not in any respect as being the nature of a law, as a Rule of conduct prescribed

by a superior power. Dr. Wharton is himself an authority upon criminal law, but his statements of the law, however persuasive or convincing, are not in themselves, the law.

Again, it should be noted that no laws will be considered as coming within the scope of this argument which receive their authority from *Æcumenical Councils* or from Catholic consent or Catholic usage, not because it is denied that there are such laws, but because they are binding upon this American Church as a branch of the Catholic Church, and not as a daughter or offspring of the English Church. They are in force with us, not as English Church law, but as Catholic Church law, my proposition being that English ecclesiastical law, *as such*, is not in force here. Also the Faith and Order of the Church, though received by us from and through the English Church, have their Sanction not from her, but because prescribed by the great Supreme Power, the Divine Head of all the Churches.

And now only one more disentanglement. It must be borne in mind that it is those laws alone, which have been prescribed by superior power for the government of this National Church, with which we here have to do; this National Church, which prior to July 4th, 1776 had not the shadow of an existence as such; which from that time to the acknowledgment of our civil independence in 1783, had a potential perhaps, but not an actual organic existence, and which from that time until 1789, was in an inchoate formative condition, without legislative power; but which in that memorable year assumed, and has since exercised without question and, as a National Church should, supreme control and jurisdiction, co-extensive territorially with the National civil government, over all the members of her Communion, and over all matters properly subject to the legislation of a National Church, organization, doctrinal definition, discipline, and worship.

With the ecclesiastical status and jurisprudence of the several Colonies before, and of the several States after the Revolution, with their powers of legislation, and the systems of ecclesiastical law, differing widely in many respects, to which they were subject, up to the organization of the National Church; and with question of Diocesan independence, and rights of legislation since then, we have here no concern, except so far as they may historically throw light on our subject. We have to do with that law alone which with unvarying uniformity reigns supreme and unchallenged over all the members of our Communion, wherever the con-

stitution and laws of the United States rightfully claim recognition and obedience. But in order to appreciate fully the arguments both for and against the position, that the American Church is or has been under the government of English Church Law, it may be proper to examine somewhat closely the exact status of the Church in this country, both before and after the Revolutionary war.

Prior to the 4th of July, 1776, it goes without question that in all the Colonies, the Church, even when established by law, was without organization, and consisted merely of ministers and congregations under the jurisdiction, more or less nominal, of the Bishop of London. Its members and congregations were all subject to the English law, whether of Church or State, so far as applicable to their condition and circumstances. There was no law-making power among themselves. The superior power which prescribed for them Rules of ecclesiastical conduct was the law-making power of the Church of England. When the Colonies declared themselves independent and sovereign states, and until their independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, the Church here was in an abnormal condition, ecclesiastically in a state of chaos. As the *dissecta membra* of the Catholic Church they were held together merely by the Faith and Order of the Church, and the latent spirit of obedience in its members, but without organization or discipline. There was no law-making power for them, either claiming to be, or recognized as such.

When independence had become an accomplished and recognized fact, thirteen sovereign independent states were entered upon the roll of nations, and until 1789 they so continued, with wholly independent codes of municipal law, though with much, probably the greater part, common to them all.

And so also during this period, the Church in each of these Sovereign states, by its own essential and inherent powers, adjusted itself to its changed surroundings and became for the time the particular National Church in and of each several State.

The ecclesiastical status of these several Churches will appear fully expressed in the Declaration of fundamental rights, issued by the first Church Convention in the State of Maryland in 1783. It was declared that "*The Church of Maryland* possesses the right to preserve and complete herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and professions."

Thus it seems that as soon as the Province of Maryland became the State of Maryland, the Church *in* Maryland became the Church *of* Maryland.

These thirteen National Churches were still unorganized and dependent upon some other National Church, not necessarily upon that of England, for the Episcopate. They had no actually existent law-making power within themselves, but were subject, of course, to the divine law from which they received their Faith and Order, and to such Catholic law and usage as may properly be claimed to be binding on all members of the Catholic Church everywhere and always. But beyond this, they were, if I may use the expression, already condemned, a law unto themselves, held together as before, under the great Head of the Church, by the Faith, Order, and Sacraments of the Church, and by their attachment to the doctrine and ritual of that Church to which they had belonged, but from which as members, they had been, in the Providence of God, forever separated.

Naturally however, and perhaps inevitably, owing to the difference of their surroundings and to the difficulty of intercommunion and interchange of opinions, the customs and usages, and modes of Churchly thought, partly brought over from the mother country, and partly springing up from local causes, differed more or less in all the State or National Churches: as witness the earnest and successful struggle of the Connecticut Church to obtain the Episcopate, compared with the action of the Meeting of the clergy and laity of South Carolina in 1785, which sent delegates to the first General Convention in New York, with the condition annexed, that no Bishop was to be settled there.

I come now to the time when a National government was about to be formed for the people of this country, embracing its entire territory. In the good Providence of God, and as we must believe, by His Holy Spirit putting it into the hearts of His faithful people, these unorganized Churches, simultaneously with the formation of the Civil government, began to be drawn together by the attraction of Churchly cohesion; the Church's spirit of Nationality began to assert itself; and the same year of Grace, 1789, saw the National Congress and this National Church in General Convention, assume legislative power, and prescribe rules of action for the conduct of those respectively who recognized their authority. But in the formation of this Church, no one or more of the State Churches, differ-

ing widely among themselves, as in many respects they did, could impress or enforce upon the others, their own peculiarities, or indeed any part of their distinctive systems of law; and how much of the English ecclesiastical law was common to them all, and how much of this, if any, was to go in force as the law governing them all, could in the nature of things be determined only by their united action expressed by affirmative legislation in General Convention.

And now it might be sufficient, taking stand simply upon my definition of ecclesiastical law, to close my argument here. Because, assuming that definition to be correct, the laws of this Church must have been prescribed either by our own law-making power, or, as there cannot in the nature of things be in any one organization two law-making powers of equal grade and authority, by some superior power to that of our own Church. This superiority will hardly be claimed for the English Church; and therefore, in place of the English Church Law being presumptively in force here, as claimed by Judge Hoffman, Dr. Vinton, and other Canonists, he who asserts its authority in any given case must show affirmatively that it has been adopted or re-affirmed by the legislation of this Church, and then, of course, its sanction and authority are not in and of itself, but because it has been prescribed as a Rule of Conduct by our own Church for its own members.

But it would be doing great injustice to the eminent writers whose conclusions are thus so directly antagonized, were not the grounds of their contention fully and fairly stated; and this shall now be done.

First, it is claimed that the laws in question have descended to the American Church from that of England by right of inheritance. It is true that both civil and ecclesiastical law-writers of highest standing, have spoken of laws and systems of law, as being the subject of inheritance, and as being claimable by birthright; but I respectfully submit that such expressions are rhetorical, not logical. Neither a Nation nor Church can, in the nature of things, inherit a law; such a thing would be inconsistent with, and contradictory to the definition of law as a Rule of Conduct prescribed by superior or law-making power of the organization in question. Such superior power in a Church or State may adopt or consent to receive as its own, the laws of some other Church or State,

•

to which its members or citizens had been subject prior to its own independence, but without such adoption or consent either express or by such clear implication as to be equivalent to a legislative act, such laws could have no force. Otherwise there would be a law or a code of laws not prescribed by the law-making power in such Church or State. But inheritance does not require or even admit either express or implied consent on the part of the inheritor. The thing inherited descends to and becomes vested in him, by force of some superior law.

Thus passively, and without his consent being asked or required, the child inherits by the Municipal law its father's property—by the mysterious law of nature his mental or physical endowments, and by the laws of society his good or his bad name. But the only superior law other than the divine, which a National Church can recognize outside itself is that of the one Catholic Church, and in order therefore to fasten the English ecclesiastical law upon the American Church by inheritance, the proposition must be sustained by an appeal to the Constitution and laws of that one Church whose authority both the English and American Church acknowledges.

The next argument is that from analogy, a favorite and very prevalent one. It is said that just as the Common Law of England was brought over with them by the Colonists, so far as adapted to their condition and circumstances, and, becoming thus a part of the law of the land, has so continued to the present day, except as altered by subsequent legislation of our own, so is it in the Church with the English Common Law ecclesiastical. But is the postulate of this argument true? Did the Colonists bring over with them the Common Law of England? So profound and thoughtful a jurist as Jefferson * denied and ridiculed the assertion. Admitting it however, does it follow that this law of the Colonists became the law of the several States after their independence was gained? They evidently thought not, for in almost every instance, their respective legislatures deemed it proper, if not necessary, to re-enact under specified restrictions the Common Law of England, thus of course making it to such extent the Statute Law of the State so re-enacting it.†

* We brought the rights of men and then adopted for ourselves what laws we thought adapted to our situation. 4 Jeff. Corresp., 178.

† New York, 1777—Pennsylvania, 1777—Virginia, 1776—N. Carolina, 1778—Ohio, 1795—Georgia, 1784—S. Carolina, 1712—Indiana, 1818—Illinois, 1818, &c., &c.

But conceding that the Common Law did prevail to a greater or less, but very varying extent, in the several Colonies, and that to the same extent, it was in each case handed over by tradition to the several sovereign States which succeeded these Colonies, it could only be claimed by analogy that so the Common Law ecclesiastical, varying in the extent of its prevalence in the different Colonies, passed over with the same variation, to the several State Churches or Dioceses which succeeded the unorganized Churches of the Colonies.

But all this would be quite beside the present question, which concerns not the several State Churches or Dioceses, but the National Church, which was organized before these, and did not, and in the nature of things could not, receive its law from them. In fact this argument by analogy, to avail those who use it must be stated thus : that as the United States as a nation formed by the Colonies or States, received from these Colonies or States the Common Law, which was then in force ; so the National Church, formed by the union of the Churches in these different Colonies or States, received from them that English Common Law ecclesiastical which was in force in them. This argument is fully met by denying that its postulate is true. The United States did not receive, never has received, and does not now recognize the English Common Law as a part of its legal code. Our National Courts accept no law as having the sanction of our National government, if it may not be found in the Constitution or the laws of Congress. That this statement may be seen to rest upon authority, I will quote what was said by the Supreme Court of the United States in a celebrated case* where the question arose, and was most elaborately argued by Mr. Webster and Mr. Ingersoll :—

“ It is clear there can be no Common Law of the United States. The Federal Government is composed of twenty-four sovereign and independent States, each of which may have its local usages and Common Law. There is no principle which pervades the Union and has the authority of Law, that is not embodied in the Constitution and laws of the Union. The Common Law could be made a part of our Federal system only by legislative adoption.”

Where then upon the authority of this case, does the argument from analogy place us ? The conclusion is reversed, and the proposition will stand thus. The National gov-

* *Wheaton vs. Peters*—8 Peters R, 591.

ernment, though formed of sovereign States, in each of which to a greater or less extent the Common Law formed a part of its legal system, yet did *not* accept or adopt that Common Law ; so the National Church, likewise formed of independent State Churches or Dioceses in which the English Common Law ecclesiastical prevailed to a greater or less extent, did *not* accept or adopt such ecclesiastical law as part of its legal code.

The next line of argument we have to meet is this : that the American Church is identical and continuous with the English Church, and that therefore the laws of the latter, so far as adapted to our condition and circumstances, took their place *proprio vigore*, as part of our Church law. This seems to be the favorite position of Judge Hoffman in his argument upon the question ; and certainly therefore, it deserves a careful examination.

Its suppressed major premiss is conceded, for of course the laws which are once in force over an organization, must remain in force so long as its identity continues, unless they expire by limitation or are repealed by the law-making power.

But how is it as to the minor premiss ? Was the American Church from and after 1789, in any proper sense of the words, either identical with, or a continuation of, the English Church ? In a certain popular sense it was ; and for some purposes it may have been so held to be, by the Civil Courts. For instance, when a Church building or a glebe had been held and enjoyed by a congregation of English Church members, purchased perhaps by themselves and set apart for the uses of the Church, there could have been no difficulty in the State Courts holding, after the Revolution, that such property belonged, for the same religious uses, to the new American Church, composed of the same individual members, and holding identically and continuously the same Faith and doctrine as before. And it was from this point of view that the General Convention in 1814, when a question arose as to the ownership of certain real estate which had been given before the Revolution for Church purposes, made a declaration that this Church is the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of the Church of England. This declaration, undoubtedly, in a general and popular sense was true, and especially so for the purpose it was intended to serve. But strictly and logically it was not true. There was no continuation whatever as to organi-

zation, but a total and final severance. What continuance or identity existed between the two Churches was wholly subjective—was to be found in the faith and worship of the individual members of the two organizations. Objectively there was a similarity. *Sed non simile est idem.*

And even this identity of Faith and worship in the two Churches, after the organization of the American Church, was not so much an identity one with the other, as an identity of each with the one Catholic Church of which both were living branches. One chief fallacy in the argument of those who hold that this Church is in any way, or to any extent subject to the law of the English Church, consists in their regarding the relation between the two Churches as, in its nature, that of mother and daughter, and not that of sisters; forgetting that the Bride of Christ is One, and She the mother of us all. As an elder sister we may properly regard the English Church, and with all reverence and affection. Members we are of the one great family, to whose laws both alike owe obedience. Neither in theory nor in fact, do we owe our life to her; nor has our infancy been sustained by her fostering care. Rather, if the real truth of history be told, should we look upon the Ven. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as the mother, to whose missionary spirit and nursing care, this Church owed under God, its birth and its successful struggle for existence in the weakness of its infancy. A striking resemblance to the relation between the two Churches, is presented in the natural world, in the case of layering a vine. When bent to the earth, and covered for a few inches by soil, new roots strike down, and for a while the extremity of the layered vine is nourished both from its own new roots and also by the customary current from the old vine. In time, final severance from the latter is made, and the new organism becomes wholly independent and self-sustaining. Still its hidden life, its nature, its flowers and its fruit, continue to be as they were in the parent vine. Both draw their life from the same elementary sources and are subject to the same laws. Yet they are not identical, nor the one a continuation of the other. The similitude would be complete in all its parts, but for the fact that in the natural world there is no autonomy. The law making power for both the vine and the offshoot, is wholly outside, while with the two Churches, the Supreme Ruler vouchsafes to both the right of self government for certain purposes, and under certain limitations. Whatever weight however may properly be

attached to the declaration of General Convention in 1814 it is more than counter-balanced by a Resolution of the same body in 1879; even though the latter did not receive the assent of Bishop White. "That the Protestant Episcopal Church possesses no institutions until made for her specially, and that we are no further bound by either the Catholic or the English Canons when confessedly applicable, than as we distinctly and by legislation recognize them. And the same Convention went on to enact a Code of Canons, re-enacting several English Canons among them. The truth is that both these declarations in General Convention have only a moral, no legal weight. They are entitled to great consideration as expressing the individual opinions of those who voted for them, but at last must be judged of on their own intrinsic merits.

But it is claimed that this Church has in fact adopted the English ecclesiastical law. If this were true, it would not antagonize the position assumed, because then such portions of that system as were thus adopted, became of force in this Church, not as English law, but as American law, made such by the legislative act of adoption. Should the legislature of Pennsylvania, approving some law of the State of New York, adopt the same by reference and sufficient description, such law would come in force in the former State not as a law of New York, but as a law of Pennsylvania, just as if it had been re-enacted *totidem verbis*, without reference to its origin.

But has this Church by any legislative act of its own adopted the English Code either expressly or by implication, as a whole or in parts? An affirmative answer to this question is founded mainly on that oft quoted declaration in the Preface to our Prayer Book, that by comparing this Book to that of the English Church "it will appear that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship."

I am ready to admit that this Preface, though not in the form of a legal enactment, though without evidence of its ever having been submitted to and formally adopted by the General Convention, and though perhaps only the work of the Committee charged with the publication of the Prayer Book, yet by common consent and by successive publications as part of the Prayer Book under authority of the General Convention, has the sanction of the Church for all it sets forth, and has the force of a declaratory law,

if shown to have essentially the nature of a law. This qualification cannot with reason be objected to; for surely it can have no other binding power than as a law or rule of action, if not in form yet in essence. And still as surely can no law of the English Church not being in force *proprio vigore* be made the law of this Church by anything less or other than a legislative act. But neither in form nor in substance is this declaration either a remedial or a declaratory law. It is manifestly a mere statement of the intentions with which a certain work had been done, a certain code of laws had been compiled and enacted, sent forth to the Church for the purpose of removing doubts and quieting anxieties. As such, it was and is, valuable. It would be a most useful assistant in the solution of many questions that may arise in determining the doctrine, discipline, or worship of our Church. But after all, it is merely, in certain cases, a guide to the meaning of the law, as the preamble to a statute. It is not a law itself, nor can it control the law. In the construction of any legislative act, the intention of the law makers, except so far as it may be gathered from the law itself, is not as a rule, the proper subject for judicial investigation, the ultimate enquiry being not what they intended to do, but what they did. Therefore, in determining any question of doctrine, discipline or worship which may arise under our Prayer Book, we may safely assume, on the strength of this Preface, that this Church in the matter under consideration did not intend to depart from the Church of England in any essential point; but whether in this particular instance she did so depart, is a question of fact to be determined, not by the Preface, but by that comparison of the two Books of Common Prayer, which in the Preface is invited. And so far as the two Books differ, just so far did our Church depart from the other, in point of fact, even though it may be assumed that such departure was not considered to involve any essential point.

Our "Book of Common Prayer" in its legal aspect should be looked on as one legislative act, as one entire Liturgical Code, enacted in revision of another such entire code, as its full and final substitute. It was put forth as complete in itself, and as covering the whole ground covered by the Book for which it was a substitute. In the Ratification, it is declared to be the Liturgy of this Church, and is set forth as a Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the

Church: words not only comprehensive, but exclusive; intended to comprehend all Rules deemed proper to be adopted for the worship of the Church, and intended to exclude other—not practices, ceremonies, but—Rules, laws.

As an illustration of what is meant, I may refer to the oft quoted Rubric of the English Prayer Book in regard to ornaments. Whether a departure from that Rubric involved or not any essential point of worship, yet as matter of fact there was a departure, because, though so important and comprehensive a regulation in the matter of worship, it yet in revision, found no place in a Book which avowedly made provision for the entire worship of the Church.* And the difference in effect between the two Books as regards this Rubric is that while in the English Book the use of certain ornaments is prescribed as a Rule, in our Church, these ornaments may or may not be used, but are certainly not prescribed.

I come now to the only remaining position, upon which is founded the claim that any portion of the English ecclesiastical law is of force in this Church; and that is custom or usage.

There is a distinction to be noted here between use, as in and of itself acquiring in time, the force of law, which is the *lex non scripta*, and use, as being the adoption, and thereby putting in force, of some written law, which otherwise would not be of binding obligation. Let us now see to what extent the former kind of use may have fastened any law upon this American Church. The *lex non scripta* is held to be in force, only on the hypothesis that the law in question was once regularly enacted by the proper legislative power, and that the written evidence of such enactment having in the lapse of time been lost, its sufficient proof may now be found in its universal recognition and uninterrupted continuance from time whereof the memory of

* In 1807, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania were requested by General Assembly to examine and report which of the English Statutes were in force in that State. In explaining the conclusion they arrived at, they say: "Wherever our own legislature had enacted a law on the same subject on which an English Statute was to be found, it has been supposed that the English Statute had no force here, even though it contained more extensive provisions than our own Act of Assembly: because it was reasonable to presume that our Assembly, more acquainted with the English Statute, had designedly omitted some of its provisions."

man runneth not to the contrary.* The Rule of its existence is but the repetition of the *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus*. I do not now refer to usages of the Catholic Church, if any such there be, which by virtue of this Rule are now the law of this Church, but to the proper usages of the English Church; and the inquiry is whether there were any such which had acquired in that Church the force of positive law prior to 1789, and if so, whether they were handed down as laws to this Church, on its organization. It may be that there were usages of the English Church which could stand those many and severe tests to which all customs must be subjected before they can be held in force as law, upon the hypothesis which underlies the *lex non scripta* as above stated.

These tests are that the alleged custom must have been immemorial, uninterrupted, undisputed, reasonable, certain, and not optional but compulsive.†

But I will not stay to discuss the question, because conceding that there were such, I still deny that they became binding upon this Church at its organization. It will scarcely be claimed I think that this unwritten law was of stronger obligation at the time, than such written or Canon law as was then in force, and if no part of this was handed over as a heritage to this Church, as I have endeavored to prove, neither was the other. The Canon Law, and the Common Law ecclesiastic, if there is such a Code, must in this respect, stand upon the same footing.

But the Joint Ritual Committee of 1871 suggested another mode by which use could, and as they claimed did make a portion of our American Church law. Substantially this Committee asserted, in the declarative part of the Canon which they proposed to the Convention, that such of the English Canons as were *in use* in the American provinces prior to 1789, became the law of this Church immediately upon its organization, and are still in force, unless since repealed or superseded by our own legislation.

* "The Common Law is nothing else but Statutes worn out by time," Wilmot Ch. J., 2 Wils. R. 348. And to same effect, Sir Matthew Hale, Hist. Com. Law, p. 66.

"*Leges non Scriptae* receive their binding power by long and immemorial usage, and by their universal reception throughout the kingdom." 1 Bl. Com., p. 66.

"They can only be known and their validity, determined by judicial decision." Id. p. 69.

† 1 Bl. Com., p. 69.

This proposition was embodied in the action of so able a Committee, it was so ably defended in the debate which followed, and really reduces the quantum of English law alleged to be in force in this Church, to so small a residuum, that it will not I hope be drawing out this article to too great a length, if I examine its tenability, somewhat closely; feeling as I do, that if successful in meeting it, the last stronghold of the English ecclesiastical law, in its usurpation of a place of authority in the American judicial system, will have been beaten down.

The Committee in reporting this Canon presented no accompanying reasons to sustain it. That part of it to which I have referred, was at once very vigorously attacked, and with such effect, that Dr. Mead, the Chairman of the Committee in the House of Deputies, moved to strike it out. It was defended, however, by Judge Andrews, of Ohio, in a speech of very great ability; said by Judge Sheffey, of Virginia, in the same debate, to have been one of the clearest, most forcible and logical arguments on the law he had ever heard delivered on any question. Well-deserved praise, and all the more emphatic, coming from so high a source. As Judge Andrews was one of the Joint Committee, and seemed to have charge of this branch of the discussion, I think his argument may safely be taken as containing the substance of what may be said from a lawyer's standpoint, to sustain this part of the Committee's report. The most striking feature of his argument is that he seemed chiefly anxious to convince the Convention not *how* a law of the English Church could become a law of the American Church—for this question indeed, he expressly declined to argue—but that the very guarded words used by the Committee as to the English Canons, would be found on investigation to reduce that portion of them now in force to so small and insignificant an amount, that we should have no hesitation or fear, lest in passing the Canon, we might thereby be recognizing laws as in force, which we perhaps had never heard of. He says: "I want to call the attention of gentlemen particularly to this fact; because if you look at these four provisions (for Ritual) in that light, you find that this bugbear (the English Canons) is reduced to a minimum, and you have nothing left to quarrel about practically, however you may differ theoretically in reference to the origin of the law of this Church."

The answer to this part of Judge Andrew's argument is this. The declaration that some English Canons (not

specified) became, in 1789, and are now, part of the law of this Church, was either true in point of fact, or it was not true. If true, it mattered not as an argument for adopting it, how many or how few Canons were embraced in the declaration.*

And the efforts of its advocates should have been addressed to sustaining the truth of the declaration both as matter of law and of fact. The only arguments upon these points were those general ones, and stated, too, in a very general way, which it has been already attempted to meet—that the English law came to us as a heritage, like the Common Law, or by reason of the continuity of the two Churches, or by virtue of the declaration in the Preface to the Prayer Book, or as proved by the Resolution as to identity passed by General Convention in 1814. Following now Judge A.'s argument we note that he is careful to tell us that the use which fastened these Canons upon this Church was not that use which underlies and supports the *lex non scripta*, but was a use founded expressly on, and itself sustained by, the *lex scripta*, or Code of Canons. He admits that the use meant by the Committee was a general not a local use, but he does not tell us how general, nor by what rules to be tested; nor did he explain, what is a very difficult matter to be understood clearly, how or under what conditions a written law may be properly said to be in use, as distinguished, (and in this debate it was so distinguished) from being in force. We may conceive of a practice, a ceremony, an ornament as being in use, but what is the use of a law not in force? Either these very Canons were in force as such in the American provinces or they were not. Then the question arises, can individual members of an imperfect organization by putting in use, more or less generally, the law of another organization, thereby make it the law for themselves and for their organization, when afterwards that organization is perfected. If so, then it would be upon some principle of jurisprudence which I have never heard explained, or even proposed, before the Report of this Committee.

But was the use of one Province sufficient to produce the effect, or was it to be that of all? Judge Andrews thought it should be a general use; Mr. McCready thought a local

*This clearly seemed to be the view of the Committee, for they proposed that after its adoption a Committee should be appointed to examine and report to the next Convention which were the Canons that were thereby declared to be a part of our law.

use sufficient. But in either case, what was to constitute the use of a Province? In two or three of them, the Church was established by law, and the English ecclesiastical code adopted ; but even then, the canons having been in force as law, would not avail, they must have been in use, as a fact. But in none of the Provinces from 1776 to 1789 was there any Church organization. Co-operation there may have been, but no legal bond of union between the Church congregations of the several Provinces other than the Faith, Order and Sacraments of the Catholic Church and membership in it. There may have been as many uses as there were congregations in the land. No one Priest, or his congregation, could force its use upon another, any more than the Church in our Province, even had it adopted unanimously any one use, or used universally any one of the English Canons, could have forced such use upon the Church in another Province. And it may be fairly asserted that had every Province but one, or had every Priest and congregation but one, individually and voluntarily put in use one of these Canons, it would not have made such Canon the law for that one Province or one Congregation, or even for the Provinces or Congregations themselves putting it voluntarily into use. Simply because such use was not the act of any law-making power, it was not a Rule of ecclesiastical conduct prescribed by the superior power in the Church, and therefore lacked the essentials of a law. In such use there was no accompanying element of obedience required, nor of amenability to any legally constituted authority. But again, according to the Committee, the existence of a law as at present in force, is not to be tested by its having been in use *since* 1789, but by its having been in use, as matter of fact, at and prior to that date. Its use may have been discontinued in 1790, and not since resumed, but nevertheless, it would still continue the law of this Church now in force, and for its violation, a minister could now be tried and convicted. Take the only instance Judge Andrews gives us : he says the English Canon directing the use of pulpits in the Church was in general use before the Revolution. If, therefore, this declaration be true, the law of this Church now directs the use of such pulpit. Could a Rector be tried and convicted now for not using a pulpit ?

Or to show the difficulty of applying any test as to the fact of use—Judge Andrews alluded to the Canon which requires a lowly reverence during divine service at the Holy Name. Was it a use or not in ante-Revolutionary times ?

Even as to the use in this respect of so eminent a man as Bishop White, two venerable clergymen, Drs. Goodwin and Mason, differed *toto cælo*. Who then can now establish use as a fact one hundred years ago? Who will be able to do so twenty-five or fifty years hence? A law whose existence as matter of fact cannot be proved clearly and indubitably, is no law.

The tests by which the *lex non scripta* or Common Law is established have already been stated. When any one of them is wanting, the supposed law does not exist. I hesitate not to assert that these tests cannot be successfully applied to the use of one single English Canon in the American Provinces prior to 1789.

Finally and in reference generally to usages and customs in the Church, if any such be found in the American Church as can meet successfully all the tests which have been stated, it might safely be granted that they would have the force of law, even though not shown to have been prescribed as a Rule by the legislative power of this particular Church; for it could then just as safely be assumed that such Use was Catholic as distinguished from English.

HILL BURGWIN.



THE STANDARD OF LITERARY VALUE.

IN estimating and passing sentence upon any literary production, it is very important that we have, and that we should use some fixed and generally recognized standard of valuation. We have, it is true, what are called "Canons of Criticism." They are written out in books, and they have for their basis the "usage of the best writers and speakers." But they relate, for the most part, to the manner and not to the matter of literature. They concern the clothing and not the body of thought. They belong, almost exclusively, to the province of rhetoric. And thus it happens that a production may be almost perfect as regards style, and diction, and yet be next to worthless when judged according to its inherent and essential merit. We wish it to be understood, therefore, that we use the term "Literary Value" in a sense different from that which the rhetoricians would naturally give to it. And, when we speak of the importance of having some standard for the measurement of such value, we leave out of sight, and designedly, nearly everything which has been written by the masters of criticism. For it will be found that they have busied themselves with the form rather than the substance of literature.

The necessity of some fixed standard of measurement

is felt and acknowledged, and met, in every department of literature. We have, for example, an accepted and authorized test for estimating distance, and weight, and size. The terms which we use as signs of these different things are, it is true, only relative. There is nothing absolutely long or short, heavy or light, large or small; yet, because of a recognized standard, we have the means of judging—that is, of criticising or estimating—their comparative qualities; and, we have the undoubted right to say why certain objects are longer, or heavier, or larger than others. A yard is not what anybody pleases to make it; and, when we hear a mountain called “high,” we know approximately what is meant. So it is also in ethics, in law, and in theology. In each of these realms there is some standard for determining and discriminating between what is good and what is bad; between truth and error.

So it is everywhere except in literature; there the whole body of adjectives lose their restrictive and definite meaning, and become vague terms. No one can prove, for instance, that a particular novel falls short of what a good novel ought to be, for the reason that the descriptive and qualifying word “good” means with different persons, entirely different things. In ethics, however, we have some sort of a basis; men may disagree as to what constitutes the fundamental distinction between right and wrong; but these disagreements narrow themselves to, at most, three or four varying theories, and, whichever of them we choose, whether this or that, we have something definite to start with in measuring and judging the moral side of mankind and of human history.

The need of a literary basis is very great. Whether it is or is not possible to find one is a question, but there is no question as to the good which the discovery and possession of something answering that purpose would accomplish. Without some recognized standard of literary value, we shall continue to linger in the twilight of culture; without it the verdict of popular criticism is but the voice of an impulsive mob; and the best of our reviews—those most conscientiously written—will very likely prove to be examples of a plunge in the dark; or, of a blow at random. Any one who has traced from the beginning the fortunes of works now famous in English Literature, and especially any one who compares the book-notices printed in our various newspapers; and, even the more extended reviews which appear as the manifestation of the deliberate

judgment of professed critics must see the necessity of our coming, if such a thing is possible, to some sort of an agreement; or, at least, to a common understanding as to the proper measure of literary value.

Again, in our study of the literature of the past, we are at a loss how to rate the relative excellence of different authors. We know that certain writers have won the distinction of greatness, but when we are called upon to give the reasons of their admitted pre-eminence, we are either at a loss what to say, or else, very likely, our reason is different from those of other equally warm admirers. The great majority of readers and of critics, may, in the long run, come to a virtual agreement as to the rank which particular writers ought to hold: whether first, or second, or third, and at the same time, be at utter variance with each other, concerning the rationale of such classification. In the last analysis, most people, probably divide different writers into different grades of excellence according to the extent to which such writers respectively please them; or, in other words, according as they do or do not suit personal tastes and preferences. But literary worth cannot be the creation of popular will. We cannot vote a poet into greatness, any more than we can, by legislation, make the inherent value of paper equal to that of gold. Moreover, judging in this way, we shall be apt to select for our reading those works which accord with our personal bias and tendency; that is, the ones which we do not need, and neglect those which, if patiently studied, would give us a broader culture. Reading only that kind of literature which we like, will but develop still more the original narrowness and one-sidedness of our nature.

The need of a literary standard of measurement is manifest also from the fact, quits easy of demonstration, that because of the absence of such a standard, the world is flooded with an increasing volume of printed trash. A few years ago the popular ambition looked mainly towards education. Everybody had a desire to learn. Now the special and prevailing ambition is to publish something. Thus *cacoethes scribendi*, which Horace so savagely satirizes, has become an itch for printing. There are, no doubt, priceless advantages in the facility with which thinkers can become authors, and communicate their thoughts to the public. But there are also disadvantages, and among them this ought to be placed near to the first. It encourages incompetence; it lets in, through the print-

ing press, along with much that is confessedly good, and, with some productions which may, perhaps, be finally preserved as a part of our permanent literature—a great mass of vapid, literary nonsense. If the people, or even the critics were competent to measure with even an approximate degree of accuracy the relative value of books recently published, the public taste would, in time become elevated; the mental eye of the world would be cleared of its film. With this elevation of tastes, and with this clearing of the vision, would come the power of a wider “natural selection.” The demand for the more worthless kinds of reading would lessen, and a second result would also follow. The would-be authors themselves might see at once, and, before beginning, that they cannot hope to reach or even to approach the generally accepted standard of literary value; and that they had therefore better remain, so far as authorship is concerned, in honorable silence and obscurity. The number of new books is increasing every year. Not one in a hundred will bring either deserved fame or rightful profit to its author. A less proportion than that would supply all the real literary needs of the public. We read far more than can be digested, and the consequence is a waste of time and a decay of mental power.

The subject is far too broad for a single article. Literature covers a vast field, and in each department of it,—as for example, poetry, history, biography, and so on, there must be of course a different standard. It may be thought by some that we have started a useless problem, and entered into a course of speculation wholly visionary; therefore, for the purpose of narrowing the present discussion down to a more definite conclusion, and also for the purpose of showing, that it is not altogether impossible to discover a literary standpoint, we select for special consideration the question of *poetic* value. We choose this particular line of investigation because poetry is probably the most universal and permanent, as it certainly is the earliest, form of literature.

When we pronounce a certain metrical composition good or bad, what is the basis of our judgment? What is the law by which we determine the rightful rank of that production? When we say of a particular piece of property, “it is worth \$5,000,” we have something by which we can measure its value. When we apply the adjective “good” to a person, we have in mind the special qualities which go

to make up goodness. Can this same objection be made to retain anything like equal distinctness when we come to apply it to poetry? In other words, is there any satisfactory test, any available measure of poetic value? We think there is. We hope to be able to show, not merely that Shakespeare stands above all other poets, but also why he outranks them; why Milton, and Byron, and Tennyson, and the whole army of English singers must be regarded as inferior to him.

Carlyle in his *Essays on Characteristics* says: "On the whole, genius is ever a secret to itself; of this old truth we have, on all sides, daily evidence. The Shakespeare takes no airs for writing *Hamlet* and the *Tempest*, *understands not that it is anything surprising*; Milton, again, is *more conscious of his faculty, which accordingly is an inferior one*. On the other hand, what cackling and strutting must we not often hear and see, when, in some shape of academical profusion, maiden speech, review article, this or the other well-fledged goose has produced its goose-egg, of quite measurable value, were it the pink of its whole kind; and wonders why all mortals do not wonder."

This passage betrays Carlyle's well-known cynicism, and his most unlovely self-conceit, but, at the same time, it contains a principle which is worthy of our careful study. His language when freed from its affectations of obscurity, and translated into plain English, amounts to this. Unconsciousness is a mark of the highest poetic greatness. Is the statement true? The best and the only satisfactory test of its truthfulness will be an application of it to particular cases. After repeated experiments we have found that it generally holds good. We have applied this standard of measurement to all the more prominent poets, and, in nearly every instance, the result thereby reached agrees with the world's estimate of their relative worth.

But let us arrange this standard of valuation in a sort of table. We start with individuality as the unit of measurement: that is, we propose to classify our different poets according to the extent of their manifested self-consciousness. Using this standard, we shall find that they are divided into three classes or orders.

I. The lowest order includes those who have no individuality. They are mere machines, or parrots, or wooden poets, as we sometimes call them. They never touch us with anything like sympathetic influence. They lack imagination, but they are yet more deficient in passion.

They never put themselves into their writings. There is nothing distinctive in the creations which they produce. In fact, they are not creators, but cold and tame imitators. Their verses may be faultless so far as the metre goes. Critics may be unable to detect any roughness or irregularity in the outward form of their poems. Nevertheless, the true poetic fire; the power to thrill and to warm; the kindling fervor of passion; all these are wanting in their writings because they are wanting in the men themselves. Here lies the fundamental distinction between poetry and other kinds of literature. More writers on the philosophy of poetry make form the essential characteristic in that art. This standard of measurement is based upon a different principle. It enables us to distinguish between poetry and verse. It furnishes a good and sound reason for saying to the thousands of young men and women who are rushing before the public with their metrical compositions, and claiming recognition as poets: you are lacking in the very lowest of all the many poetic qualifications, you have no individuality whatever.

II. Next above this class of mere versifiers—these passionless manufacturers of measured prose—come those whose individuality is more or less marked. It permeates and colors whatsoever they produce; and, in proportion as this quality is weak or strong, they may be considered and ranked as lesser or greater poets. The thoughts which they express in verse, they themselves have first forged in the burning fire of their own souls. Their ideas are their own, the style of each is likewise marked by individuality. Having once heard them sing, and felt the thrill of their personal, sympathetic power, we can recognize their voice anywhere, even in the darkness of anonymous publication.

This very self-consciousness, this manifest individuality which lifts certain poets from the lowest class into that next higher, at the same time prevents them from taking the highest rank. They coin their own joys, and sorrows, and hopes, and longings into shapes and forms that pass current in the literary world, it may be for many centuries, and which all those persons competent to judge respecting poetic value, will recognize as genuine and real, but because they never go out of themselves; because their individuality clings to them under all circumstances, they can never claim the name of universal poets.

III. In the very highest rank, and at the head of this whole body of singers stand these poets—and they are

few in number—who can, and who do assume, at will, the individuality of others, sinking meanwhile their own entirely out of sight, losing themselves in the character of this or that hero, or in the common character of all men. They have no seclusiveness. When they sing, they simply put themselves in our places, and utter what we ourselves have always felt, but could never express. They become one with each, and every member of the whole family of man, and, therefore, in proportion as their writings are read and known they rise to the rank of universal poets. To this class belong, without question, Homer and Shakespeare.

And in this connection it is curious to note the fact that these are the only great poets whose authorship has been questioned. And this very lack of individuality is, probably, one cause of the skepticism which exists regarding them. The man Homer nowhere appears in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Those epics might have been written by any one else; they may be simply collections of traditional ballads, for aught that appears in the poems themselves. And substantially the same thing may be said of Shakespeare's plays. Where can we detect his personal voice? We hear only the men and the women whom he brings before us. Modern critics are trying to arrange his plays in chronological order; classifying them according to internal peculiarities of style, and evidences of relative maturity of thoughts. If Shakespeare belonged to the second rather than the first order of poets; if self-consciousness and individuality were the badge of his rank, such a classification would, perhaps be satisfactory and accurate. But, under the circumstances, and because Shakespeare is utterly wanting in self-expression, it will prove, we feel confident, next to valueless.

And now for a practical application of this standard of poetic value. Compare the writings of Shakespeare with those of Milton. Nobody need ever question the authorships of *Samson Agonistes*, or of *Paradise Lost*. In the first of these live works, the poet has pictured not the Hebrew Judge, but himself. The second, is simply an exposition of Milton's personal views concerning the Creation and the Fall of Man. It is the work of a Puritan theologian, and not of an inspired Bard. Underneath all the different characters that appear in that epic we detect the workings of the poet's own mind. We hear everywhere the voice of Milton himself, and no disguise can destroy its peculiar tone. This very individuality lifts

him far above the ordinary class of poets. His majestic numbers ring with the thunder which he alone could make. His lines burn with the fire which he himself felt ; but, because he never loses or forgets himself : because there is no transmigration of his personality, he stands below Shakespeare in power and excellence.

Of course these three classes occasionally shade off into each other. Under the self-absorbing impulse of some sudden inspiration those who belong to the second order, are lifted, for a moment to a level with the first, but they do not remain there. Those who belong to the third and lowest, may, now and then, rise to the second.

Having thus indicated a possible test of poetic value and suggested a standard by which the relative greatness and worth of our different authors may be measured, we leave to others the pleasanter duty of applying it. Try Byron, and Shelly, and Cowper, and Goethe, and Heine, and the whole body of the world's singers ancient and modern by this standard, and see where each of them stands. We think that the resulting classification will not be very different from that which critics have already made.

If this is the true philosophy of poetic greatness, one thing follows. We shall never have another Shakespeare, unless the world changes. The intense individuality of modern times, the extreme self-consciousness, fostered by the elevation of popular rights to be the chief end of man, have made it extremely unlikely that any poet will forget himself for any great length of time. In our age when each soul sees only itself, and when all men seek their own, poetry of the highest kind, must, of necessity, be wanting.

EDWIN E. JOHNSON.

THE GREAT MEANING OF THE WORD *METANOIA* : LOST IN THE OLD VERSION, UNRECOVERED IN THE NEW.

METANOIA is the Greek word—and letter for letter an English one, if we desire it—which bears the sublime burden of the original proclamation of the Gospel. It represents the first utterance of John the Baptist as the herald of the Christ, and the first utterance of Jesus the Christ as the herald of the Kingdom of God. It was their summons to mankind, preceding the announcement of the power that was approaching, of the revelation that was at hand. If we recur to the image involved in the words “herald,” “proclamation,”—the image implied in the narrative—it was the note of a trumpet outside the walls, and the call of a messenger to open the gates.

In order the better to get at its meaning, let us now imagine some one who has never read the English New Testament, and who has had no especial bias given to his ideas by any theological system. All, we will suppose, for him is a knowledge of Greek, and a spiritual instinct which will enable him to rise into the frequent transcendental meaning of the Greek of the New Testament. He knows enough to know that he is dealing with the record of a Divine revolution in the affairs of men, and that the human language to which the account was committed is struggling to utter adequately the depth of inspiration behind it.

He knows that the record was committed to writing only after the bearings of the history were fully understood, and the conception of its meaning was fully matured. He knows that what is before him is a condensation as to events, and a translation as to ideas; in other words, if we confine the remark to the four Gospels, that the historical part is as brief as it is profound, and that the doctrinal part is not only briefly and profoundly expressed, but was transferred to the Greek from the vernacular in which it was at first expansively spoken. He is prepared therefore to see not only a representative depth in each event, but, especially, a comprehensive force in every cardinal word.

In the very outset of the life of Christ he comes upon the word *Metanoia* and in a connection which gives it the all-prominent place. He takes in the significance of its position at once. It conveys the summons of the herald, and of the herald who was freighted with the good news which the whole New Testament afterwards unfolds. Here in epitome, he naturally thinks, must be all the "high Calling" of God. No word therefore in the New Testament can be greater than this. Hence he must interpret it as a condensed expression of what was originally said in large, and as an expression, also, which was fixed upon long after the event, when everything was understood, as the fit one to carry the great burden. If this is its anticipatory reach, if this is its heralding grasp, he naturally sets about inquiring what is its history and what its elementary weight?

When we imagine such a fresh reader of the Greek Testament as this, we place ourselves in the situation to pursue his inquiry.

The literal meaning of *Metanoia*, or rather, the nearest expression to it in English, is *Change of Mind*, a phrase too much worn by familiar use to be available as a rendering, but an idea capable of many equivalent variations in the English tongue. It will be more convenient, however, for our present purpose to employ the phrase as if its native force had not been thus impaired. What word is more expressive than "Change"? what more comprehensive than "Mind"?

"Change," in the radical sense we here intend, when applied to the mind, ought to suggest something hardly short of a transmutation; not of essence, of course, but of consciousness. We understand by a change of place the occupation of another place; a change of condition, another condition; a change of form, another form. We can

imagine the otherwise unchangeable man undergoing, in like manner, a change of mind ; what Coleridge coined the word *transmutation* to express : a sort of mental transfiguration, under which the mind, when placed in a new situation, thinks new thoughts, receives new impressions, forms new tastes, inclinations, purposes, develops new aptitudes ; such a change may be good or evil, but such a change is possible.

For, what is the "Mind" ? It is that spiritual part of us which receives and assimilates whatever it has an affinity for in the world outside, whether that world be spiritual or material. It is the whole group of faculties which compose the intelligence. It is sight and perception, thought and reflection, apprehension and comprehension, all that is popularly known as the intellect or understanding. But it also embraces more than this ; namely, a large portion of the moral and affectional nature. It occupies the realm of the heart. Thus it comes about that, in common speech, the terms "mind" and "heart" are often interblended, one overlapping the field of the other. We speak of the heart as if it were the thinking principle. It has its thoughts as well as its affections. We also speak of the mind as if it had feelings as well as perceptions. The will, too, seems to be as much at home in one as in the other. What the mind fancies it will do, it shortly resolves to do, is minded to do. What the mind also fastens its attention upon, it shortly fastens its love upon. We love with the whole mind, as well as with the whole heart, soul, and strength. When, therefore, we speak of the mind, we often mean the heart as well as the brain, but we never mean the heart without the brain. The mind proper is the masculine, intellectual element, strong and foremost, of which the heart is the feminine, affectional counterpart, always in attendance upon it, always at one with it. As "Man" is the generic name for Adam and Eve, so "Mind" is the generic name for this two-fold nature of man.

When, then, "Mind" means so much, and "Change," may be made to mean so much, to speak of a "Change of Mind" is to stand on the verge of a great conception.

Now we are introduced into the fullness of the Greek word *Metanoia*. *Nous* is the precise equivalent of *mind*. It is intellect, first and foremost, but it is intellect interblended, in its action, with the nature behind it. There is no mystic partition dividing the one from the other. It is the whole soul. It is mind, first, in the sense of percep-

tion, knowledge, thought. It is mind, next, in the sense of feeling, disposition, will. And *Nous* is the body of the word *Metanoia*. *Meta* is a preposition which, when compounded with *nous*, means *after*. *Metanoia* is the after-mind: perception, knowledge, thought, feeling, disposition, will, *afterward*. The mind has entered upon a new stage, upon something beyond. If the prefix were *pro*, *Pronoia*, would mean perception before, thought before, a state of mind before experience; but *Metanoia* is a state of mind after experience; the mental condition which has developed itself after an entirely new set of circumstances has encompassed and invaded the consciousness. *Meta*, therefore, introduces the mind in the act of progress, a "change" taking place either by evolution or by revolution; development through any cause or in any form, when the mind is operated upon by considerations within or by conditions without.*

In this statement of the capacity of the word we are drawing upon the literal elements of the compound exhaustively. We are obliged to do this because, as in the case of many other cardinal words in the New Testament, we cannot fall back upon its classical use for its Scriptural definition. In the former it was as weak an expression as our own "change of mind," and was employed in very much the same superficial way. It meant a change of perception, of opinion, of purpose, of feeling in ordinary affairs,

* A lay friend, after this paper was written, sent us the following: "The force of *Meta* is clearly this, viz., 'end for end,' or 'in the opposite direction,' or 'anew.' For the root of *Meta* is the English *mid*, and *Meta* is at bottom the English 'amid.' From this idea (one of situation), it progresses to another idea of *direction*; and in this use it has the sense of 'going right against,' in the sense of 'striking fair and square,' or 'right in the *middle*.' Thus it gets the meaning of '*oppositeness of direction*,' and its force in *Metanoia* is to show that the action of the mind is now to be precisely in the opposite direction to what was before the case. . . . I strongly wish I could provoke you to examine the word '*Metanoia*' philologically. In its philology lie many truths. '*Noia*' appears to be a worn down form for '*gnoia*,' (compare '*agnoia*,' not '*anoia*'), and the root seems to be '*gen*,' meaning to beget, produce, or, as we say, conceive. From the same root is *gennao*, to beget. *Noia* (*genoia*) is the begetting, shaping, or production of anything in the inner and mental world; thus all the operations or creations of the mind. The Latin *gigno*, genitor, *gno-sco*, English 'knows,' are all from this root. The use of getting back to this philological meaning is to apply *Metanoia* to all the operations of the mind, whether of wish, thought, or action, will, understanding, life."

with the natural consequence, sometimes, of a change of action. It was a current expression for any alteration of mind or view, and for whatever retrospective emotion might attend the fact.

Its Scriptural definition comes to us under very grand circumstances ; the word is made over and enlarged by its environment, as if it had been re-inspired and been born anew. We are compelled to seek its meaning in the abstract, native force of the compound as thus vivified by the situation in which we find it. Its history in this respect is that of the language of the New Testament.

When the Greek language, released by the conquests of Alexander the Great, three centuries and more before the Christian Era, spread over the known world and became the universal language, its forms, constructions and meanings met with curious modifications as it came in contact with the life and thought of the countries it had invaded. When in time it struck the Hebrew mind and religion at Alexandria, the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament rose gradually into being, but in the act of re-expressing ideas and principles so entirely out of the range of the Greek imagination, even that perfect and elaborate tongue mounted to a level and breathed an atmosphere it had never occupied before. It took, in many instances, a new color, a new character. There could have been no other result when the wealth of Divine revelation and of the story of the only true religion was committed for re-coinage to the exquisite resources of such a mint. It was now "the much refined gold" receiving the stamp of the current common coin, but imparting to it a hitherto unknown value. Familiar words began to ring with a strange quality.*

If this was so, nearly three centuries before the Christian Era, how must it have been when there came such a revelation to put into words, and such a revolution to put on

* The Septuagint represents only a half-way step in this assignment of the Greek language to the expression of Hebrew ideas. It did not wholly free itself from Greek influence. "The Seventy prepared the way in Greek," says Cremer, in his Preface to his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, "for the New Testament proclamation of saving truth. Fine as is their tact, it must be allowed that their language differs from that of the New Testament, as the well-meant and painstaking effort of the pupils differs from the renewing and creative hand of the Master." This shows itself in a less definite use of "Metanoia" than in the New Testament, where it is absolute.

record, as was ushered in with the Christian religion? Upon the Greek language, also, fell the burden of the new Scriptures, and, this time, not by translation but by direct inspiration. The Pagan tongue had to wreathe itself into new phraseologies in order to give what utterance it could to ideas well-nigh unutterable. Words which had passed colloquially from mouth to mouth in the cities of Greece, words which were current in every-day speech everywhere, some whose meanings had never before been profound, others whose usage had worn them thin, now rose into a significance so powerful and so sacred that they could only be used as Temple-money by all ages to come. Expressions conveying a Divine meaning, now most familiar to us, were occasions of astonishment to Pagan and Jew alike when they were lifted into connections which transfigured them. Such, we know, were Faith, Hope, Love, Light, Truth, Life, Peace, Liberty; such were Redemption, Atonement, Resurrection; such were Saviour and Apostle, and many more which might be named. And such was Metanoia. So great as this was what Schleiermacher calls "the language-moulding power of Christianity."

When Metanoia was taken up into the uses of the New Testament it came to mean, according to Archbishop Trench, "that mighty change in mind, heart, and life wrought by the Spirit of God, *which we call Repentance*."*

"Which we call Repentance!" What a *diminuendo* in the statement is here! The swelling note suddenly gives up its breath and subsides into this! It is *we*, the English-speaking world, he says, who call that "mighty change," "repentance." In other words, this is the rendering of it in our English Bible, and the accredited expression for it in all theological literature.

Here, now, we come upon the practical and all-important point of this inquiry. For, putting these words, Metanoia and Repentance, side by side, is there not, on the contrary, a most radical divergency between them? We are supposing the reader to be looking at the two with a perfectly fresh and unsophisticated perception. He already knows what the Greek "Metanoia" etymologically means; let us now remind him what the Latin "Repentance" etymologically means. In its primary sense it fails to come anywhere near the other. Its central idea is *pœnitentia*, from *pœna*, pain; suffering in view of being liable to

* See Trench's Synonyms of the New Testament p. 241 Sec. lxix.

punishment: hence grief over an act for which satisfaction might be demanded. It would be fair to allow it also a secondary signification; suffering in view of the badness of the act itself, without regard to its consequences. The prefix *re*, back, adds to this the idea of *looking back* with sorrow upon what has been done amiss. The word thus communes with the past, and represents an emotion only. This may be produced by a change of mind, and it may have influence in producing a change of mind. It may be potentially equal to amendment of life, but it is forcing the word to put that meaning into it, and more than forcing is necessary to make it "express that mighty change in mind, heart, and life, wrought by the Spirit of God" which Archbishop Trench admits is the meaning of Metanoia. At the best it can only hang on the skirts of the great Greek expression, for *that* means a movement of the whole mind *forward*, to which a looking backward is only incidental. Metanoia embraces *any* consideration which may cause the mind to change. It implies the whole circle of influences, repentance among them, which may affect or mold the mind. It necessarily brings about repentance as one of the results of its operation, but it brings about reformation of life as the great result of all.

In saying this we do not intend to ignore the office of repentance in its strict sense, nor to put that all-necessary conviction of sin which characterizes the Christian Religion in any indirect relation to the Christian life. We are only questioning the word as a rendering of Metanoia; as representing only an emotion, not intellection in any way. Far back in the heart is the capacity for that emotion shut up, awaiting its proper occasions. We cannot conceive of its coming into activity unless the mind has been already engaged, but we can conceive of the mind being full of many processes, involving change of thought, or purpose, or feeling, wherein it has not been concerned at all. In this lies its first palpable incompetency to represent so comprehensive a word. But it may be said that it has been given a signification, theologically, which bears it into all that is equivalent to a change of mind, and even further than that, to amendment of life. It has, we are told, this recognized meaning among all evangelical authorities, and is so understood by all practical Christians. If this were really so, and it had so burst the chrysalis of its etymology as to float in our consciousness arbitrarily and absolutely for as much as this, even then it were impracti-

cable to make it compass what is meant by *Metanoia* in the New Testament. The common uses of language drag it down. It cannot sustain itself at such a height. Not only are the meshes of its origin inseparable from it, but it is too much in the web of popular speech. No word is used more loosely even by theologians, except among very careful precisians. It slips out everywhere in untechnical connections. It *will* back to its vernacular use. It *will* emerge from the popular dictionary, in its native and simple meaning, the richest and weightiest of all its familiar sisterhood of synonyms, to give force to the diction when sorrow of a godly kind is meant. Even in the Prayer Book it is convertibly employed with "penitence," and there is every indication that there nothing more is intended by it.* It has proved too strong and full for this in the penitential atmosphere of the Christian life, to be parted with for advanced dogmatical purposes only. Hence an element of confusion which robs it of dogmatical force.

But there is another. In the Authorised Version we find it varying about in a way that requires often considerable spiritual discernment to tell where it stands for *Metanoia*, and where it does not; for there is another word, *Metameleia*, which exactly means repentance in its strict sense, and is also so rendered. This variation occurs frequently enough to make us wonder whether the translators attached any distinct doctrinal significance to it at all, and we might also be pardoned for wondering whether they were fully aware

* A few instances, in the Prayer Book, not only of the synonymous use of "penitence" and "repentance," but also of their distinction from "amendment of life":—In the General confession: "Restore thou those who are *penitent* according to thy promises." In the larger Absolution, "Declare and pronounce. . . . being *penitent* . . . Wherefore . . . grant us true *repentance*." In the shorter Absolution: "Promised forgiveness of sins to all those who with *heartly repentance* and true faith turn unto Him." In the Litany: "Give us true *repentance*, and endue us with grace to *amend our lives*." Collect for Ash-Wednesday: "Dost forgive the sins of all those who are *penitent*, create and make in us *new and contrite hearts*." Third Ash-Wednesday prayer: "Who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly *repent* us of our faults." In the Communion Exhortation: "If with a true *penitent* heart . . . *repent* ye truly of your sins past, have a lively and steadfast faith, *amend your lives*." "Ye who truly *repent* . . . and *intend to lead a new life*." In the Confession: "We acknowledge and bewail, &c., . . . We do earnestly *repent*, and are *heartily sorry*." In the Family Prayer: "Give them *repentance* and *better minds*," &c., &c.

of the unique value of Metanoia wherever they found it.* When the English Scriptures themselves do not make a distinction it can hardly be expected that theological formularies will succeed in doing so. And, moreover, as the English Bible is written in the common language of the people, and, as such, belongs to our heritage of English literature, it blends itself more with this than with the technicalities of theology; its forms of speech are popular, and what is meant by repentance in general literature, in current talk, and in dictionary definitions will necessarily be understood as intended by it. "Repentance" is a favorite word among all writers, especially those engaged in depicting life and action; let anyone pause at it as it comes up in his general reading, and he will find what it is in the consciousness of the people, and how far short, therefore, it must always fall of the Biblical word Metanoia.

But there is another and even more serious matter involved in this confusion of meaning. The use of the word

*What are we to think, for instance, when we read that Judas "repented himself" (*μεταμελῆθεις*), or how vivid must the peculiar sense of Metanoia—even the admitted one—have been in minds which could dismiss the following passage to be "understood of the people"?

"For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent (*μεταμέλομαι*), though I did repent, (*μεταμελόμην*). Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance (*μετάνοιαν*): . . . For godly sorrow worketh repentance (*μετάνοια*), unto salvation not to be repented of (*ἀμεταμέλητον*)," ii. Cor., 7, 8, 10. Where is Metanoia in its lone and comprehensive grandeur here? In the original it stands nobly at the top in the ascending scale, but not in the version. Where, too, is "Evangelical repentance"? Certainly, in this place, not apparently above the other kind.

Judas was unquestionably equal to repentance, as people generally understand it, but was, as unquestionably, far short of Metanoia as his Master understood it. S. Paul could very naturally repent of having written a letter which had caused pain, and as naturally reverse the feeling when he found that sorrow had produced so substantial a thing as a change of mind, the condition of all others that he most valued, in which he stood himself, which, when attained, was so fixed as to be equivalent to "salvation not to be repented of." And yet these two unequal words of the original are yoked under one and the same English word; and this very English word is conveniently supposed by some to bear two senses, one sense natural and the other technical!

The revisers, in this awkward passage, have translated (*μεταμέλομαι*) "regret," leaving *μετάνοια* to "repentance." But Judas, it will be seen, Matt., 27, 3, still "repents himself"! His remorse, fruitful only of hemp, continues to be as respectably characterised, in the

"repentance" for Metanoia has thrown an almost exclusively emotional character around both the original proclamation of the Gospel and its present call. Despite himself the reader hears the "Repent ye!" of John the Baptist and of the Saviour, like a cry, a note of danger, full of terror, amid which the hearts of the people stood still, instead of what it really was, the invocation of a mind, heart, and life which should befit such a glad and glorious change as the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. If the call had really been "Repent ye!" it would have been only an appeal to the feelings; and as, without question, a great deal of the call of the Gospel is to the conscience where it "looks back" to what has been done amiss, and for which punishment has been incurred, it is not strange that in many quarters this supposed appeal to the impenitent nature only, has been taken up as the burden of *all* preaching, all spiritual counsel; an appeal in their hands, often wrought up with terrific penal imagery, and then the fright which has ensued and its consequences have been accepted as the change of heart. Or, if not always so grossly mistaken, yet there is a tendency thus created to regard an emotional condition, a general passion of religious feeling, however induced, as the seat of efficacy with God, and as the only safe and promising state in which to begin and continue the Christian life. Even more: this is sometimes considered as itself the Christian life. The result has often been the extraordinary incongruity of a life of zeal unaccompanied by a life principle, penitence and faith developed in conspicuous measure in view of an *ideal* sinfulness! and the living conscience, the practical right, sunk in Pharisaic forms which satisfy certain low standards of outward righteousness! The Metanoia is not here. The profound ethical sense has not been awakened at all. Fear has no genuine ethical

New Version, as if he had been "made sorry after a godly sort." So again, in Rom. II, 29, ἀμεταμέλητα is rendered "without repentance." See also elsewhere. The revisers who have kept so carefully to S. Mark's oft-repeated "straightway," for the sake of uniformity, might also have kept these words apart, throughout, for a better reason.

Dr. Roberts, in his "Companion to the Revised N. T.," speaks of these two words as "most desirable to distinguish wherever that is possible. The one word," he says, "means simply to 'rue' or 'regret,' a course which has been followed; the other, implies that thorough *change of mind* which is implied in Christian repentance." But he continues, (and he must be referring to the assigned or the self-imposed limitations under which the revisers labored,) "unfortunately, it is not always possible to express the distinction in our language." (p. 124.)

power. Sorrow has no sure ethical consequence. Excitement of any kind can bear, of itself, no ethical fruit. None of these can have respect with God. The only thing that can be regarded by Him is that which He has arranged everything to bring about in us: that spiritual perception of the right and the true which grows within and around a mind that is being gradually educated up to the Divine standard; the nature wide open in front, not only looking behind, and receiving the whole counsel of God, not a part of it; every faculty enlightened, every feeling inspired; the entire man engaged; conviction, not excitement; earnestness, not impulse; habitude, not paroxysm; the heart tempered by the understanding, the understanding warmed by the heart; this, the consummate and yet attainable condition, this, the *Metanoia*, lived alike by Master and disciple, this, the "Mind" of Christ, and made possible to all by the Spirit of God—this is not conveyed in the "Repent ye!" of our Gospels, nor does it come within the range of much of the teaching which falls on the world's ear. The all-encompassing grandeur of an announcement which takes in the whole of life, and calls upon man to enlarge his consciousness with the eternal and the spiritual, to live on the scale of another life, to let his character grow under this great knowledge, to let his conduct fall into the lines of the revealed Divine will—all this is lost.

How did such an extraordinary mistranslation get into our New Testament? It can be attributed to what we have already hinted at, and some evidence of which we have already given, namely, a failure to grasp the comprehensive and far-reaching character of the word. It came too early in the record for the translators to perceive its transcendental level. This they easily did with the other words we have named, which came later, and when they had mounted the swell of the ocean on which they had embarked. They did not catch this at once as the key-note of the New Testament, for the strain of the Old had not yet died away. And there was, besides, another music ringing in their ears: the sombre tones of a traditional theology which even the thunders of the Reformation had not drowned. The age, too, was a Latin-speaking age. The translators read their Greek through the lenses of a language whose grain was too coarse to admit its finer spirit. The Vulgate also was an authority older than any manuscript they possessed. They could not bring themselves to render its

"Do penance," for Metanoëite, but they could not divest themselves of the impression of "penitence" with which that rendering tinged the word. Still they showed some signs of divergence, and it led to controversy. Beza, for instance, had revolted so far as to get his composition of Metanoia wrong, and make it *Meta* and *anoia*, a change from a "want of mind," a change from "folly," and so rendered it *resipiscencia* in his Latin version, an act, however, which still showed his mental bias.*

We have not the authorities at hand to prove the fact but it looks very much as if the English translators, who depended so much upon Beza and his Greek text, were misled by the same bias and compounded Metanoia in the same way. If they did, it explains everything. Their *repentance* were a very good rendering in that case, and hence, then, the uncertain sound with which their New Testament opens to this day. But what shall we say for the Revised Version if this be so? The Revisers do not so compound it. Is it possible that so palpable a misinterpretation of the Greek has now been perpetuated because it had grown like a fossil into the substance of popular theology and so escaped recognition in the Greek as a fossil?

It may now be imagined with what interest and expectation we looked forward to the New Version, realizing full well the difficulty of reproducing the original in this place and elsewhere more faithfully, and of making a change so

* The reader will be interested in getting a glimpse into this controversy when it started at the opening of the Reformation. "Luther, it will be remembered, first saw the practical value of philological study when he was puzzling over the expression *poenitentiam agite*, 'do penance,' which the Vulgate uses for the Greek word that in the English translation is rendered 'repent.' Was it possible, he said to himself, that Christ and the Apostles could really bid men do penance? Did the New Testament really stand on the side of his opponents, and of all the gross corruptions which the doctrine of penance had introduced? Melancthon solved this difficulty by showing to Luther that the Greek word *μετανοειν*, which Jerome had translated 'do penance,' really and etymologically meant 'change your mind.' From that moment the Reformation entered into a conscious alliance with the New Learning."

Prof. W. Robertson Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.—Lect. II.

The Geneva version, a Continental and more independent one, with which the Authorized Version ran in rivalry for nearly fifty years, rendered Metanoëite "Amend your lives." The Authorized itself has a marginal rendering in S. Matthew's Gospel alternative to "fruits meet for repentance": "answerable to amendment of life": omitted, however, in the New Version.

startling, but hoping that, *at the least*, a marginal rendering would indicate the literal alternative, or a glossarial note define the Greek expression in a way that would go far to correct the English one. But the Revision flows on, making a ripple of change in almost every verse, yet with not a sign of perturbation over this sunken rock. Neither a light-ship nor a buoy warns of a spot where there has been shipwreck before now.

We understand, however, that it was the subject of discussion among the revisers, and that the matter was finally passed by, not because the present rendering was satisfactory, but because no *one* equivalent English word could be found comprehensive enough for the purpose. What then has been so long lost in the Old Version, remains unrecovered in the New because of a reluctance to employ a paraphrase! The poverty of our language, in this respect, is to keep *us* poor; or, it may be, something else was at the bottom of it, symptoms of which are apparent in other instances. It may have been the reluctance of that kind of conservatism which prefers not to disturb traditional notions or long-established formularies. We comfort ourselves, however, with the thought that the New Version is not a finality, but only tentative to that which shall yet meet the brave demand of the nineteenth century. What we have is a bold and noble move, but the whole of English Christendom are in council over it now, and suggestions and criticisms will flow in for some years to come; changes of view also will take place, making the way clearer and easier to a more fearless and absolute transfer of the original into our native tongue.

We feel prepared, at least, to say, with regard to the present subject, that the necessary employment of a paraphrase should not be an occasion for hesitation in making so important an alteration. We can leave it to the candid reader to judge which is the most objectionable; a resort to a paraphrase which really translates, or the preference for a technical word, to say nothing of an uncertain one, which is always in need of translation. Better, even, were the bald phrase "change of mind," with an explanation which would give it fulness and dignity, than the misleading rendering we have to put up with now. There is no fear but that a nobler expression can be framed, for S. Paul himself, as we shall shortly see, found no difficulty in ringing many changes upon the word, which melt very kindly into simple English.

So far as we have now gone we have probably done more to awaken the reader's attention to the question of the inadequacy of "repentance" as a rendering of *Metanoia*, than to convince him that the position is rightly taken. We must go for the evidence of this to the Scriptures themselves; but, in doing so, let us recur first to our imaginary scholar whom we have supposed to be receiving his impression freshly from the original. Happily, as it turns out, we are not obliged to go so far as to imagine such a scholar, for the impressions of an actual one of that kind came recently to our hand which are in such singular coincidence with the view we are trying to present that we venture to quote them entire. We are glad also to avail ourselves of his brief dissertation as a guide in directing a part of the inquiry.

That accomplished master of Greek, De Quincey, (who, if any one ever did, held his mind clear and free in a scholarly consciousness of the transcendent atmosphere into which the Greek language rose when it was summoned to meet the necessities of Christian truth and the exigencies of Divine inspiration) was, it seems, actually confronted by an intelligent friend, with the very question which is now engaging us. The record of it will be found in his *Autobiographic Sketches*.*

"Lady Carbury," he writes, "one day told me that she could not see any reasonable ground for what is said of Christ, and elsewhere of John the Baptist, that he opened his mission by preaching 'Repentance.' Why 'Repentance'? Why then, more than at any other time? Her reason for addressing this remark to me was that she feared there might be some error in the translation of the Greek expression. I replied, that, in my opinion, there was, and that I had myself always been irritated by the entire irrelevance of the English word, and by something very like cant, on which the whole burden of the passage is thrown. How was it any natural preparation for a vast spiritual revelation that men should, first of all, acknowledge

*"He (De Quincey) passed through a number of schools and . . . was distinguished for his eminent knowledge of Greek. At fifteen he was pointed out by his Master (himself a ripe scholar) to a stranger in the remarkable words. 'That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you or I could address an English one.' . . . In this, as in the subtilty of the analytical power, De Quincey must have strangely resembled Coleridge." Harriet Martineau, "*Biographical Sketches*," p. 95.

any special duty of repentance? The repentance, if any movement of that nature could be intelligently supposed called for, should more naturally follow this great revolution—which as yet, both in its principle and in its purpose was altogether mysterious—than herald it, or ground it. *In my opinion the Greek word, Metanoia, concealed a most profound meaning—a meaning of prodigious compass—which bore no allusion to any ideas whatever of repentance.* The *Meta* carried with it an emphatic expression of its original idea—the idea of transfer, of translation; or, if we prefer a Grecian to a Roman appareling, the idea of a *metamorphosis*. And this idea, to what is it applied? Upon what object is the idea of spiritual transfiguration made to bear? Simply upon the *noetic* or intellectual faculty—the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations. The holy herald of Christ, and Christ Himself, the finisher of prophecy, made proclamation alike of the same mysterious summons, as a baptism or rite of initiation, namely, *Metanoieite*. Henceforth transfigure your theory of moral truth; the old theory is laid aside as infinitely insufficient; a new and spiritual revelation is established, *Metanoieite*. Contemplate moral truth as radiating from a new centre; apprehend it under transfigured relations.

“John the Baptist, like other earlier prophets, delivered a message which, probably enough, he did not himself more than dimly understand, and never in its full compass of meaning. Christ occupied another station. Not only was He the original Interpreter, but He was Himself the Author—Founder at once, and Finisher—of the great transfiguration applied to ethics, which He and the Baptist alike announced as forming the code of the new revolutionary era now opening its endless career. The human race was summoned to bring a transfiguring sense and spirit of interpretation (*Metanoia*) to a transfigured ethics. An altered organ to an altered object. This is by far the grandest miracle recorded in Scripture. No exhibition of blank power—not the arresting of the earth’s motion—not the calling back of the dead to life, can approach in grandeur to this miracle which we daily behold; namely, the inconceivable mystery of having written and sculptured upon the tablets of man’s heart a new code or moral distinctions, all modifying—many reversing—the old ones. What would have been thought of any prophet, if he should have promised to transfigure the celestial mechanics; if he had said, I will create a new pole-star, a new Zodiac, and

new laws of gravitation ; briefly, I will make a 'new earth and new heavens? And yet a thousand times more awful it was to undertake the writing of new laws upon the spiritual conscience of man. Metanoëite! (was the cry from the wilderness). Wheel into a new centre your moral system—*geo-centric* has that system been up to this hour—that is, having earth and the earthly for its starting point; henceforth make it *helio-centric*, (that is with the Sun, or the heavenly, for the principle of motion).”*

This brilliant statement we believe to be true as far as it goes ; but the heralding was not all a bare summons. It was accompanied by every credential which the Summoner could show ; not only the credential of signs and wonders, but of teachings, which evidently enclosed far more than was apparent, which held out an ulterior meaning to be disclosed in due time ; teachings which penetrated to the very soul, and moved the heart of the age wherever they were heard. Metanoia was the theme—the *programma*—projected, and everything that was afterward spoken wrought out its meaning upon the mind of the time, sensibly or insensibly preparing and making ready its way. It was the great harbinger word of the Gospel, bearing witness to the “Light.” So, while, as De Quincey says, it was a prodigious assumption, the assumption of a power to work the most stupendous of miracles, it, at the same time, assumed the capacity in man to make the miracle possible. Christ would wait for the word to tell. This was His method throughout, even in special instances. For example : “Destroy this temple,” said He, at the very outset, to those who questioned His authority to expel the traders, “and in three days I will raise it up!” It was only after Pentecost that the Evangelist was able to add : “He spoke of the temple of His body.” But just as that declaration sunk into their minds, and worked unconsciously there ; indeed, worked in the minds of some of

* De Quincey's works “Autobiographic Sketches,” Vol I, p. 434.

In a closing note to the “Supplementary Essay on the Essenes,” he recurs to the subject again : “Metanoia—which word I contend cannot properly be translated *Repentance*; for it would have been pure cant to suppose that age or any age, as more under a summons to repentance than any other assignable. I understand by Metanoia a revolution of thought—a great intellectual change—in the accepting a new centre for all moral truth from Christ ; which centre it was that subsequently caused all the offence of Christianity to the Roman people.”

them till it reappeared three years after as one of the taunts flung up at Him on the Cross: "Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself!" so the summons to a mysterious Metanoia must have kept their whole consciousness thrilled with the sense of a strange experience, and as strange expectation, dumb and unintelligible, perhaps, but preparing the ground for what was to be sown in it.

What could have helped a great scheme of progress better than to put a word of prophecy at the beginning of it? What could have helped the teacher more than a preliminary word which was equivalent to an inspiration in its power to stir every fibre, and create a boundless desire to learn and to know? Such an all-permeating word was like the slow fusion of the metal for the mould and the slow cooling of it while it was assuming a new form. It was proclaiming a change of mind, and creating it at the same moment, by drawing the subject of it into active and intelligent participation.

De Quincey has given the weight of his authority, as a scholar, to the *intellectual* bearing of the word Metanoia, in the extraordinary use to which it is applied in the New Testament. But he might have included in his statement its equal and coincident range in the sphere of the moral and affectional nature. *Nous*, as we have already said, corresponds perfectly to *mind*. It allows our conception of an intellectual consciousness to let itself down into the whole possible profundity of a spiritual consciousness. This is, perhaps, implied in what he says, and it is as well that the stress was laid by him on the intellectual character of the expression, inasmuch as this is the very point that is most in danger of being lost sight of, and is of vast importance in any complete consideration of the subject.

The office of the intellect in the apprehension of Divine truth is not given its due consequence. "The *noetic* faculty, or the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations," to use De Quincey's expression, is foremost in all human action—it is *first*. The fact of the dependence of our whole nature upon it is almost too palpable to dwell upon, and yet the instantaneous flash with which outward things sometimes pass through it into the heart often leads us to ignore the office of the medium by which they entered.

Take a common instance of this unconsciousness. The hymn which, as it is sung, suffuses the soul with religious

emotion, has gone, in less than the twinkling of an eye, through a full and varied intellectual process of which the soul has taken no notice. First, the perception of its meaning; next, the perception of its beauty as an expression of the meaning to the degree that sensibility is excited; next, the susceptibility to its musical rendering which intensifies the sensibility; next, the throng of associations which comes, partly from the memory, partly from the imagination, and, like the legendary angel of Bethesda, stirs the waters of feeling welling up beneath—these are purely intellectual. We are hardly aware, unless we watch the mechanism of our nature, how much and how continually the *nous*, in its primary sense, is occupied in conveying inspiration to the heart. Memory is forever pouring its store into this realm; knowledge of every kind is daily streaming in by the portals of the senses, passing through the strangest transmutations as it is touched by the reason, or the fancy, till it reaches the sanctuary, and mounts into something which takes hold of the entire nature. But *then* the first has become the last, and the last first. That only which reaches, engrosses, and moves the *heart*, is that which works into the essence of the life; and that which remains intellectual alone is only on the way to its practical end, an abortive thing if it gets no further.

The intellect may be the Beautiful Gate, even, literally, Solomon's Porch, but the heart is the vital centre, the Sanctuary of the temple. All the outer courts point toward this, the precinct of the spirit. It is only when the thoughts which throng them like the multitude, it is only when the purposes which minister in them like the priests, have actually lit the altar fire and gone behind the veil, that the Divine uses of the temple are manifested and make their return. And yet it is none the less true that without these courts of approach the altar would never burn, the hidden power within would never be evoked. It is the intellect which awakens that inmost interior. It receives the crowd in its magnificent areas, it reports the situation outside, and then the secret heart, brooded upon by the Spirit of God, takes in the situation; the mystic circuit is complete; upon that heartfelt consciousness the character is formed, and upon that character, the life. It is a Divine dependence ordained in the structure of our nature, and the process of it ought to be vividly before our minds if we would understand the operation of the Metanoia.

We have used this apostolic figure of the "temple of

God," not only to give as graphic illustration as possible to a manifold fact of our nature under any circumstances, but also to consecrate the fact to the sacred relation in which we are discussing it, and bring it, besides, into the very connection in which S. Paul used the metaphor.

It is only when the situation is a Divine one that man is found to be the temple of God. So long as he confronts only the spirit of the world, whether it be in the nature of things or in the nature of men, he is like Herod's temple, without the Shekinah. He is only in partial use; his true occupation is gone, or has not come. But when "the Lord visits His temple," then the wisdom of the world finds no longer entrance, but "the wisdom of God is a mystery." In *that* change of situation comes the wondrous change of mind. "Eye hath not seen," exclaims the Apostle, "nor ear heard, neither have entered the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him"—not in the next world only, but in this. "Now," he continues, "we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might *know* the things that are freely given to us by God." "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise." Such was to be the utter dispossession of himself, such the utter evacuation of the wisdom of the world, such the Metanoia, when he came to know "Christ, the power of *God*, and the wisdom of *God*." S. Paul, when charged with a message like this, may well have scorned to come with the "excellency of speech or of wisdom" which then captivated the imagination of men, but no man ever lived who, "in demonstration of the Spirit and power," made a greater appeal to the intellect, more riveted the intelligent attention of the world, and elicited the admiration of the finest intellects the world has known. If ever a man was chosen because of his intellectual power, and if ever a man appealed to the understanding and struck home through every faculty and intuition which the understanding could summon, it was he.

If we have made our meaning clear—and much that we have said has an ulterior reference which will make it clearer—the reader is now prepared to take up the historic moment when the Gospel was inaugurated, and to contemplate the stupendous change of outward situation which then ensued. What an epoch it was! What a

meaning lay in the Metanoia that was then proclaimed! "The noetic faculty, or the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations," entered now upon its work, and the issue was to be a revolution in the whole human conception of life. Christ substituted His own wisdom for the wisdom of the world, and what we see recorded in the New Testament is, first, the natural process of the Metanoia: this wisdom working through the intelligence upon the heart, the conscience and the life; and next, the thoroughness of the result in forming a new spiritual consciousness in that age.

It was, indeed, the "beginning of miracles": the water was turned into wine. What else could have taken place from His presence at the bridal when Heaven and Earth were made one? The change was now inevitable from the lower into the Higher, from the temporal into the Eternal, from the natural into the Spiritual, from the human into the Divine. Life took a new character and another meaning when He drew near. It was found to be His life. The letter of the Old Testament dissolved into the spirit of the New. The law disappeared, and the righteousness which is by faith, red as the blood of a great Sacrifice, was found instead, filling the vessels of human purification to the brim. The good wine had been kept until now!

Did ever the world see so mighty and so radical a revolution as came upon it then? Judaism gave way to a universal religion. The Mosaic night broke into the dawn of the perfect day. The Fatherhood of God was revealed to all men, and a brotherhood with the Son of God! Now were they the sons of God! partakers of the Divine nature! This world was discovered to be within the boundaries of the other world, and death was merged into a resurrection of the dead! Righteousness and truth were to prevail, for the power of sin had been destroyed! And the efficacy of all this lay in the person of the Christ. It was He who gave all this light. The order of human life reversed itself in Him. All conduct was to flow from a spirit within, not by a law without. Selfishness was turned into self-surrender and self-sacrifice. The affections were to be set upon things above, not on things on the earth. The spirit was everything, the flesh profited nothing. In all human action was to be the consciousness of Eternity; in all intercourse of man with man no less than the magnanimity of God

As we said in the beginning, what strikes us first, as we open our New Testament, is the commanding position in which we find the word *Metanoia*. It is the great initiating word of the first three Gospels. However, they may vary in the way they begin the story they unite in the way they introduce this. The summons to mankind, first by the Baptist, next by Christ, is to a *Metanoia* — a change of mind. And when we come to the fourth Gospel, with its interior view of the life of Christ, it is to discover it, also at the very outset, in another form, in an expression which, characteristically of that Gospel, carries us into the very depths of the self-same idea.

Let us combine the four accounts. Now we shall see it in its true perspective ; that is successively in its intellectual, ethical, and spiritual development.

In the very beginning we have the Christ, half-philosophically, half-spiritually depicted as the "Logos," the "Word"; then, as the "Light of men." What greater implication could there be that Christianity was directed through the understanding to the heart? Next, John the Baptist is spoken of as the witness to this Light. He was "to go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways." The method of his preparation was to produce, first, a powerful, controlling impression upon their intelligence. His personal appearance, his clothing like that of an ancient prophet, his ascetic look, his secluded life, the "voice," out of Isaiah, with which he spoke, the burden of his first announcement—all were in keeping, and were calculated to rouse the whole nation. The past came vividly back to their memory ; the future was as vividly, though mysteriously and portentously, brought to their imagination. He came "proclaiming a baptism of *Metanoia*, for the remission of sins." His vocal summons was that of a herald. "*Metanoete!* Take a new mind upon you, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" And, as if his voice were not enough, he spoke also by this symbol whose meaning was universally known to be a change from an old condition into a new, even such a change, as they esteemed it, as that from dark Paganism to glorious Judaism. It now meant a change from dark Judaism to some far exceeding glory. It meant a change that would really, not typically, bring with it a remission of sins. He thus expressively coupled this sign of a change of condition with his summons to a change of mind. It was no other than "a baptism of *Metanoia*."

His summons of the Pharisees and Sadducees to a change of mind was as revolutionary and as radical as it well could be. In this he struck right at their views. "Think not to say within yourselves, 'We have Abraham to our Father,' for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Even now the axe is lying at the root of the trees. There must be fruit worthy of the Metanoia *της μετανοίας*.

The effect of these utterances upon the people was as distinctly intellectual as it was emotional. Their whole intelligence was roused to such a degree that they not only went down into the baptism and sought practical counsel for their future lives, but they were thrown into a state of "expectation." They were excited to inquiry. "All men mused in their hearts of John, whether *he* were the Christ or not." Priests and Levites came down from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?"

Up to this point he had not announced the Christ, but he *had* awakened every thought and association which could suggest Him. He would seem to have gathered this intense concentration of attention upon himself in order to acquire additional power in portraying the greater grandeur of Him who was coming. He made himself the dark backgroud of the picture he now drew. He was but a voice. "One mightier than I cometh." He himself was not worthy to stoop down and unlace His sandals. "I, indeed, baptize you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." He is the real Baptizer; the Metanoia that is to come by Him is to come by the Spirit of God, and by something more purifying than water. With Him *that* Baptism and the Metanoia are one. What I am, what I teach, what I summon you to, what I baptize with are but foreshadows of Him."

Powerful as was this picture, John drew still another. It was based upon a familiar scene in their everyday life. This Coming One was the Great Harvester, whose winnowing fork should stir humanity to its depths, as so much grain on the threshing floor, and throw it against the currents of the Spirit. The wheat would fall at His feet and go into His garner, but the stubble should fly beyond Him to become only fuel for the fire.

He painted these two strong pictures upon their imaginations, pictures whose parabolic force would sink profoundly into their minds. Vague conceptions were they as

yet—as vague as the idea of a Metanoia itself must have been—but there was a far-reaching significance in them which, as now united with the call to a change of mind, time would reveal and the reality would confirm. The seed of much thinking was sown, and a kind of thinking that was sure to work its way into the life.

It was not until after all this—not, indeed, until Jesus had come and been baptized—that John made known the fact that his own baptism had had a still deeper purpose than had yet been suspected. Not only was it a sign of the Metanoia in view of the impending change, not only did it convey a typical intimation of Him who should bring about this change, but it had all along been the designed occasion when the Christ Himself, in bodily presence, should be made known! John had been utterly in the dark as to who He was. He was in even a greater state of expectation than the people. All he knew was that “He that sent him to baptize with water, the same had said to him, upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining upon Him, the same is He who baptizeth with the Holy Spirit.” “I knew Him not,” he said afterward, “but in order that (*ἵνα*) He should be made manifest unto Israel, for this cause came I (*ὅτι ταύτο ἡλθὺν ἐγὼ*) baptizing with water.”*

This remarkable statement cannot be too strongly reiterated in view of the significance we may attach to it. The symbol, Baptism, was put into John's hands not only, as we say, to express the impending Metanoia, the change of mind to which the people were summoned, but also to be the means by which the Christ, the consummate agent of it all, should be made known to John himself and to the people. Everything was in suspense until this supreme moment of perception and knowledge came. The Metanoia was not at the full until *He* was “made manifest.” The fact further defines the word. John's mind was waiting to be informed. The mind of Israel was waiting to be informed. Both were yet in the *Pro-noia*. They were in the line of that information, but the knowledge had not come. They stood on the verge of the Metanoia. When it should dawn, it would affect every mind according to its previous condition. The change would be either an evolution or a revolution. But, in either case, it would be a change of mind, an advance into a new stage of conscious-

* See the New Version *in loc.*

ness, a confirmation of what had already been dimly discerned, or a contradiction of what had hitherto been wrongly imagined. The one was John's position, ready for any development. The other, in different degrees and forms, was the position of the people.

Let it still be borne in mind that this was known as "a baptism of the Metanoia." Now Jesus Himself was to enter the rite. If it were "the baptism of repentance," as it is rendered, why was He there? What had it to do with Him, or He with it? This has been the puzzle of theologians, who labor under the prepossession of the old rendering. But that He should participate in and be the central glory of a baptism of the Change of Mind, in the large sense in which we understand that expression, would be sublimely consistent with His character as the Christ; and it would, moreover, give us an inner glimpse of His life, which would ally it still more with our own. We have reason to think that Jesus himself was in the background with the others, personally known to John, yet spiritually unknown to him, personally known to many, yet spiritually undiscerned by them, personally known to Himself in the deepest consciousness of what He might be, perceiving in Himself all the marks of the Christ, yet with that consciousness awaiting the seal of the Divine confirmation. Israel, John, Jesus, were all, in these different degrees, in the *Pronoia*—the mind before it had crossed into perfect intelligence. The Baptism of the Metanoia was therefore to be the manifestation of Christ to *Himself* as well as to them. The event declares this to be the very fact. "When all the people had been baptized," then He also entered by the self-same ceremonial gate into the new order of things: the kingdom of Heaven which was at hand. What happened? As he came up out of the water the heavens were rent asunder, "and lo! a voice from Heaven, saying, 'Thou art—this is—My Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased!'" "And I saw," said John, "and bare record that this is the Son of God!"*

* "By this anointing of the Spirit," says Olshausen, "the gradual development of the *human* consciousness in Jesus attained its height * * * The Baptism, accordingly, was the sublime season when the character of the *Χριστός*, which was dormant in the gradually developing child and youth, now came forth and expanded itself. Compare the remarkable words in Justin, Dial. Tryph. Cum. Jud., p. 226: 'Though the Messiah has been born and lives, he is unknown, and does not even know himself, nor has any power, until Elias shall come and anoint him and make him known to all.'—Olshausen's Com., N. T., vol. I., p. 271.

What a Metanoia was there, to both Jesus and John ! The Pronoia was over with both ! The boundary had been crossed ; the veil had been lifted. The whole great advance had been made in a moment of time. Jesus, filled with the immensity of a now confirmed consciousness, "filled with the Spirit," went into the wilderness to breast the trial which should come to Him as the announced Son of God. John, emerged from the wilderness, into the full light of the same Metanoia, into the blaze of the very consummation amid which he was to wane out of sight, to await the return of Jesus, and to say, "Behold the Lamb of God ! This is He of whom I spake !"

And what a Metanoia had come also upon the disciples of John and upon Israel ! With Jesus and with John the Change of Mind, as we say, was in the form of development, an evolution from one state of consciousness into another. But upon Israel it had come like a change from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, a revolution of consciousness, an inversion, as time went on, of all that they had ever thought, or believed, or felt.*

But let us return to the great final scene at the Baptism, which shed its splendor over the rite. The virtue never left it which entered it then. Henceforth it was consecrated into a sacrament, forever allied with a change of mind and of life. Baptism, as it once defined the Metanoia, was always to define it. For go now from the first three Gospels into the fourth. What do we find there,—also in the outset of the record ? We hear our Lord discoursing of a New Birth—a birth from above, a birth by the Spirit, and this as accompanying a birth by water ! Even as it had been with the Master so was it to be with the disciple. The full revelation of a sonship in God, was to break upon *him*, also, after he had ascended through the outward rite ! Then the Spirit would meet the mind openly, and renew it day by day. It also was to change as it learned, as it was tempted, and as it suffered. Where is the harmony of the gospels, where is the harmony of the Gospel itself, unless the "Baptism of Metanoia" proclaimed by John the Baptist to the people, was the same as the "Born of water

* Was there no meaning in the event, when after three years of this transfiguring experience, suddenly "the fashion of his countenance was altered, and His face did shine as the sun," to a group of His disciples on the mount, and the divine words, uttered at His baptism, were uttered again ? Was there no meaning in it when the whole truth and reality of that vision of *change* burst upon all of them in His resurrection from the dead ?

and of the Spirit " announced by Jesus to Nicodemus? So here, in the profoundest of the Gospels, we have the profoundest exposition of the word.

We are now fairly brought to the moment when Jesus began to proclaim and to say, "The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand, Metanocite! Take upon you a New Mind, and believe the Glad Tidings!"

What a new and concentrated light falls upon the life of Christ if we look upon it as the process or action of creating the Metanoia! With this single idea in view His whole method comes definitely before us. It was all comprised in the terms of the above announcement: "The Divine epoch of the world has come! God is now to reign on earth! Heaven is all about you! Sin, sorrow, death, are no more! Peace, joy, everlasting life are yours! The night is far spent: the Day is at hand. Awake! Awake! All is changed! Change *ye*! Believe not the world: believe *Me*! I bring you good tidings of great joy!"

Supernatural as this revelation was, it was, like Him who brought it, subject to the order of nature in human nature, when delivered to mankind. That order, as we have said, is this: all inward change proceeds from outward change. A change of outward situation induces a change of mental consciousness; a change of mental consciousness induces a change of moral disposition; a change of moral disposition induces a change of outward life. Give a man a new consciousness and he will develop a new nature. Upon this natural order of the Metanoia did Christ proceed. He first revealed a change of circumstance: He filled the soul with knowledge altogether new. He communicated to it ideas and inspired it with principles which brought about it the horizon of another world. Then, step by step, came the dispossession of the old nature till it had reached the vital centre, the seat of the conscience and the will, and then, step by step, the moral transformation began. It was "the expulsive power of a new affection." The "world" was cast out like a deaf and blind spirit, and the once Divine heart was left cleansed and free. And this was done, as we say, by occupying, first, the intellectual nature of man, by engaging the whole power of his understanding *with the truth*. But the nature of that truth was such that it struck through to the heart. Like the hymn we hear, the intellectual process, however full, was unnoticed in the greater fulness of the spiritual impression pro-

duced. It came from Him on fire with the vividness of His own consciousness, and its illumination, as well as its inspiration, was thrown through these out-looking windows into the inmost chambers of the spirit. But these intellectual windows were the first to blaze under the light that poured into them. His opening summons to the Metanoia was addressed to the intelligence, and, without an awakened intelligence, it could not have moved the people as it did. All His subsequent preaching then became an education, an education by gradual revelation. He was known as the "Teacher." He called His followers His "disciples." "Every one," He said, "that hath learned of my Father cometh unto Me." "Hearken to Me every one of you and understand!" "Perceive ye not and understand?" "All things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you." His constant formula was: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!" which applied as much to the interest felt by the intelligence as to the disposition which lay in the will.

His mode of teaching involved almost every form of arresting attention and producing an impression. He portrayed the kingdom of Heaven in parables of the most diverse description; some so plain as to clear up a whole situation; some so obscure as to hold in reserve a lesson, of which time would develop the meaning; some with intimations so vast, so stupendous that the heaven and the earth seemed passing away. He spoke, sometimes, in startling enigmas which roused thought, conjecture, speculation, inquiry; sometimes in language as startling for its hyperbole, in order to vivify to the utmost an essential truth; sometimes, again, in precepts so plain that the very children could understand them. Sometimes He spoke in statements which, like those to the woman of Samaria, widened as into infinitude the local horizon about Mount Gerizim or Jerusalem; which like those in the Sermon on the Mount, revealed the Divine profundities under the law and under all human life. He employed reasoning and argument. He appealed to the imagination, He struck indelible pictures upon the memory. He was ever speaking of the "Truth." Even at the last, He declared to Pilate that "to this end was He born, and for this cause came He into the world, that he should bear witness unto the Truth." His whole endeavor seemed to be to develop the capacity for Belief, and, when it was developed, it took the mental-ethical-spiritual name of

"Faith,"—another Greek word elevated into a transcendental meaning. He used every credential which He brought with Him to fasten His personality upon the age, and to make Himself a vivid and memorable as well as a lovable presence forever. Every sign and wonder was worked as much to prove His origin and authority as to express His loving kindness and tender mercy. He was the sower who went out to sow. He left in that soil principles working, ideas germinating, thoughts springing, as well as feelings moved and affections stirred, the issues of which that soil very imperfectly comprehended until the ripening moment had come. He threw a mystical shadow over life which was to deepen into an eclipse of all that was earthly. He set forward its boundaries into the other world, and brought in the spirit of the heavenly life, the spirit of eternity amid things temporal. He revealed the existence of the absolute Right, the near presence of the love and of the will of God.

With His disciples it was a constant, a growing Metanoia. At first, they were full of joy, of anticipation, of triumph. They were not to fast: the bridegroom was with them. The sombre word "repentance" were sadly inadequate to express all that He had created. Doubtless, here and there, some, like Peter, astonished by this exhibition of power, fell down at His knees, saying: "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord!"; or some, like Zacchæus, also powerfully impressed, offered the fullest reparation for an evil life; or some, like the woman that was a sinner, loved much because they had been forgiven much. Such results were the inevitable, as they were the designed consequence of His personal influence, and, sooner or later, they were to come upon all. But the influence *began* in the intellect awakened, the intellect overwhelmed with a new perception, with a new conviction, with a belief in His authority, and a belief in what He revealed.

And, as if to indicate to His disciples that the Metanoia was even then by no means complete, He told them at the close that "He had yet many things to say unto them, but that they could not bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth, should come, He would guide them into all Truth." "He should bring all things to their *remembrance*, whatsoever He Himself had said unto them."

And, indeed, the Metanoia had not fully come. So little had they comprehended, so much in them still lay latent,

that his death was a catastrophe which ended all their hope. Their Metanoia entered upon a new stage when He rose from the dead. Their "sorrow was turned into joy," as He had predicted. But, even then, the consummate hour had not come; and, even then, they could not have fully taken in His last injunction "that Metanoia and remission of sins should be preached in His Name," that they should "go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

The Metanoia was not complete until the hour when the prophecy of John the Baptist was literally fulfilled, until the Christ, Himself, was, so to speak, complete; until He came again "Baptizing them with the Holy Spirit and with fire"; until, as the Great Harvester, He thrust His winnowing fork into the harvest He had planted, and cast it against the wind of that Spirit to thoroughly purge His floor.

Then, in the outburst of that mighty wind, came the Metanoia complete, upon the disciples, upon the age. The whole original impression of Him revived, and a deeper than that impression was inspired. The world went into shadow. The Kingdom of Heaven was on Earth. They had "the Mind of Christ."

But what was its first manifestation? A public phenomenon on the Day of Pentecost. There was a vocal outburst of Divine ecstasy. Whether they spoke in languages, or in mystical utterances, it was the release of their pent-up souls when the full realization came upon them. The multitude cried in wonder, as they saw and heard, "What meaneth this?" or in mockery, "These men are full of new wine!" Their amazement and scepticism were equally met by an illuminating speech from Peter: a statement of facts, an argument from prophecy, irresistably concentrated upon the event which had shaken Jerusalem fifty days before; a speech which leaped from the supreme Metanoia of the moment and carried all its impalpable power into the minds before him. The same light then broke upon them. "Men! brethren!" they exclaimed, "What shall we do?" the very words of the multitudes to John the Baptist when all this was foreshadowed; and then they heard again the burden of the Baptist and of the Christ: "*Μετανοήσατε!* Take a New Mind! and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ!". The same thing occurred when, shortly afterward, a miracle was performed.

There was another convincing statement with the same exhortation. Observe the antithesis. "I wot that through ignorance, (*ἁγνοίαν*), ye did it. . . . *Μετανοήσατε!* Take a New Mind, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, so that, (*ὥστε*), times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord." How little the "Repent" of our version takes in the compass of the counsel! They had "repented" already, in the usual sense, they were deeply penitent, they were "pricked to the heart." But Peter made them understand that compunction or any other like feeling was not all. Their minds must seize the new situation, so that God might send Him who was before proclaimed to them, Jesus Christ. (Gr.) They were to turn from ignorance to knowledge.

And now, one other stage, which will carry us even deeper into the Scriptural aspect of this subject.

If ever there was an instance of Metanoia under all the conditions which could exhibit the fullest import of the word, it was that of the conversion of S. Paul. It would almost seem as if the change of mind in a man of such personal greatness, moral strength, and conspicuous record, had been brought about in the sudden, public way it was in order to put into a concentrated form, and reveal on the grandest scale, a process and a fact which in ordinary cases could not be so visibly represented. We have here in colossal proportions, and, potentially, in a moment of time the Metanoia of which all Christian experience is made. That such a thing could and did take place in the case of a man of this intelligence has been cited as one of the strongest evidences of the Christian Religion. What he was before the change we know. First of all, one of the most richly endowed intellects and one of the most powerful natures ever known among men. Following upon that, intensified by his proud Judaism, by his narrow Pharisaism, by his profound knowledge of Jewish law and traditions, by his devotion to the religion of his fathers, he turned out a zealot in the cause of Judaism, so dark, bigoted, and bloody, as to make him a leader in the persecution of the new faith. He had proven impenetrable to the story and teaching of Jesus, to the accounts of His miracles, even to the signs and wonders wrought in His name by the Apostles. But in the very hour when his mind was most turbulent, vengeful, and determined, Jesus meets him in the way. As soon as the conviction of his error had

broken upon his mind, as visibly as the great light which had blinded his eyes, his first inquiry was, like all previous disciples, "What must I do?" "I have appeared unto thee for this purpose," answered Jesus, "to make thee a minister and a witness both of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to *open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light.*" "Whereupon," as he says, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision" but showed unto them "that they should take upon them a new mind, (*μετανοεῖν*.) and turn to God, and do works worthy of the Metanoia," (*ἄξια τῆς μετανόας*.)

When the scales had fallen from his eyes, his mind beheld no other vision than of Christ. He that had then met him was thenceforth ever before him. The narrow, prejudiced, sectarian Pharisee was changed into an Apostle of Christianity, so magnificent, so enlightened, so liberal in his conception of it that none of his new brethren could keep pace with him, as even all present ecclesiasticism is in danger of falling behind him.

All the marks of the Metanoia are here. It was the mind changed through circumstance: for when he beheld the supernatural presence of the Lord, the whole vision of his error burst upon him. It was the mind changed in understanding: for he spent three years of solitude in Arabia, receiving the fullest indoctrination from Christ. It was the mind changed by evolution: for, with the root of the matter in him, he now grasped entirely the transcendent change of situation, and came forth able, above all others, to reconcile the old economy with the new, to proclaim the advanced principles of the Gospel with a profundity of spiritual discernment which no one should ever exceed, and to be the most powerful advocate Christianity should ever know. It was the mind changed in disposition: for, from the fierce, proud, intolerant, self-sufficient son of the law, he became the patient, humble, compassionate, affectionate servant of Christ, "all things to all men." It was the mind changed by development: for the same capacity for faith, for zeal, for force and energy, for religious devotion, was now carried over and enlarged in the interest of a cause as new and as vast as the whole just revealed purpose of God in man. It was the mind changed by revolution: for it was a revolt from Judaism in its narrow Rabbinical form, a total break with the artificial, superstitious, selfish system

under which he had been born and bred, and a leap into the large spiritual consciousness of Christ Himself. It was the mind changed before repentance set in, which repentance accompanied, which repentance intensified, which repentance filled with a due apprehension of the Cross, but of the extent of whose growth in its change, of the extent of whose apprehension of his Lord, the word "repentance" in its fullest theological acceptation, could never follow, compass, or describe. Nothing less than the word *Metanoia* can compass or describe it. For what was its most conspicuous, foremost feature? A profoundly illuminated intelligence followed by a nature as profoundly penetrated. The "spiritual man" was there; the "natural man" was there no longer.

In the light of this word even the most unspiritual mind cannot fail in some degree of sympathy with S. Paul's enthusiasm in his work, or to understand the ecstasy with which he regarded the person of his Lord, or to know what he meant when he said that his "conversation," his daily life, was lived in heaven. The spiritual, so far as this, takes the look of the natural.

When we open his Epistles, and read them from this point of view, with this word as their key, they all,—no matter what their occasion or what themes they passingly treat—take the character of the summons to the *Metanoia*. Back to this, in some form, they always come. He rings, as we said, endless changes upon the word. It appears in innumerable forms of expression. It would be one prolonged and many-sided illustration of the idea, if we were to quote from him as profusely as we would like. But our space will only permit a selection of a few passages where the most direct reference is made, and where the "noetic faculty" is also implied.

He said to the Romans: "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed, (*μεταμορφοῖσθε* transfigured) by the renewing of your mind (*νοῦς*)." He said to the Corinthians: "We have the mind (*νοῦς*) of Christ. . . . We all . . . are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. . . . If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new." He said to the Ephesians, "That God . . . may give unto you the spirit of wisdom (*σοφίας*) and revelation in the knowledge (*ἐπιγνώσει*) of Him (Christ), the eyes of your understanding (*διανοίας*) being enlightened; that ye may know

etc." . . . "Henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, (νοῦς) having the understanding (τῆ διανοίας) darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance (ἀγνοῖαν) that is in them. . . But ye have not so learned Christ, if so be that ye have heard Him, and been taught by Him, as the truth is in Jesus, that ye put off concerning the former conversation, the old man . . . and be renewed in the spirit of your mind (νοῦς); and that ye put on the new man." He said to the Colossians: "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created Him." He said to Timothy: "The servant of the Lord . . . must be apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those who oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them Metanoia unto the acknowledging (εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν) of the truth."

But we must now pass on to an occasion in which he used the word itself, and by force of circumstances, less in a spiritual than in an intellectual and popular sense.

When he confronted the Stoics and Epicureans in the Areopagus, roused to indignation by the evidences of image worship around him, and to quick perception of the opportunity offered him by an Altar to the Unknown God—to him so near in association with the Unnamed God of his own people. but to them, only, at the most, a philosophical dream—when, in coming before such an audience, he had to burn his Hebrew ships, for he could beat no retreat upon the traditions of his own religion, quote no Scriptures but those of their own poets, and reason with them only upon their own premises; when, if he spoke at all, he must speak to the intellect, and to an intellect which would care very little for an appeal to the heart and not even understand an allusion to "sin;" when all his tact and ingenuity were exerted to get uninterrupted to the "new thing" they desired to hear and he wished to announce; when he had stated the nature of the one living and true God in a way to command their respect, and in a way to enlarge their conception of Him who should remain no longer "Unknown," if he could reveal Him to their understanding—what did he say? "The times of ignorance God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they shall all everywhere change their mind."

"μετανοεῖν."*

*See Revised Version in *lec.*

Without question, S. Paul spoke as near as he could to the sense of classic Greek under such Attic circumstances, and we are not justified in here interpreting the word in any other way. He could not have expected them to put the full construction upon it which lay in his own mind, and with which it must have vaguely rung in their ears as it came forth with the tone of his own intense consciousness. All that they could have understood was an appeal "to change their views," to come to a conception of the Divine nature more worthy of those who were "the offspring of God," to accept this great knowledge, which he now communicated, in place of the "ignorance" which their altar confessed. The very most that their usage could admit into the word he had employed was an ethical import, sometimes, though rarely attached to it, but it must have been in this instance very dimly discerned, if at all. If there was anything like "regret" to be felt, it was, most probably, only displeasure with themselves that they should have been so mistaken. Certainly nothing so strong as penitence could have been dreamed of by S. Paul. He was intent upon something beyond, to which the intellectual impression or emotion he had created would be a stepping-stone, namely, "Christ." For this, and up to this, he would "change their mind." How utterly inconceivable, at any rate, is a call to "repentance," as it is translated in our version, both the Old and the New, in the connection of such an attempt to commend the religion he preached to the confidence and respect of these speculative men!

We must leave to the reader the further examination of passages in the New Testament where *Metanoia* in some form appears, and is still rendered "repentance" in the New Version. Here they all are in a foot note, and he can judge for himself whether, in every case, (and in some cases most expressly) a more distinct reference to the *changed mind* in the profound sense we have given it, would not be an improvement upon the more emotional and less fruitful idea suggested by the word "repentance." It will be found used in many of these instances, not in a general but special application, when its great meaning is curdled, as it were, into the expression of a single feeling in relation to sin; when thought, perception, knowledge, conscience, penitence, and the will are combined into such a strong revolt of the entire man from an evil course, as to change the character of his life. Any rendering which

keeps any of these powerful and necessary elements out of sight is more than an unfortunate one.*

In all that we have now said we have shown ourselves anxious that, in the translated New Testament, the Summons in the original proclamation of the Gospel should be made to appear as profound and significant as it really was, and thus be made to unite itself with the intellectual and spiritual life of the nineteenth century as keenly as it did with the first. We would have it a fresh, living, all-comprehensive, all-powerful Summons now.

We desire this, first, in order that the unity of the New Testament may be seen to lie in it from the beginning as in a germ, and to branch and flower from it in every part as from a stem. We desire this, next, for the more important and vital reason, that the ethical and practical character of the religion of Christ may be revealed in its real supremacy to the emotional theory which has so long disproportionately prevailed. But, above all, we desire it—above all, from its including these and comprehending more—because it implies the use of the entire nature of man, intellectual, moral, affectional, spiritual, his human part and his Divine part, in the act of apprehending and appropriating the truth of God. The whole *Nous* is appealed to, the whole mind is engaged in seeing Him who is invisible, and in doing His will. For it is now the unhappy fact that the Christian religion is so specifically applied to one portion of this mind and to one state of it, that if the requisition were strictly insisted upon as a standard and test, many persons of the purest character and highest principle would be denied the name of Christian, though palpably actuated by the faith and spirit of Christ. The penitential condition is not all—however much it may be. The recognition of Christ may spring from a wider surface, and even a deeper principle than that one agonized nerve in the retina of the soul.

“Metanoete!” It is a generous word, looking outwardly from the life that now is to that which is to come.

* *Metanoeō* occurs: Matt. iii: 1; iv: 17; xi: 20, 21; xii: 41. Luke, i: 15; vi: 12. Luke x: 13; xi: 32; xiii: 3, 5; xv: 7, 10; xvi: 30; xviii: 3, 4. Acts ii: 38; iii: 19; viii: 22; xvii: 30; xxvi: 20. 2 Cor. xii: 21. Rev. ii: 5 (twice); xvi: 21 (twice), 22; iii: 3, 19; ix: 20, 21; xvi: 9, 11.

Metánoia occurs: Matt. iii: 8. Luke iii: 8. Matt. iii: 11; ix: 13. Luke ii: 17. Luke v: 32. Luke i: 4. Luke iii: 3. Acts xiii: 24. Acts xix: 4. Luke xv: 7. xxiv: 47. Acts v: 31; xi: 18; xx: 21; xxvi: 20. Rom. ii: 4. 2 Cor. vii: 9, 10. 2 Tim. ii: 25. Heb. vi: 1, 6; xii: 17. 2 Pet. iii: 9.

Let us have its equivalent in Gospel and Epistle wherever it appears. Let it speak to *this* age at least, in full not muffled, articulation—to this age with its wide speculation upon the mystery of being, with its agnostic revolt from the religion that is preached, with its critical study of the historic Christ, and yet latent disposition to believe in Him.

“Metanoieite!” It is time that the Herald uttered it again as He uttered it once. It bears to us the all-necessary message of contradiction, and the all-necessary announcement of a revolution. It brings with it the true and everlasting tidings—always *news* to blind and mortal men—that the apparent conditions of this life are the illusion of flesh and sense, and that the real conditions of life are the very reverse of what we are prone to think and believe. The eternal and the spiritual are all, the temporal and the material are but the shadows of that substance.

It were a bold word from any but a Divine mouth—we should say—and yet the human tongue has been uttering it, virtually, all along in another sphere. What has been the proclamation of Science in its own material world, but “Metanoieite! change your mind from the near testimony of Sense to the distant witness of Discovery.” Sense says: The sun rises in the east and revolves about the earth; the earth is the centre of the celestial sphere. But Science—Knowledge—proclaims a contradiction, and, with it, a revolution: It is the earth that goes round the sun, the sun is but one of that starry host, the blue firmament melts into illimitable space; it is an illuminated universe which lies out there, in which this apparently ponderous globe floats like an atom in a sunbeam. So Science, an echo of the Divine voice, has enlarged, reversed the whole consciousness of man. Her Metanoia has been proclaimed, not only here, but everywhere in her material field. Whithersoever she has gone, nature has inverted its apparent order, its phenomena have widened out into once occult principles, and the first human impression of them has had to be revoked.

It is an image, a parallel, of the Christian faith. The whole universe of the Spiritual is likewise being revealed to the knowledge of mankind. Time is declared to be of Eternal moment, and death the fullness of life. We may discern the character of that other sphere by its inverse relation, point for point, to this.

Given, then, we say, the intellectual realization of this

to men, their moral consciousness will rise to it, their nature will enlarge with it, their hearts and their lives will deepen to the measure of it. They will revolt more and more, not from God, but from sin and from the world. This is *conversion*, this is the new birth from above.

We can now imagine how, under such a conception, the pulpit would awake to the grandeur of its work, how the Church would awake to the grandeur of her cause. The themes of the one, the methods of the other would move with splendor and with power to one definite and mighty end: the Summoning of mankind to the Metanoia, this new mind, and the announcement of *everything* on the Divine side of life, which would inspire and create it. For we are just on the verge of a great epoch. All this intellectual activity in the material world is surely working toward a moment of reaction when the same intensity of movement will turn the other way, and the universal demand will be for a knowledge of the spiritual. The voice of Science, crying in its wilderness, will be found to have been preparing the way to this. It will turn out to be the "expectation" of this age. Out of its dust and ashes shall mount again the cry: "Metanoieite! for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" Let us see to it that neither the Bible, the Church, nor the pulpit, gives *then* an uncertain sound.

But our space is exhausted: yet one word more to carry our theme to its most practical and highest point. We have said all when we say that Metanoia and Revelation are correlative terms, one always implying the other. As large, therefore, as we understand the Revelation to be, we must understand the Metanoia to be. They are reciprocal, as they develop, in character and degree. In their meeting and blending within us, then, we become partakers of the Divine nature and are saved. What begins with being a "change of mind towards God" deepens and broadens, as our nature turns all its disk that way, into that supreme reflection of God in the soul, "*faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ." Faith is the Metanoia touched to the quick. Faith is the Metanoia when it has reached the vital fibres of our being: "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen": "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, shining into our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." So it is the Metanoia which is bearing us Heavenward in Him. "We are changed

into the same image from glory to glory": "We were sometime darkness, but now are we light in the Lord." "We press toward the mark for the prize of the High Calling of God in Christ Jesus." More and more is the earthly nature dissolving away and releasing the heavenly one; deeper and deeper is the transfiguration working within; and it will not cease even when we have passed the gates of death, and

"Heaven opens on our eyes; our ears
With sounds seraphic ring!"

What will be the inburst of another world upon the soul
but the Change of Changes, the supreme Metanoia of the
Eternal life!

TREADWELL WALDEN.

MAN AND NATURE.

I SHOULD think there are times when even the most enthusiastic churchman becomes a little weary of those very minute questions upon which so much time and thought have been of late expended. No doubt every question, the object of which is to arrive at a truth, or a rule of life, may be regarded theoretically as of infinite, and therefore, all of them as of equal, importance. They are, however, of infinite importance only to the man who sees all their bearings, and not one man in a million does see this. And so it comes to pass that there are many enquiries, which as compared with others, may be almost set aside as infinitesimal. It may be important to find out how to dress a priest, but it is surely much more necessary to be satisfied that there is such a thing as a priest to dress. It is an obvious duty to ascertain what are the most suitable and expressive modes of worshipping God; but it is surely a far more obvious duty to be satisfied that there is a God to worship. And again, inasmuch as the worship of God implies a worshipper, it is perhaps the most pressing of all inquiries, is there after all *in rerum natura* such a thing as a man? Such a question would a very short time ago have been considered idle and absurd. Who denies or doubts, it might have been asked, that

such a being as man exists? Who, it may be asked, doubts or denies it now? Unquestionably if we are content to be the slaves of mere words, we must admit that the belief in the existence of man, is as strong to-day as it ever was. But nothing is more certain than that the meaning of a word depends chiefly, if not exclusively, upon the thought of the man who uses it. Mumbo-Jumbo, Jupiter, and Jehovah are all "Gods"; but it is obvious enough that there is scarcely a single attribute in which they resemble one another. Similarly the name *man* may survive long after its original connotation has perished. In almost every system of philosophy, *man* means a spirit partaking of flesh and blood; a mysterious self, independent of, but intimately associated with, a bodily organism; by virtue of which he is, on that side of his nature, the highest of the animals. These two parts of which a man was supposed to consist, though intimately connected, were believed to have not one single property in common. Thus the body is divisible into parts; it has impenetrability, form, weight, color, and a definite situation in space. But the spirit of a man cannot be divided into parts; it has none either of the primary or secondary qualities of matter; it is neither hard nor soft; it has no shape or color; it cannot be weighed or measured, and though it manifests its presence and its energy by means of a bodily organism, nobody can say precisely where it is. On the other hand, a body has neither thought nor emotion; no logical faculty; no reverence or wonder; no capacity for religion or science. I might express this difference between the body and spirit of a man, in the terms in which Mr. Bain—who assuredly will not be suspected of any prejudices in favor of theological orthodoxy—expresses the difference between mind and matter generally: "What a piece of matter is, what an operation of mind is, we know equally well; we see that they both agree and differ from other kinds of matter, and from other operations of mind. There is a much closer kindred between material facts among themselves, and between mental facts among themselves, than between material facts generally and mental facts generally. Hence, we resolve all the facts of nature ultimately into two kinds—matter and mind; and we do not resolve these into anything higher. We come upon a wider contrast at this point than we had in any prior stage of our generalizing movement. The Plants and the Animals differ widely in their details; both differ still more

widely from Inanimate Matter. Yet they agree in all the principal features of material bodies ; and are in total opposition to mind, which has neither the distinctive features of either, nor the common attributes of both. The inanimate and the animate are not so different as body and mind. Extension is but the first of a long series of properties all present in matter, all absent in mind. *Inertia* cannot belong to a pleasure, a pain, an idea, as experienced in the consciousness ; it can belong only to the physical accompaniments of mind—the overt acts of volition, and the manifestations of feeling. *Inertia* is accompanied with *Gravity*, a peculiarly material property. So *Color* is a truly material property, it cannot attach to a feeling, properly so called, a pleasure or a pain. These three properties are the basis of matter ; to them are superadded, *Form*, *Motion*, *Position*, and a host of other properties expressed in terms of these—Attractions and Repulsions, Hardness, Elasticity, Cohesion, Crystallization, Heat, Light, Electricity, Chemical properties, Organized properties (in special kinds of matter.)” (*Mind and Body*, pp. 124-125.). If then what we mean by saying that one thing is not another thing is precisely this—that the properties of the one are not the same as the properties of the other, there are really no two “things” in nature so emphatically and unapproachably distinct from each other as mind and matter—as the Mind of Man and the Matter of which his Body is built up.

But it may be supposed that though these two be so unmistakably distinct in their usual form, they may nevertheless be both of them manifestations or modes of some common substance. But if there be any such substance it must clearly be outside what we call nature or the universe. For all existing things in nature are included in these two classes, mind and matter. Everything we know, or can even conceive, is either the one or the other. Even if we were to suppose that both the human mind and matter are modes or manifestations of God, as some have held, we should scarcely escape the difficulty ; for God is Himself Spirit or mind, and what we are in search of is a Something which shall be neither mind nor matter but the common foundation, source, substance of both of them.

Much less can mind be a mode of matter, as heat, for instance, is proved to be a mode of motion. For with equal propriety might motion be called a mode of heat, or matter a mode of mind. Heat and motion, indeed, however closely

related are still, and will ever remain, perfectly distinct. The motion of a rope slowly passing over or through the hands, and the *heat* which we feel so painfully when it is drawn through them with very great rapidity are as different from each other, as a flintstone from an animal; and no conjuring with words can ever make them alike. Indeed, heat is properly the name of a sensation; and belongs, properly speaking, not to the moving masses or molecules, but to some *sensitive* substance. But at any rate, as fast as motion passes into heat, it ceases as motion. You cannot have *both* the motion *and* the heat. "Thus," to borrow an illustration from Professor Tyndall (*Heat as a Mode of Motion*, pp. 21-22.) "every one of those railway porters whom you see moving about with his can of yellow grease, and opening the little boxes which surround the carriage axles, is without knowing it, illustrating a principle which forms the very solder of nature He is practically asserting that mechanical energy may be converted into heat, and that, when so converted, it cannot still exist as mechanical energy; but that, for every degree of heat developed, a strict and proportional equivalent of the *locomotive force* of the engine disappears. A station is approached, say at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour; the brake is applied, and smoke and sparks issue from the wheel on which it presses. The train is brought to rest. How? Simply by converting the entire moving force which it possessed, at the moment the brake was applied, into heat." But matter and mind are equally persistent. Thought does not destroy matter, nor does matter destroy mind. For though intense thought is, undoubtedly, accompanied by a considerable waste of brain, yet this very waste is only change. The whole matter of the brain or nerve substance still remains though in an altered form. In other words, the waste of brain is physiological waste, not real waste. A brain is physiologically wasted when a part of it ceases to be *brain*; it would be really wasted if it were to cease to be *matter*. And it is this last kind of waste which would be necessary if brain-matter were to be converted into thought. There would no longer exist certain elements retaining their original chemical affinities and, above all, their weight. Instead of these, we should have something imponderable, possessing no chemical properties or affinities whatever. But we know perfectly well that this never happens. All the products of the waste of brain can be collected and identified, ana-

lyzed and weighed. You have produced, say a million new thoughts, but you have not diminished by a single atom the matter which you employed as the instrument in producing those thoughts. For producing thought out of brain is exactly like making a table out of a certain quantity of wood, and finding that you had every ounce of the wood left, though in the form, perhaps, of chips, *and a table as well*. Moreover, the wear and tear of brain during the process of intense thinking may be due to physical rather than mental strain—the *physical* effort of attention, for instance—the strain necessary to keep the body in such a condition that its energies may not be dissipated in such a manner as to render it unavailable for the purposes for which, at the time of intense thought, the mind requires its assistance. Thus, during the process of thinking, the body, by a very difficult though unnoticed effort, is kept almost perfectly still; there is generally an intense gaze as if looking eagerly for some invisible object. There may be much consulting of books, over which the eye may run with immense rapidity, and numberless other efforts of a like kind. Thus the molecules of the brain have by changing their places or by some other change, changed also the places of the molecules of the muscles or other tissues, or produced some other change in them. Waste occurs in both, but there is no new entity created. So much brain ceases to be brain, so much muscle ceases to be muscle, and that which has thus changed its position and its function can be collected, analyzed and weighed, and will be found to consist of exactly the same elements and to have exactly the same weight as it had before. Nothing whatever has been either created or annihilated. The mind has used the body just as a man might use materials for building a house. He cuts them up into pieces of a suitable size and form, carries them to another place, and there rearranges them to suit his convenience. But he has neither made nor destroyed a single atom of them. It may be very difficult to determine what is the precise relation of mind to body; but if they be at bottom identical, the very enquiry is absurd. Nothing can be related to itself.

Indeed, if we are to try the experiment at all of uniting these two widely different things into one, regarding one of them as a mere function or mode of the other, it would surely be more philosophical, because it would be immeasurably easier, to begin at the other side, and resolve matter into a function or mode of mind. The relation between the

mind and the external world is excessively obscure; in fact, it is the ultimate problem of philosophy. Our perception of the external world has been explained in the most various ways. It has been explained by a *Deus ex machina*, God by a perpetual miracle, Himself directly producing in the mind a change or mode of consciousness exactly corresponding to each change in the external world. Again, the relation between our perceptions and their external objects has been explained by the analogy of two clocks, so constructed as to keep exactly the same time though wholly independent of each other. Again, the belief in an external world has been regarded as a divine revelation—or as an innate idea—or as a conviction of common sense. Or again, it has been accepted as a probable hypothesis to account for those sensations, which always occur in *definite groups*.

This last explanation denies the existence of any innate or original idea or belief of the external world; or, at least, which is almost exactly the same thing, it dispenses with the necessity for it. Let us grant then that this idea or belief is acquired, though we cannot remember a time when we were without it. Nevertheless there must, on this hypothesis, have been a time when we *first* made our acquaintance with what we believed to be external to ourselves. Indeed, it must be remembered that every form of consciousness is dual; it consists of two elements, self and not-self. There *must* be something to be conscious of. Consciousness implies a change from some previous state; and, even in adult life, it is perfectly possible and even easy to lose all consciousness of objects with which we are in close contact, and of which we were at first vividly conscious. If we lay our hand on some soft, warm body and allow it to rest there, we shall cease to realize its presence; and we can only reproduce the feeling which it at first produced, by some *movement*—that is some change, either in our hand or in the soft body on which it rests. By far the largest number of our sensations, however, come to us not singly, but in well-defined groups. On some occasion, for example, we saw—or at least, something happened which we, at the time or afterwards, were compelled by the whole structure of our being to explain by the hypothesis of a permanent mind or Ego—we observed a piece of white paper lying on a table; noticed its form, colour, position, smoothness, hardness, weight; we experienced, in fact, a definite group or set of sensations. We had never seen a piece of white paper before; and, inasmuch as the

single group of sensations, not associated as yet by contiguity or resemblance with any other group, would awaken neither memory nor anticipation, we should have no reason for expecting to see a piece of white paper again. But supposing, by sheer accident, we were to pass fifty or sixty times near the same table, observe the same piece of white paper, and experience thereupon the same definite group or set of sensations, how should we explain this recurrence of feelings? Would the piece of white paper be, in the least degree, more real after we had seen it fifty times, than it was when we saw it for the first time? If the belief in an external world were intuitive we should have referred our sensations at first to the piece of white paper as an external object; perhaps, in fact, we did. But if the belief be acquired we must have arrived at the same result by a slower process. We perceived that though we might move away from the piece of white paper, yet if we chose to be near it, we were no longer masters of our own sensations. We found out that we were unable steadily to look at a thin, light, square piece of white paper, and then experience the sensations of heaviness, and roundness, and thickness, and blueness. We came to feel:—This piece of paper is as real as I am, and is external to myself; I do not take it away with me; it is not a group of sensations which I can produce at will, whether the paper be present or absent; moreover, when it is present, it can compel me to experience a certain *group* of sensations, however much I may try not to experience them together. It is, therefore, not myself; it is not merely a group of my sensations, but a real external object, which is a cause of my sensations. Thus, by one or other of two different roads, by intuition and original knowledge, or by irresistible inference, we arrive at the same result: an invincible belief in the Non-Ego. On the second supposition, we really *know* nothing but our own sensations; everything else is mere hypothesis. Hence J. S. Mill resolves *matter* into "permanent possibilities of sensations." We suppose it external, and what we call real, simply to account for the *permanence* of the grouping of the sensations. If this were the only possible mode of accounting for these permanent groups the reality of the external world would be proved. But it is not the only possible mode. For exactly the same state of consciousness might be produced in us *directly* by God, without the use of any instrument whatever. And, moreover, if permanent groups of sensations need accounting

for by real external objects, much more do *both* the groups of sensations *and* the external objects *taken together* need accounting for; and so the proof of the being of a God is much more complete than the proof of the objective reality of matter. For here there are only two alternatives to choose between: an Intelligent Mind or Chance. But chance means *the absence of definite order*; and it is impossible to account for the presence of order by its absence. The hypothesis of an Intelligent Mind, therefore, is the only one left.

It is then unphilosophical to explain mind by matter, inasmuch as matter itself—including of course, our own bodies—is by far the more hypothetical of the two. We can conceive of mind without matter, but our very notion of matter is a hypothetical explanation of certain states of consciousness. All that we absolutely *know* about it might plausibly be described as a mode of mind.

But if even the material objects themselves, by which we believe ourselves to be surrounded, are only hypothetical—if the belief of their existence is forced upon us only by the necessity of accounting for our mental experiences—much more obviously are what we call laws, or force, or energy, purely mental conceptions, both at first and always. No actual inspection, no microscope, no analysis ever reveals to us *force*. We can see the motion of masses, we can believe in the motion of molecules; but the force which makes them move is neither in the masses, nor in the molecules, nor in their movements—it is only in our own minds. "*No Energy*," says Dr. Martineau,* "has ever come under human notice, and disclosed its marks, so as to discriminate itself from others, similarly apprehended. This is not simply true thus far as a matter of fact; it is true permanently as a matter of necessity. We might watch forever the relations of bodies and their parts *interse*, and though we had eyes that ranged from the microscopic minimum to the analysis of the milky way, we should fetch no force into the field of view; and the whole story of what was laid open to us would be a record of

* Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVII, pp. 529-530. Dr. Martineau's two papers in this volume on "Modern Materialism; its attitude towards theology," and the Lecture of which they are a vindication, are a most valuable contribution both to philosophy and theology. Their value and depth are only brought out into stronger relief by Prof. Tyndall's criticism of the Lecture in "Fragments of Science," pp. 331 Et Segg. (Am. Edit.)

interminable series and eddies of change. What are called the 'transmutations of energy' are nothing but transitions from one chapter of that record to another. A certain catena of phenomena runs to an end; the first link of a new one is ready to take its place; a body's fall is stopped; its temperature rises; the thermometer in the kettle ascends to 212° Fahrenheit and stays there; the water turns to steam; this is observed and nothing more than this. And this list of metamorphosed energies deceives us, if we take it for anything beyond an enumeration of those junctures between class and class of consecutive movements. Did we bring to the contemplation of nature no faculties but those which constitute our scientific outfit, I see no reason to believe that it would come before us under any other aspect; or that we would ever be tempted to paint its picture or tell its history in dynamic terms."

This seems to be admitted in a rhetorical and rather angry passage, quoted by Dr. Martineau, (in the same Essay from which I have extracted the preceding paragraph) from Dr. Du Bois-Reymond. "Power," he says, "regarded as the cause of motion, is nothing but a more recondite product of the *irresistible tendency to personify* which is impressed upon us; a rhetorical artifice, as it were, of our brain, snatching at a figurative turn of thought, because destitute of any conception clear enough for literal expression. In the notions of Power and Matter we find recurring the same dualism which presents itself in the ideas of God and the world, of soul and body; the same want which once impelled men to people bush and fountain, rock, air and sea, with creatures of their imagination. What do we gain by saying that it is reciprocal attraction whereby two particles of matter approach each other? Not the shadow of any insight into the nature of the process. No, strangely enough, our inherent quest of causes is in a manner laid to rest by the involuntary image tracing itself before our inner eye, of a hand which gently draws the inert matter to it, or of invisible tentacles, with which the particles clasp together, try to seize each other, and at last twine together in a knot."

Assuredly, so far as materialism can lead us, we do find neither power nor cause. But science itself is founded on the very belief of causality—were it only in the form of unconditional and invariable precedence and succession of phenomena. The ultimate data of science as expounded

by its ablest teachers, are atoms and force—not atoms and *movement*. Force has been imported into matter from an altogether different region; but now that it has been imported into it we can never get it out. It is perfectly true that as applied to the material world alone, the expression “Persistence of *energy*” has no meaning; it is a highly metaphorical equivalent for the *concatenation of movements*. But whence comes this “irresistible tendency to personify?” Personifying means investing something with the attributes of a person. The particular personal attribute with which we invest nature or matter is power, force. But where did we find that notion? If it is not in matter where is it? Surely, the answer is obvious: it is in mind, and it is nowhere else. If it really is in matter after all, it is there as an independent stranger or lord. We *infer* that it is there because we *know* that it is in ourselves—not in our bodies, but in our spirits. There are hundreds of millions of human beings who never so much as heard of that dogma of science which is now, to draw on a term from theology, *de fide*: the doctrine of the persistence of energy. There is not a single human being who is not perfectly familiar with power, with force. There is no language which does not contain a name for it—one without some word to express its activity. These words are as old as language itself. They are older by millenniums than the first principles or earliest rudiments of science, and they are in all languages because the thing they stand for is in all human beings. It is the most obvious fact in human nature—never overlooked, never mistaken for anything else. There have been religions, ethical systems, social systems, political systems, of all degrees of worth or worthlessness—and around these have gathered doctrines and technical terms endlessly varying in connotation and in appropriateness. The names of God, and State, and gentleman, and virtue, and vice, and honor—these, and such as these, have passed through innumerable variations of meaning. But the word *power* has never been absent and its meaning has never changed. It stands for something *sui generis*, incapable of definition for it defies analysis into simpler elements. Everybody knows what it means, not because he can explain it, but because he has it and uses it. It is the primary fact of human nature and of human experience.

It is perhaps worth noticing also, that mind and matter or mind and the human body or the nervous system differ

from each other not only in those incommunicable and irreconcilable attributes which Mr. Bain has enumerated, but also in the unity and permanence of mind, as contrasted with the perpetual flux, and waste of nerve-substance. Every thought, we are assured, involves some physiological waste of the matter of the brain. It is probably certain that a man seventy years old, has not a single atom in his skull of the brain which he possessed when he was ten years old. The whole of it has absolutely perished and gone. The new matter by which the waste has been repaired, has not the slightest connection with the brain substance that had been used up. And not only is this true of the whole brain after an interval of many years; but it is true of that part of the brain which we use in thinking, after every effort of thought. The elements of which it is composed may now form part of a glass of water which we offer to a friend; or of a flower; or of a lucifer-match; or of a dog. Indeed, the brain is forever changing; and what we mean by saying that we have still the same brain that we had yesterday, is simply this: that the waste matter has been replaced by new matter which occupies approximately the same place, and is capable of performing, not indeed the same work, but work almost exactly similar to that which was performed by the matter which has now disappeared. Now what possible resemblance is there between these phenomena of the brain, and those mental experiences of which everyone of us is perfectly conscious? In adult-life we perfectly well remember the thoughts and feelings, the pleasures and disappointments of our earliest childhood. When Socrates reviewed his life, just before he drank the hemlock, it is perfectly certain that his whole career rose vividly before his mind. His disputes in the market-place, and in the streets; the characters of his various disciples, Plato, or Alkibiades; the oracle of the Delphian Apollo declaring him to be the wisest of men; his life-long struggle with the Sophists; his trial and condemnation; his unwavering confidence in immortality. No teacher of science ever writes the new edition of a lecture or a treatise, without a perfect recollection of the old one. He reviews the whole course of thinking or experiment which has led him to reverse, or modify, his earlier opinions. In a word, our whole mental life is always before us, and always as a whole. Are we really to be told then, that this is a cerebral, and not a mental phenomenon? We remember to-day, what took place fifty years ago. That

act of memory is a present state of consciousness; but its very peculiarity, that which distinguishes it from a sensation or an anticipation, is that it brings back the past. Where does it get the past? Not, assuredly, from the existing brain which it makes use of in the very act of remembering; for no part of the brain was in existence, as brain, fifty years ago. Do we then get that part, which we are so perfectly able to reproduce, from the past brain, of fifty years ago? Why, the elements of which that brain was composed may be anywhere. Are we then to get memory out of the glass of water, or the dog's tooth into which the brain of fifty years ago has been transformed?

Indeed, memory, if it were the only mental phenomenon with which physiology is incompetent to deal, would be itself an insuperable difficulty in the way of identifying phenomena of mind, with phenomena of matter. Thus, for instance, Mr. Bain describes the (hypothetical) "mechanism of retention" (*Mind and Body*, p. 91): "By every act of memory, every exercise of bodily aptitude, every habit, recollection, train of ideas, there is a specific grouping, or co-ordination of sensations and movement, by virtue of specific growth in the cell functions." This theory might be less startling, not to say absurd, if memory were a late acquisition in mental experience; if it were a slow process or growth. But the very first act of memory is as perfect as the very last—the memory of a baby as the memory of Lord Macaulay. It begins with life itself; it is the condition of consciousness. All consciousness, Mr. Bain assures us, in all sorts of phrases, and with great copiousness of illustration, implies *change*. But the change itself, which produces consciousness, implies memory; you are only conscious of *change* by remembering the previous state. The interval of time may be infinitesimal; but there is an interval. In the life of every human being there is a first experience, a second experience, and the memory of the first experience, and the perception of the difference between the two; and all these are inextricably blended together in what may be considered the very first clear state of consciousness. Or, to express it otherwise, there is the "I," the "self," and its inward or outward manifestations. There is this perfect personality in the first moment of every human being's life, long before any "mechanism of retention" could be possibly constructed. The first link is as mysterious, though it is not so big, as the whole chain. "The

mechanism of retention," if there be any, must *follow*, on Mr. Bain's theory, and be produced by that very retentiveness which it is invented to produce. It is like an immense net-work of telegraph wires, first constructing themselves, next constructing a multitude of stations, and last of all, creating an *operator*.

Biologists are, of course, eager to discover new generalizations. Generalization is the triumph of science. And the hope of reducing great multitudes of dissimilar phenomena under a few general laws; and then, perhaps, these few derivative laws under fewer; and at last, perhaps, under some one primary law of nature, is the very main-spring of scientific endeavor. But it is not always remembered that there are limitations to generalization arising not out of our present ignorance of facts, nor out of the present imperfection of our instruments of observation, but out of the very nature of things:—a limitation, therefore, which no addition of knowledge, or improvement in instruments, can possibly remove. I cannot hope to explain this in any words of mine, that would be half so lucid or effective as those of Mr. John Stuart Mill. The passage to which I allude occurs in the 13th Chapter of the third book of his *Logic*—the *Logic of Induction*. He says: "Since we are continually discovering that uniformities, not previously known to be other than ultimate, are derivative, and resolvable into more general laws; since (in other words) we are continually discovering the explanation of some sequence which was previously known only as a fact; it becomes an interesting question whether there are any necessary limits to this philosophical operation, or whether it may proceed until all the uniform sequences in nature are resolved into some one universal law. For this seems, at first sight, to be the ultimatum towards which the progress of induction, by the Deductive Method resting on a basis of observation and experiment, is tending. Projects of this kind were universal in the infancy of philosophy; any speculations which held out a less brilliant prospect, being in those early times deemed not worth pursuing. And the idea receives so much apparent countenance from the nature of the most remarkable achievements of modern science, that speculators are even now frequently appearing, who profess either to have solved the problem, or to suggest modes in which it may one day be solved. Even where pretensions of this magnitude are not made, the character of the solutions which

are given or sought of particular classes of phenomena, often involves such conceptions of what constitutes explanation, as would render the notion of explaining all phenomena whatever by means of some one cause or law, perfectly admissible.

It is therefore useful to remark, that the ultimate Laws of Nature cannot possibly be less numerous than the distinguishable sensations or other feelings of our nature; those, I mean, which are distinguishable from one another in quality, and not merely in quantity or degree. For example: since there is a phenomenon *sui generis*, called color, which our consciousness testifies to be not a particular degree of some other phenomenon, as heat or odor, or motion, but intrinsically unlike all others, it follows that there are ultimate laws of color; that though the facts of color may admit of explanation, they never can be explained from laws of heat or odor alone, or of motion alone, but that however far the explanation may be carried, there will always remain in it a law of color. I do not mean that it might not possibly be shown that some other phenomenon, some chemical or mechanical action for example, invariably precedes, and is the cause of, every phenomenon of color. But though this, if proved, would be an important extension of our knowledge of nature, it would not explain how or why a motion, or a chemical action, can produce any sensation of color; and however diligent might be our scrutiny of the phenomena, whatever number of hidden links in the chain of causation terminating in the color, the last link would still be a law of color, not a law of motion, nor of any other phenomenon whatever. Nor does this observation apply only to color, as compared with any other of the great classes of sensations; it applies to every particular color, as compared with others. White color can in no manner be explained exclusively by the laws of the production of red color. In any attempt to explain it, we cannot but introduce, as one element of the explanation, the proposition that some antecedent or other produces the sensation of white.

The ideal limit, therefore, of the explanations of natural phenomena (towards which as towards other ideal limits we are constantly tending, without the prospect of ever completely attaining it) would be to show that each distinguishable variety of our sensations, or other states of consciousness, has only one sort of cause; that, for exam-

ple, whenever we perceive a white color, there is some one condition or set of conditions which is always present, and the presence of which always produces in us that sensation. As long as there are several known modes of production of a phenomenon (several different substances, for instance, which have the property of whiteness, and between which we cannot trace any other resemblance) so long it is not impossible that one of these modes of production may be resolved into another, or that all of them may be resolved into some more general mode of production, not hitherto recognized. But when the modes of production are reduced to one, we cannot, in point of simplification, go any further. This one, may not, after all, be the ultimate mode; there may be other links to be discovered between the supposed cause and the effect; but we can only further resolve the known law, by introducing some other law hitherto unknown; which will not diminish the number of ultimate laws." Mr. Mill quotes in confirmation of these views a passage from the very admirable "Logic" of Mr. Bain, which contains, moreover, a very apt illustration of the uselessness, even when there does exist a bare possibility, of reducing under some one general law sets of phenomena which have far more points of difference than of resemblance. "Gravity," he says (quoted in Mill's "Logic," ii. 7), is "an attractive force; and another great attractive force is cohesion, or the force that binds together the atoms of solid matter. Might we then join these two in a still higher unity, expressed under a more comprehensive law? Certainly we might, but not to any advantage. The two kinds of force agree in the one point attraction, but they agree in no other; indeed, in the manner of the attraction, they differ widely; so widely that we should have to state totally distinct laws for each. Gravity is common to all matter, and equal in amount in equal masses of matter, whatever be the kind; it follows the law of the diffusion of space from a point (the inverse square of the distance); it extends to distances unlimited; it is indestructible and invariable. Cohesion is special for each separate substance; it decreases according to distance much more rapidly than the inverse square, vanishing entirely at very small distances. Two such forces have not sufficient kindred to be generalized into one force; the generalization is only illusory; the statement of the difference would still make two forces; while the consideration of one would not, in any way simplify the phenomena of

the other, as happened in the generalization of gravity itself."

But assuredly no one denies that the differences between mind and matter, are far more numerous and important than the differences between gravity and cohesion. In fact, they have no points of resemblance. To reduce them under one general law would be therefore, wholly "illusory," and the generalization merely verbal and not real.

I believe then that I have proved that no sufficient reason has yet been shown for abandoning the old definition of the word "man."

Man is a composite being. As distinguished from other animals, he is what we call spiritual; he has a mind; and he manifests himself, on this side of his nature, by senses, intellect, emotions, will. It is of this part of his nature that we are thinking, when we are contemplating what he is. When, however, we turn our attention to his bodily structure, by virtue of which alone he would be the sole occupant of the highest order of living creatures, we speak, if we would conform ourselves to the usage of all civilized languages, not of what he is, but of what he has.

This bodily structure, being the most perfect of all known organisms, is also in many respects that which is most unstable. It is liable through a thousand avenues to almost every kind of injury, and may quite easily be rendered, wholly or in part, unfit for the uses of the spirit; especially is the whole nervous system of most unstable equilibrium. And hence it comes to pass, that almost the slightest disturbance—a little morsel of undigested food, for instance—may seriously affect, not indeed the mind, but that very complex structure which is its chief organ. Nevertheless, these two remain perfectly and incommunicably distinct, even though, in this world, they can never be separated. If there be any ultimate law, to which the phenomena of both of them may be reduced, it must be looked for altogether outside of the physical sciences. It can be none other indeed than that law to which all forces and all phenomena are to be reduced. It can, in fact, be none other than that Living Will which is the source and the sustainer of the whole universe.

But if man be thus essentially different, in the duality of his being, and in his modes of operation, from all other living creatures, we may reasonably expect that he will not be subject to precisely the same laws of development, or precisely the same process of evolution to which all the rest

of nature seems to be subject. His body, indeed, may have been brought to its present perfection in the same way as the body of an anthropoid ape has been developed. Thus much, at any rate, may be admitted for the sake of argument, whatever any body's own private opinion may be as to the reasonableness of such a theory. For, even if any one believes that the book Genesis is intended to give us a really scientific account of the formation of the human body, we may, at any rate for the purposes of the present argument, lay that account entirely aside. We may do this first, because it is not of the slightest use, in any argument, to rely upon authority which the other side entirely repudiates; and secondly, it is not of the slightest importance to the argument in which I am now engaged, *how* the body of man was formed, and whether it required a million years for its making, or only a minute, so long as it really has been formed, and is, what it is. But I may remark, in passing, that the book Genesis is not such very easy reading, as to be made readily available, for the uses of any dogmatism on any scientific subject. We read, indeed, that God formed man out of the dust of the ground. This, of course, may mean that the Almighty molded a sufficient quantity of whatever earth was nearest, into a shape resembling the human body; and then, by a single act of creative power, changed it into a real and living man. But this interpretation, to say the least of it, is not "of faith," and may be denied without heresy. On the other hand, the Old Testament narrative may simply mean, that the human body was built up out of those very same elements which are to be found in profusion in the common earth, united in fresh combinations, rendering it fit for the use of the immaterial Spirit. But any theory on this subject, whether true or false, in itself, is wholly irrelevant to the argument in which I am at present engaged. For thousands of years, man has been essentially what he is to-day. All that time he has had his place in nature; has had to compete with all other forms of life; and moreover, every member of the human race has had to compete with every other. Now the question is, has man, during the long course of his history, been subject to those laws, and especially to the most important of those laws, to which all other living creatures have been subject; and has the process of his development been on the same lines as theirs. In other words, can the present condition of the human race, and especially that part of the human race

which has attained the greatest perfection, be accounted for, by the "struggle for existence," and the "survival of the fittest." I believe not. I believe, on the other hand, that the progress of the human race has resulted from a persistent and successful endeavor to evade the first of these laws, and by a total indifference to the second of them; and I will now proceed to give my reason.

Perhaps one of the most charming chapters in Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," is the chapter on the struggle for existence. "Nothing is easier," he says, (Amer. Ed. 1873, pp. 49 et seq.) "than to admit in words the truth of the universal struggle for life, or more difficult—at least I have found it so—than constantly to bear this conclusion in mind. Yet unless it be thoroughly engrained in the mind, the whole economy of nature, with every fact on distribution, rarity, abundance, extinction, and variation, will be dimly seen or quite misunderstood. We behold the face of nature bright with gladness, we often see superabundance of food; we do not see or we forget, that the birds which are idly singing round us mostly live on insects or seeds, and are thus constantly destroying life; or we forget how largely these songsters, or their eggs, or their nestlings, are destroyed by birds and beasts of prey; we do not always bear in mind, that, though food may be now superabundant, it is not so at all seasons of each recurring year. . . . A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being, which during its natural lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasional year; otherwise, on the principle of geometrical increase, its numbers would quickly become so inordinately great that no country could support the product. Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage. Although some species may be now increasing, more or less rapidly, in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them. There is no exception to the rule that every organic being

naturally increases at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by a single pair. Even slow breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing-room for his progeny. Linnæus has calculated that if an annual plant produced only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of natural increase; it will be safest to assume that it begins breeding when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth six young in the interval, and surviving till one hundred years old; if this be so, after a period of from 740 to 750 years, there would be nearly nineteen million elephants alive, descended from the first pair."

This short extract will be enough for my purpose; and, at any rate, will recall to the minds of those who have read with any care the "*Origin of Species*," the most fascinating, perhaps, of all scientific treatises, the multitude of facts that Mr. Darwin has accumulated, and the use he makes of them. But before I proceed it may be well to restate exactly what I am endeavouring to do, in the argument in which I am engaged. I am endeavouring to defend the old definition of "man," and to do this, by showing that no theory of materialism, however refined, can obliterate, or even in the slightest degree lessen, the enormous difference between mental and material phenomena; that no generalization can ever reduce them to any one law, or set of laws, which will account equally for both of them. Neither of them can be regarded as a mere mode of the other; and even if we should attempt the experiment of so reducing them, it would be very far more hopeful to begin with mind than to begin with matter. I now then proceed to show, or at least I will try to show, that no theory of materialism, however refined, can account for the actual historical development of the human race, nor for the mode in which civilized human beings live at the present time. Now it must be clearly understood that, according to the theory that I am combating, the whole superiority of the human being over any other animal depends, in the last analysis, upon the superiority of his organic structure. The human hand is an immeasurably

more useful instrument than the hoof of a horse. The erect posture is immeasurably more advantageous than walking on all fours, or crawling like a worm or a serpent. But the superiority of man consists especially, in the relative perfection of his nervous system; and chiefly, even here, upon the mass and quality of his brain. It is this which makes a man superior to an ape; and, even within the human race itself, a European superior to an African, or a normally developed man to an idiot. I suppose that this would scarcely be denied, by those who maintain any theory of materialism whatever. It is implied, and with tremendous practical result, in all modern theories of moral insanity, and in the tendency to regard drunkenness, for instance, not as a vice, but as a disease. It seems, in fact, to be doubted by some recent authorities, whether a case of really original, or what is called idiopathic drunkenness exists; and at any rate, in every case of habitual drunkenness, diligent search is always made for some hereditary taint.

Man, then, is to be regarded as a splendidly constructed animal; not only endowed with consciousness, like a dog, but capable of high intellectual achievements of immense range and complexity, and of profound and lofty emotions, of all of which, however, there are germs, we are assured, not only in the lower but in the lowest animals or even plants. Thus, for instance, Mr. Herbert Spencer, by an abuse of language which seems to me simply monstrous, traces what he calls altruism, by infinitesimal gradations, down from the most heroic self-sacrifice in the noblest men (and we must not forget that Jesus of Nazareth is regarded as only a link in the long chain of material development), to acts which do not even imply "automatic nervous processes; acts not in the remotest sense psychical, but in a literal sense physical."* In other words we pass without a break from the multiplication of the simplest beings by spontaneous fission, *i. e.*, by splitting into two or three pieces, to the death on Calvary. At some point in the development we arrive at consciousness, which is a differentiation arising out of, or consisting in, a more complete nervous system; but it comes so gradually that we scarcely know whether to look for it first in plants or animals. The intelligence of a dog and the intelligence of a man; the maternal instincts of a tigress

* *Data of Ethics*, p. 201, (Amer. Edit.)

and of a woman ; the fear and cowering of a beaten or threatened hound, and the awe and attitude of S. Paul "bowing his knees," to the Father of the Spirits of all flesh—all these differ not in kind but in degree. Man then is an animal, subject to the same laws, developing by the same processes, as an oyster or a monkey ; and, also, like them liable to be surpassed by some noble product of an unceasing evolution. Moreover, *as an animal*—apart from that Spirit which has hitherto been supposed to be a part of his nature, *sui generis*, and incapable of resolution into anything else—man is, most undoubtedly exposed to the *struggle for existence*. Probably nobody has ever doubted this, at any rate, since the publication of Mr. Malthus' "Essay." An animal is, or becomes a *higher* animal, simply because he possesses and uses, to the utmost, his superior advantages in that struggle. Sometimes the superiority consists in greater physical strength ; sometimes in greater cunning ; but, whatever it consists in it *is always used* ; used for the suppression or destruction of whatever interferes with the life or comforts of the individual creature which possesses an advantage of any kind over another. It is used, as a matter of fact—which is, indeed, involved in their superiority—most incessantly and most unrelentingly by animals highest in the scale of nature. Plants fight to the death without knowing what they are doing ; but when we arrive at living creatures which do know what they are doing, the fight becomes the one conscious purpose of life, or the one keenest enjoyment of life. Even when fighting is needless they kill by neglect ; the wounded stag is left to perish by "his dappled friends." So soon as the physical comforts and discomforts of maternity come to an end, and new sexual impulses resume their sway, even the higher mammals will drive away with violence, if need be, their own offspring, will treat them as mere strangers, and fight and kill them whenever, in the struggle for existence, they become dangerous or inconvenient. And it must be remembered that not only barely sufficient nourishment is necessary to keep a breed in a position of permanent superiority, but abundant nourishment. Each will try to secure as much as he can eat, though every other must die of starvation. In a word, each race retains its rank of supremacy by quietly leaving its superabundant and feebler individuals to perish. We thus see, throughout all nature, a struggle for existence. The very "waters wear the stones ;" and if any

living being should refuse to take part in the struggle it must inevitably be destroyed ; if any race should refuse, it must immediately degenerate and rapidly perish.

Well, then, at the very head of all animal natures we find man—subject on any theory of materialism to the very same laws to which all other animals are subject, depending for his superiority on his superior organism, and maintaining that superiority by constantly using his large advantages in the struggle for existence. He is beyond all comparison the most powerful of all living creatures ; making up for deficient strength by an immeasurable superiority of cunning, and by the faculty of accumulating the results of long continued and almost infinitely varied experiences. He can generalize ; and in very many instances can predict a moderately near future with unerring accuracy. Moreover, he is not only like all other animals subject to the struggle for existence, but alone of all animals, he knows that he is, and perfectly understands the conditions of success and victory. A dog only recognizes his rival when he sees him actually gnawing the bone that he wants to gnaw himself. But a man can recognize his rivals years in advance, can recognize whole classes of them, and can take precautions years in advance to prevent their rivalry from becoming effective. He does not wait till a grown tiger is at his throat ; he exterminates the whole race of tigers as far as he can reach them. His most formidable rivals indeed are his own fellowmen. But they also are (on any theory of materialism) short-lived animals, who may be rendered powerless or destroyed like all other dangerous or mischievous beasts. Here we are on the clear road of development. One law for all—one condition of self-preservation and improvement. Man can protect himself better than any other animal ; but his most dangerous enemies are *other men*—and, of course, he will treat them accordingly.

Now the question is—*does he ?* Take the case of an overcrowded, densely populated manufacturing district. Wages are low, but for even low wages there is an intense competition. The working-people are at starvation point. Every new mouth to be filled means an older mouth to be left so much emptier. A panic occurs—mills are worked on short time—one after another they are closed. Here is a struggle for existence with a vengeance. Every man in the starved community is stronger than every woman, every woman than every child, every child than every

infant. While the starvation lasts every brain is getting impoverished. Degenerate fathers beget children who will become the fathers of children more degenerate still. Within a very short time that whole population must lose its animal, and therefore its human superiority. What are they to do, following the line of development along which all living creatures have traveled, and by means of which all races of living creatures have become what they are? The struggle for existence does not mean lying down in contented starvation to die; it means fighting and killing until there is enough food available for the few who may survive—the fittest because the strongest. Every child will fly at the throat of every infant—every woman at the throat of every child—every man at the throat of every woman. There will be a huge slaughter, never pausing till the balance of human need and the things by which that need may be supplied, have been readjusted. Now the question is—do men settle their difficulties in this summary fashion, or in any way distantly resembling it?

There are diseases—and the very worst diseases that can afflict mankind—which are beyond all question hereditary. Individuals so afflicted are themselves, as animals, utterly worthless; but if they marry and have children, they propagate far and wide unspeakable horrors. They are a direct loss of the most serious kind to the sum of human happiness. In a mere struggle for existence, in which it is the very object of the struggle that only the fittest should survive, they ought to be allowed to perish. All through nature, until we come to man, they would be allowed to perish or would be at once destroyed. Why do not men kill them? What is the meaning of hospitals for the incurable, for the insane, for epileptics, for deaf mutes? All these institutions are clearly opposed to that great law of nature, upon the steady operation of which, we are assured, has depended the whole variety and the gradual perfecting of all orders of living beings.

There can be only one answer. As individual man has a dual life, the life of flesh and spirit—on the one side subject to all physical laws, on the other, apart from and superior to them: so in all his social relations he finds it impossible to live as other animals live. He cannot take bread out of the mouth of the famishing even to save his own life. He cannot leave the feeble to perish. It is his one marked distinction that he will have no part in the struggle

for existence, that he would rather die than kill. He cares nothing about "the fittest;" he protects all; keeps from wasting the last flickering flame of life, saves with anxious solicitude even worthless lives, and refuses to despair of any human being while there is will in his spirit or breath in his body. Instead of exterminating his competitors he helps and strengthens them, and is never contented till he has elevated them to his own level. His perfection consists not in ability to fight better the cruel battle of life but in retiring from it. He does not in this respect, complete, he totally reverses the process of development by which all other living creatures have come to be what they are.

"I trust I have not wasted breath;
I think we are not wholly brain,
Magnetic mockeries; not in vain,
Like Paul with beasts, I fought with Death;

Not only cunning casts in clay;
Let Science prove we are, and then
What matters Science unto men,
At least to me? I would not stay.

Let him, the wiser man who springs
Hereafter, up from childhood shape
His action like the greater ape,
But I was *born* to other things."*

* In memoriam, CXX.

WILLIAM KIRKUS

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN SWITZERLAND.

II.

THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH REGARD TO A CONSTITUTION FOR THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH TILL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

A FEW months before the delegates of the Old Catholic societies and congregations assembled, to deliberate on an organization of the Church, the Old Catholics of Switzerland had suffered an irreparable loss. Professor Munzinger of Berne, who had thus far been the leader of the Old Catholics, died suddenly on the 28th of April, 1873. His funeral was the grandest that Switzerland had witnessed within man's memory. There was a widespread fear that his death had dealt the death-blow to the reform movement in Switzerland. Excellent and influential men were not wanting, who took an earnest interest in Catholic reform, but among them not one was endowed with such a rich knowledge of Canon law and Church history, or stood so high in authority with all religious and political parties.

Thus it happened that protracted and passionate discussions arose on the fundamental question—which ought to be no question at all to a Catholic—viz., whether in the Old Catholic community the Episcopate should be retained, or no.

In the canton of Geneva there had never been a dispute on this point. On the contrary, as early as February 19th, 1873, a statute had been incorporated in the constitution

of the State requiring that the Catholic parishes of the canton of Geneva should belong to a Swiss diocese, that the Bishop of that diocese must be acknowledged by the government, and that in the canton only the Bishop acknowledged by the government be allowed to exercise Episcopal jurisdiction. These constitutional enactments were confirmed, on July 24th, 1873, by the Federal Council of Switzerland. The Old Catholics of Geneva, in order not to relapse under the jurisdiction of a Roman Catholic Bishop, had therefore to insist on the erection of an Old Catholic bishopric. They could not form it themselves, because in another article of the new constitution of Geneva it was declared that the Bishop should not be permitted to have his See within the boundaries of the canton. The Old Catholics of Geneva, led by Hyacinthe Loyson, turned, therefore, to their co-religionists in the other cantons with the urgent request to organize the Church and to establish the Episcopate.

In some places, however, no great willingness was shown to comply with this plan. The laity feared, from the restoration of Episcopacy, the renewal of controversies in matters of Church polity. This was the feeling especially in the canton of Berne. • Here the Bishop of Basle had governed with absolute power. The education of the clergy, the appointment of curates, the administration of Church property had been almost entirely under his control. The Roman Catholic Bishops had repeatedly come into collision with single parishes and with the government of Berne itself, most frequently at the filling of vacant cures. These conflicts were now to be forever forestalled by doing away altogether with the Episcopate. Quite a number were also led to such conclusions through their intercourse with the surrounding Protestants. There were even some priests who in consequence of their controversies with the Roman Bishops had gradually become reconciled to the idea of a universal priesthood resting in the congregation and conferred in the election by the people. Lastly, the Catholic Episcopate had fallen into utter disrepute in Switzerland by its despicable bearing at the Vatican Council and afterwards.

Thus it came to pass that, at a time when the Old Catholic Bishop of Germany was already consecrated (August 11, 1873), the Swiss Old Catholics were still disagreed whether they should have any bishop. At a meeting in the city of Olten, on August 31, 1873, more than forty congregations

were represented by ninety delegates. According to the request of the Genevese delegates an Old Catholic Bishopric was to be consecrated at this assembly. But they confined themselves to the promulgation of some general principles to avoid a breach at the first meeting. It was declared that the Church constitution of the Old Catholics in Switzerland should rest on a purely democratic basis, and that by following the representative system, it should be further developed in higher synodical organs. Besides, another assembly of delegates was contemplated which was to elect an intermediate Diocesan Commission. On this commission it would devolve to have preliminary consultations concerning the "eventual erection and organization of the bishopric." But it was added that the "eventual election" of a Bishop should be made by a Synod, and that the Bishop should assume no responsibility whatever toward other authorities than the government of the country. Hereby it was, however, not intended to impair the free association, in the spirit of the ancient Church, of the various national Churches into a universal, truly Catholic Church. Moreover, the Assembly of Delegates expressed the desire that some reforms in no wise touching the essentials of the Church should be introduced. Among such reforms they counted the adoption of the vernacular in public worship, except at the Mass, the abolition of fees for ministerial acts, the interdiction of the Peter's pence and of the sale of indulgences, the restriction of pilgrimages and image worship, the admission of sponsors from other Christian communities. No great effect resulted from this Reform decree, for the changes mentioned in it as desirable, had been already carried out almost completely in most congregations which favored Old Catholicism. The resolutions concerning the organization of the Old Catholic Church were, on the other hand, calculated to defer indefinitely the establishment of the Church.

We owe it to the Old Catholics of Geneva that a further procrastination in this important matter was avoided. Upon their repeated petitions the Central Committee, appointed on December 1st, 1872, began to occupy itself seriously with the project of a Church constitution. The first scheme was drawn by Edward Herzog, Curate of Olten; but it was altered by the Committee in some essential points, and at last submitted for consideration to an assembly of delegates convened at Berne on June 14th, 1874. The meeting took a somewhat stormy course. Sev-

eral speakers rose against the proposition of a Bishop. During this discussion Hyacinthe Loyson and Edward Herzog left the Hall in a demonstrative manner, but were brought back by friends almost by main force. Herzog, when called upon to speak, declared that as a Catholic priest he was resolved to stand firm on the ground of the Catholic Church; by the abolishing of the Episcopate and the Catholic priesthood, this ground would be abandoned. If this fatal step were to be taken by the assembly, he had no longer a place in it. When the vote was taken on the question, to the surprise of all, nearly the whole assembly—with the exception of no more than four or five votes—rose for the retention of the Episcopal office.

But now the contest began about the rights and privileges of the proposed bishop. It was impossible to bring these negotiations to a termination at Berne. Another convention of delegates was, therefore, called for the 21st of September, 1874, at Olten. Here the institution of Episcopacy itself was no longer assailed, but in the interest of the "democratic character" of the Church the privileges of the Bishop were much restricted. So it was resolved that the President of the Synod and also the President of the Synodical Council should be elective officers, which meant nothing but that the Bishop must not be president of either body. In a special article provision was made for the deposition of the Bishop. Some prominent clergymen, Dr. Deramey of Pruntrut among them, advocated even a periodical re-election of the Bishop. This proposal was however not accepted.

The other enactments of the constitution did not lead to any very animated discussion. The Synod is, according to these provisions, the highest legislative and judicial body of the Church, deciding matters of discipline and ritual, while it is invested with no authority in questions of dogma. On all sides the principle was accepted that only an Œcumenical council has authority to formulate a Catholic confession of faith. Members of the Synod are all priests exercising ministerial functions in the Church. Every congregation sends beside a delegate. Congregations, numbering more than one hundred voters, have a claim to one more representative for every two hundred voters. Every Catholic is entitled to vote who has suffrage as a citizen and has formally connected himself with an Old Catholic congregation, or has remained in it from the beginning. The executive and administrative board of the

Church, to which also belongs the preliminary deliberation of synodical matters, is the Synodical Council. It consists of nine members: four clergymen and five laymen, the Bishop being a member *ex officio*. The Synodical Council meets regularly in each quarter of the year and, besides, as often as business requires. The curates are elected by the congregations, and must be instituted by the Bishop to signify their Church Communion. If the Bishop refuses an appeal may be made to the Synod, which has power to decide the question.

The congregations in the several cantons are allowed to organize into particular ecclesiastical associations. This has been done in the canton of Geneva where the administration of the Church affairs is placed in the hands of a *Conseil Supérieur*. The *Conseil Supérieur* consists of five clergymen and twenty-five laymen, and orders its deliberations according to the enactments of the Bishop and the Synodical Council, thus preventing any conflict.

The convention of delegates at Berne adopted as the official title for the Church, then to be legally constituted, the name of THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND. On account of a peculiar Swiss idiom, the designation "*Alt Katholisch*" might have led to misrepresentations, and was therefore not chosen. The analogy of "*Alt Ammann*," Ex-Bailiff, and of similar expressions, might have suggested something that we had been and that we were no longer. On the other hand, the name Christian Catholic—*Christ Katholisch*—had been used of old with preference by those who found in the title "Roman-Catholic" a *contradictio in adjecto*.

The Church Constitution agreed upon by the two assemblies convened at Berne and Olten was now submitted to the several parishes and societies for adoption. All associations which declared their agreement obtained thereby, the right of being represented at the first Christian Catholic National Synod. It assembled June 14th, 1875, at Olten; thirty-four clergymen and ninety-seven laymen being present. The large number is explained from the fact, that in the Bernese Jura, in consequence of political events before mentioned, thirty small congregations had been received, on organization, which were then condemned by the Church of Rome. All of them attached them selves at once to the Christian Catholic Church, in order to gain strength. As soon as the Synod was organized, the Church constitution, accepted at the two preliminary assemblies,

received its ecclesiastical sanction. An order of proceedings, previously framed, was adopted ; also the rules for the election of a Bishop, for the Synod and the Synodical council.

This was hardly done when the Geneva delegation rose to urge with great energy the immediate election of a Bishop. However, upon the objections of the delegates from German Switzerland and in view of the promise that within four months the Synod should meet again, the Genevese were once more appeased. The Synodical Council was then elected and some proposals for reform were put on record. The clerical members of the Council were appointed only provisionally, considering that the future Bishop was to be *ex officio* member of the Council. The four curates, Chavard, Lochbrunner, Schroeter, Herzog were chosen from the clergy. Hyacinthe Loyson would certainly have been among the elected of clerical members, but, unfortunately, he had just resigned his cure in Geneva.

The promise made to the Genevese to hold another Synod within four months could only be fulfilled on the 7th of June, 1876. On this day, the SECOND CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC SYNOD assembled at Olten. There were present fifty-four clergymen and one hundred and eight laymen, so that the Synod numbered one hundred and sixty-two members. No Synod has had since so large an attendance. The unusually strong representation was due to the circumstance that this time the election of the Bishop was to take place. No more reasons for further delay were alleged. The election was held in the Parish Church of Olten. There were one hundred and fifty-eight voters of clergy and laity, by whom one hundred and seventeen votes were cast for Edward Herzog, who had been since transferred to Berne as professor of Theology and curate of the Parish Church. He declared that he could not accept the election, but was afterwards moved through the representations of his friends and especially by the prayers of the people of his former cure at Olten, to signify his acceptance at another session of the Synod, on June 8th. The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland was thus fully constituted. The event was at once communicated by telegraph to the Old Catholic Synod of Germany assembled at the same time. The following Sunday it was announced from the pulpit in all Christian Catholic Churches of Switzerland and celebrated with ringing of bells.

According to the rules prescribed for the election of a bishop, the Bishop elect had to procure his consecration from a Catholic Bishop within three months.

For a long time Bishop Herzog's relations to the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens of Bonn had been those of intimate friendship. It was therefore only natural that this Bishop was asked to act as consecrator. Much stress was however laid on a compliance with the Nicene Canon that at a consecration three Bishops should officiate. Bishop Herzog journeyed therefore to the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht to induce him to assist with one of his co-adju-tors at the consecration. The Archbishop, however, demanded of Herzog a written acknowledgment of Pope Pius IV. and the profession of faith of the year 1564. To this condition Bishop Herzog could not and would not accede; and under the circumstances then existing nothing was to be done but to have the consecration conferred by Bishop Reinkens alone. This took place with an extraordinarily large attendance of the people on the 18th of September, 1876, in the Parish Church of Rheinfelden (Argovie).

The Christian Catholic Bishop had already received his formal acknowledgment by the Federal Government and by several cantonal governments. The four cantons of Argovie, Berne, Geneva and Soleure sent official representatives who were present at the consecration, and at the following administration of the oath to the Bishop, and they signed the records of these acts. The same government undertook also afterwards the endowment of the Christian Catholic Bishopric. They assigned to the Bishop five thousand francs annually. In limiting the grant to this amount it was understood that the Bishop should be also curate of some parish, and thus derive an income. Such has been the case, since. It must be admitted that this is in accordance with the institutions of the early Church, but to-day when the jurisdiction of a Bishop is no longer confined to the congregation of a city and its suburbs such an arrangement must necessarily impair the efficiency of a Bishop.

III.

THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

After the election of a bishop the development of the Christian Catholic Church took its regular course. The

Councils prescribed by the constitution were held every year. At these meetings, Church reforms were discussed, the reports on the more important events in the several congregations were read, general measures of administration were laid out, and other business of the kind transacted. Some detailed communications concerning the reforms and the outward growth of the Church may be of general interest.

Already at the Synod at which the Bishop was elected, resolutions for reform of fundamental importance were adopted. At the Union Conferences of Bonn, in September, 1874 and 1875, which preceded this Synod, the representatives of the Greek and Anglican Churches together with Old Catholic Theologians had, under Doellinger's presidency, negotiated with a *view* to the reunion of the Churches so far separated. With regard to these proceedings the President of the Christian Catholic Synodical Council, the aged Landammann Keller, of Aarau, proposed to the Synod to express their joyful assent to the endeavors for Union thus begun, Professor Dr. Michaud of Berne availed himself of this opportunity to propose to the Synod a declaration by which the Christian Catholic Church defined more distinctly its own theological basis. The proposal, with some unimportant changes, was adopted by the Synod, and read as follows :

"The National Synod of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland declares :

'We welcome the endeavors of the Old Catholic Church of Germany, to bring about a reunion of the Protestant, Greek and Anglican Churches, as a great work designed by the Founder of the Christian Religion Himself, and therefore comprehended in the will of Divine Providence; and we shall stand up with all our power for the furtherance and fulfilment of that work.

'In order to advance this union in a feasible way and in accordance with the principles of the undivided Church, we own Jesus Christ alone as the one Lord of the Church, under whom, in communion with her episcopate, her priesthood and her diaconate she governs herself as an autonomous body.

'We acknowledge, as Œcumenical, *i. e.*, as universal, only those seven councils (and the genuine test of their decrees only) which have been accepted as such by the undivided Church of the East and West.

'We recognize as Catholic morals none but the morals

of the Gospel as interpreted according to the universal, continuous and unanimous testimony of the several Christian Churches.

‘We hold as Catholic Liturgy and discipline only the liturgy and discipline which were celebrated and administered in the undivided Church.’”

The very men who knew the full bearing of these resolutions and desired their adoption could not fail to see that a thorough discussion of them at the Synod was impossible; they refrained, therefore, from all expression of their opinions. A few members, however, of the Synod requested personally the mover of the resolutions, Professor Michaud, not to have the number of the Œcumenical councils mentioned. It was in vain. Yet there is not the remotest danger that, with regard to the seventh council, the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland will ever fall into undue veneration of the images of the Saints. In other respects, this fundamental decision of the Synod had a most beneficial effect, and formed the basis for all Church reform afterwards undertaken.

For a long time the Christian Catholic Church was engaged in the reform of the liturgy. M. Loyson, indeed, had as early as 1873 translated the Latin Mass into French, and had used, in all acts of worship, the French language exclusively. In the Bernese Jura and in German Switzerland such change would have appeared to the people as an arbitrary presumption, by which the sanctuary would be profaned. It was also soon evident that a mere translation of the prayers of the Mass from the Latin into the vernacular was not admissible, but that a reconstruction of the liturgy was needed. But many shrunk from this difficult and responsible task. In German Switzerland the priests contented themselves, therefore, for a time, with the accustomed Latin Mass and used the vernacular only at the administration of the Sacraments, at funerals, at vespers, at ministerial benedictions and the like functions. The formularies for these ministrations were not wanting.

Until the year 1814 a large part of German Switzerland had belonged to the diocese of Constance, which had been administered since 1802 by the noble Vicar General Wessenberg. And even after the Swiss cantons had been separated from the See of Constance, and that diocese itself had been dissolved entirely in 1821, by a despotic decree of the Pope, a large portion of the Catholic popula-

tion of Switzerland continued under the spiritual influence of Wessenberg. This man, set aside and ill-treated by Rome in the most disgraceful manner, was yet, until his death, in 1860, ever active for the reform of the Catholic Church. This ritual, published in 1831, in the German language, made its way into many Catholic congregations in German Switzerland, and was kept in use until the commencement of the Old Catholic reform. Thereby the task of the Christian Catholics was made much more easy. The Synod of Olten (1876) appointed a commission for the editing of a new ritual. They undertook a revision of Wessenberg's book and submitted it to the Synod of Berne in 1877, for its authorization. In 1878, at the Synod of Aarau, a French edition of the ritual received likewise ecclesiastical sanction. By this action the matter of liturgies was for the present settled; yet, the Christian Catholic Synod may soon have to occupy itself with another revision of some formularies.

The task of obtaining an agreement with regard to the liturgy of the Mass itself presented still greater difficulties. The Synod of 1876 had expressly allowed the translation of the prayers and songs of the Mass into the vernacular, and took the publication of a "Missal" into consideration. To the Synod of Berne (1877) two liturgies for the Mass were submitted, one, in the German language, had Dr. Watterich, curate of Basle, for its author, while the other was compiled by Professor Dr. Michaud of Berne. The Synod resolved, however, a postponement of the matter. At the Synod of Aarau, in 1878, not much more progress had been made and, therefore, action was again deferred. Thereupon several clergymen, of the canton of Geneva, elaborated a new liturgy of the Mass, which met, however, with many objections; so that also the Synod of Soleure (1879) refused to enter more deeply into the question. In the meantime the confusion increased, there being from three to four different liturgies in use beside the Latin Mass. Bishop Herzog made now, with the assistance of some friends, a draft of another liturgy, advised about it with the clergy of French and German Switzerland, procured its publication in a Book of Common Prayer, and submitted the whole, in 1880, to the Synod of Geneva for their approval. It was unanimously authorized. This is the same liturgy which was translated into English by the Rev. Dr. Hale of Baltimore, and printed with the proceedings of the last General Convention of

the American Church.* At the Synod in Basle, in 1881, the French edition of the Prayer Book was likewise authorized. Thus a question which had often excited the minds of the members of the Church, was brought to a peaceable, and we trust a happy solution.

With the change of the liturgy of the Mass, the question about the communion in both kinds is closely connected. On Christmas-Day, 1875, two curates in the canton of Geneva began to administer the Sacrament in both kinds. Against this proceeding other clergymen of the same canton entered a protest and made complaint to the Synodical Council. The council demanded that the two curates should cease disturbing the unity of worship. The Synod of 1876 confirmed this measure; in the following year, however, the Synod received a petition with sixteen signatures praying to have the communion in both kinds restored. Only two or three clergymen of the canton of Geneva were still opposed to the intended reform. On the other hand it found no advocates in any of the congregations of German Switzerland. In the course of centuries the opinion had grown upon the minds of the Roman Catholic people that communion in both kinds was a Protestant form and incompatible with the reverence paid by Catholics to the most sacred Sacrament. Even a very thorough instruction would not have overcome this feeling. Therefore it was thought best not to touch this question, especially as the conviction prevailed that communion in one kind did not impair the efficacy for grace of the Sacrament. The Synod of 1877 still resolved not to take up the matter for discussion. In the meantime new petitions, covered with numerous signatures, and praying for the restoration of communion in both kinds, were presented to the Synod by many congregations of French Switzerland. As no well informed person doubted the actual justice of this demand, the Synod of Aarau in 1878, declared with a very large majority, that the administration of the Holy Communion in both kinds was catholic and allowable. On December 18th, 1878, the Bishop issued a Pastoral Letter which regulated the form in which the Sacrament was to be administered. It corresponds exactly with the rules of the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglo-American

* The "*American Church Review*" of January contains a critical comparison of the Daily Prayers and Vesper Service and of the Eucharistic Office in the Swiss Ritual, with the Latin originals, from which it is apparently drawn. See Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 11-64.

Church. On Christmas-Day, 1878, the Holy Communion was given in both kinds to the faithful in all our Churches of the canton of Geneva and also in the Parish Church at Chauxdefonds, Canton of Neufchatel. But to this very day the Roman form has been retained in many Christian Catholic congregations; although the chalice may not be refused to those who desire it.

Much more readily was the question solved, concerning auricular confession. M. Hyacinthe Loyson had actually proceeded in the matter, before a Synod could deal with it. As early as 1873 he preached in Geneva that every one was at liberty to submit to auricular confession or to refuse. The result was, that the confessionals were at once removed from the churches and that confession almost ceased. The example was followed in German Switzerland by the congregation at Basle. In a motion made by this congregation, the Synod of 1876 declared auricular confession optional. Now, in order to guide the faithful to a serious preparation for the receiving of the Holy Communion, forms for penitential acts of the congregation were added to the ritual. They contain, with an exhortation for an examination of the conscience, also forms of a general confession, penitential and absolutionary prayers, and therefore all essential parts of private confession. These acts of penitence are performed, however, only on high festivals and on occasions when a large part of the congregation is wont to commune. On other days it is supposed that every one who wants to partake of the communion, takes part in spirit in the penitential act which introduces the liturgy of the Mass and which is omitted from no celebration. The Bishop has explained and proved at some length the views prevailing in the Christian Catholic Church concerning Confession in a Pastoral, issued on January 20th, 1880. The pamphlet has been largely circulated, also, in Roman Catholic congregations; and every year, especially at Eastertide, large numbers of Catholics from Roman congregations come to participate in the penitential devotions and in the communion. And upon every Christian Catholic priest the duty is enjoined to offer to such as want to make private confession, an opportunity to do so.

At last the abolition of compulsory celibacy ought to be mentioned. This reform would hardly have come to pass so soon, if M. Loyson had not actually anticipated it. When he was called to Geneva he was already married. His example was followed by almost every priest whom

he brought to Geneva from France. Also in other parts of Switzerland there were clergymen who did not wait for Synodical action before they entered into married life. They claimed that the Church never had the right to forbid the priests marrying; therefore no ecclesiastical authority need give permission. Nevertheless the Synod of 1876 took up the question and resolved unanimously: "The qualification for the administration of the ministerial office does not depend on the married or unmarried state of the clergyman." Not a word was said concerning the discipline of the Eastern Church, enjoining marriage before ordination, forbidding a second marriage of the priest and any marriage of the bishop. At present almost all the priests of French Switzerland are married and of the clergy of German Switzerland about one half.

To all these changes also the Catholic people of German Switzerland have been gradually reconciled, which is of the highest importance for the further propagation of the Christian Catholic movement.

Since the election of a bishop in 1876 the movement presented the appearance rather of having gone backward than forward. The President of the Synod, when presenting to the Federal Council of Switzerland the petition for recognition of the Christian Catholic bishopric and bishop, submitted to it also a statistical table showing the strength of the Christian Catholic Church. There were at that time already fifty-five congregations and seventeen societies; and sixty-six priests had joined themselves to the Christian Catholic Church. According to the bishop's report of 1881 the church numbered only forty-two congregations and six societies under regular pastoral care, and fifty-nine priests. Nevertheless the number of members of the Christian Catholic Church has not diminished but increased during the last five years. Among the fifty-five parishes reported in 1876 no less than thirty-three belonged to the canton of Berne and were called into existence by the political events repeatedly mentioned. They had mostly a mere nominal existence. The ultramontane population kept away from the service on principle; while the liberals partly from indifference, partly from fear of the hatred of the ultramontanes, took only a lukewarm interest in the life of the congregation. To-day only seven out of those thirty-three congregations are in existence and of these three more will soon be lost. Only in four parishes of the canton Berne the Christian Catholic element is prominent. In

two or three more places, Christian Catholic minorities have organized, but they have no relations to the State. For, the government makes no distinction between Roman Catholics and Christian Catholics, but salaries the curate whom the majority of the Catholic voters duly enrolled, have elected. Since 1876 we have thus lost in the canton of Berne as many as twenty-six congregations apparently in existence. If in the meantime no new congregations had been formed the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland would now number only twenty-nine parishes. The fact that there are forty-two proves that it has grown in extent in other cantons. Our Church numbers, indeed, at present, sixteen congregations in the canton of Geneva, six in Soleure, eight in Argovie, one in each of the cantons of S. Gall, Zurich, Basle county, Basle city, and Neuchatel. The thirteen congregations added since 1876 have connected themselves with the Christian Catholic Church, not for political reasons but from their own desire and religious motives. It may, therefore, be confidently expected that these congregations will remain true to the Christian Catholic cause. The same holds good of several societies which have separated themselves here and there from the ultramontane majorities, and which hold stated services, although they are not yet constituted into regular congregations. The seventeen societies of 1876, on the other hand, were mere associations of liberal minded men who supported the reform movement, but in many cases never thought of forming Christian Catholic congregations. No reliance could be placed on these associations; and most of them soon disbanded. In reality the Christian Catholic Church has to-day more members than five years ago. While in the Bishop's first report of 1877, the number of children receiving religious instruction in the Christian Catholic Church was given as two thousand nine hundred and eighty-two, the number had increased in 1880 to three thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven. About three thousand of the children thus instructed belong to the congregations of German Switzerland.

There can be no longer any doubt concerning the vitality of the Christian Catholic Church. On the contrary, having passed successfully through a serious crisis, there is the strongest ground for the expectation, that with God's help it will have in a near future another bloom and new prosperity.

The Christian Catholic Church has certainly grown in

importance, since it is not only bound to the Old Catholic Communion of Germany in the bond of sisterly relation but has also received so warm expressions of sympathy from the Church of England and from the Episcopal Church of America. May it be our destiny to become more and more a binding link for the restoration of the great "Covenant of Love" among all believers in Christ.

EDWARD HERZOG.



CHURCHMEN GUIDING MODERN THOUGHT.

THESE two books are the most prominent indications that a new school is arising within our Church and that a new attitude is to be taken toward modern thought. The one is the complement of the other. The one delineates individualism as it affects personal and social life, and as it antagonizes the great institutions which God has planted in the world for the conservation of society and religion. The other is wholly constructive, and supplies to the statement of catholic truth in the terms of modern thought the spiritual philosophy by which it best accords with the reason of men. The one is diagnosis; the other is the method of cure. Both are written by Churchmen; both are identical as to their general line of thought; both have the same general purpose. They are the first distinct announcement that the American Church has something to say upon religious questions which is both old and new and which is strictly confined to general and

Individualism; Its Growth and Tendencies. By the Right Rev. A. N. Littlejohn D.D., LL.D. New York: T. Whittaker, second edition, 16 mo. pp. 214.

The Republic of God; An Institute of Theology. By Elisha Mulford, LL.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., crown 8vo. pp. 268.

philosophical thought. Heretofore the ecclesiastical question has been foremost with Churchmen and our weekly press has hardly got done with its petty spar-work on this matter, but the thinkers of the Church are now beginning to address another audience upon other questions. Baptismal regeneration, the Apostolical succession, the much or little of ritual have ceased to be present issues. They are settled in the sense that what the Church has always taught is consented to. General consent has been reached. The thinking men among us, whether belonging to one or another school of thought, are now turning their attention to questions which underlie the thinking of our time and have to do with the guidance of opinion as never before. Dr. Dix has notably done this; Dr. J. C. Smith has done it; Dr. Potter's "Sermons of the City" have done it in humanitarian directions; Dr. R. Heber Newton has done it largely in the way of emphasizing tendencies of the times; Dr. Rulison has indicated his power to think beyond parochial lines; Dr. Harwood long ago set himself toward the morning; Dr. Washburn's light went out before he had given us all that he had to say; Phillips Brooks is hardly more the thinker than he is the exponent of the tendencies of the times; Dr. A. V. G. Allen is quietly instructing men at Cambridge to deal with living questions upon a Church basis; and Bishop Harris and Dr. Kedney in the West see the rising of the sun with the same eagerness that men watch his daily orisons in the East. The Church is alive with men who have been thinking over questions of the day, and the Church Congress opened the way for the expression of opinion at the very time that a general conviction had begun to come over the country that Churchmen have a broader basis for their belief than was supposed, and that they have a practical way of guiding men out of their Protestant confusions. Bishop Littlejohn and Dr. Mulford are simply an advance guard where there is a regiment to follow.

This outline sketch is far from complete, but from careful study of the position of the Church in the person of representative men toward modern thought and especially toward questions coming up freshly every year, it seems to the writer that the Church is coming to deal with American religious questions much as Hooker dealt with English issues three centuries ago. Bishop Littlejohn has probed the disease and gone to its roots at the same time that he has touched the point where the work of recon-

struction begins. The difficulty with us has been in times past that there was no basis in the general thought of the people for the Church's position. The philosophy which sustains the position did not exist beyond the few. Without a spiritual philosophy adequate to the facts which it is intended to explain, Christianity is only a system of dogma. It holds to nothing in the minds of the people. It is not rational to them. It is the hunger for some adequate philosophy which complements Christianity, co-ordinates it with common thought that has prepared the way for the statement of the truths of philosophy which are presupposed in the revelation of the Christ to men. This begins to exist—as it advances men begin to regain the convictions which once they held by force of tradition, and which now they hold by consent of right reason quite as truly as from respect for authority. The Church seems to be furnishing this meeting ground, and both in and out of the Church men are sure to meet more and more upon what is aptly called the Catholic basis of belief. The Church has simply grown out to the larger, and more comprehensive statement of its position, and has met the outreaching thought of those who are seeking light and peace. The value of the books in hand is that as yet they are the best expression of the aim which is beginning to distinguish the thought of the Church. They mark the old method as it grows out into the scientific method.

But we have already delayed too long upon the threshold, in preparing the way to approach them justly. Bishop Littlejohn's book has been noticed in the *Review*, but not, it seems to us, in a manner which does justice to its character or its purpose. The Bishop's evident purpose is to characterize individualism as a tendency in modern thought and life, and as an influence in debasing or breaking up the institutions of society and religion, and to supply, in such degree as was within his limits, the counter-checks to be found in the family, the Church and the State. He is careful to distinguish individualism from individuality or better personality, though we should be glad if the distinction had been more carefully marked. He might have portrayed the evils of individualism less vividly and given more attention to the way out of it into a true personality, but it would seem that by a negative treatment the author was trying to do this very thing. His method is the analysis of individualism to the last degree in order that its devotees in modern life may see

how little it can be relied on, but it is in this way only the assertion, in another form, of the need of that authority by which its evil may be checked while personality reaches its true development. Bishop Littlejohn's book is not a complete treatment of the subject. It is, if anything, a contrast between individualism and institutionalism in present society, between free-thinking and authority, between an unhealthy personality and the personality that works freely from the basis of things settled. Its strength is in this analysis of the aggregate tendencies of the times in one direction, and the statement of what is necessary to restore the family, the Church and the state to their old position as the shelters for the full exercise of our personal freedom in the other. The Bishop discusses the question, as is fitting, chiefly in its religious bearings, and yet at critical points it will be seen that he has fully grasped the religious and the philosophical issues which are involved. The second lecture meets the issues of the day squarely and honestly, and the discussion, if on the old basis, is keen and vital. It is assumed, for instance, that "both the intrinsic and the relative importance of the verities of revelation is determined by their power to move and to benefit human nature, and that every individual has the right to determine this for himself." This is the assertion of the right of private judgment in matters of Christian belief and is met with the counter truth that theology begins with God and lays its foundation on the rock of objective, revealed realities. The aim of the revelation which the living, universal, continuous body called the Church, has transmitted is not to reveal man to himself but to reveal God to man, and by the knowledge of God to enable man to know himself as he is. The key to human nature is the Cross of the Son of God. The method of theology is the method of revelation. It erects itself upon and out of what has been revealed. It interprets man by the redemption. It follows in history the course of the divine revelation, and its subject-matter accords with the primitive traditions of the Catholic Church. The Bishop here insists upon two things,—that no science of mind or matter can sit in judgment on the divine revelation, and that the body of science and the body of ascertained truth are not identical. In other words, the point is to hold "the individual reason to its true office in relation to things divine and eternal and the individual will within its proper limits as regards the organic insti-

tutions ordained of God or mediately of society for the education and discipline of man." This he attempts to do, in formulating the truths of theology, by the analogy or proportion of faith, which is latent in the Scripture revelation and has been authoritatively developed by the Church in the great and universal traditions as embodied in the Creeds. In theology as in philosophy the deductive and the inductive methods of inquiry are indispensable. The deductive method gives us the sacred deposit; the inductive method gives us the proof, partial or exhaustive, as successive inquirers perform their task. Both methods are necessary if theology is to be at unity with the testimony of the Catholic Church and approve itself at the bar of living thought. The analogy of faith thus develops a principle which from the beginning has been immovably rooted in the mind and practice of the Church of God. This is the rule by which any possible re-arrangement of the contents of theology must be conducted if it is to better adapt itself to the altered conditions of the times. The coherent unity of its parts must be sustained, while the historic origin and development of the Christian belief must not be ignored. From the beginning the Church has urged, with a deep sense of their reciprocal help, both the evidential and the philosophical lines of conviction, the one based on the incontestable and specific facts of history, the other dealing with the moral adaptation of Christianity to man. Thus much is based upon Catholic tradition.

But the philosophical line of conviction goes down into deeper issues. "Though in the nature of the case all true revelation of the Divine must be rational because emanating from the Divine reason; yet only what is *explicitly* rational is the proper object of human reason; while what is rational in a latent and implied sense is equally the object of faith." Here Bishop Littlejohn reaches the edge of the bridge which is to help men to cross over from skepticism to belief. The two dominant systems of philosophical inquiry, the one of absolute knowledge—the explicit system the other of partial knowledge—the implicit system can neither be altogether accepted nor altogether rejected. It will not do to deny a knowledge of the Infinite, because with this there is no revelation; neither will it do to say that this knowledge is absolute unless we concede that man is equal to his Maker. The truth comes out here as elsewhere that, to use the Bishop's words, "we must balance, as best we can, the teachings of mutually repel-

lant methods of thought and in any event maintain principles whose contradictions we can neither evade nor reconcile. "Man's power to receive and act upon what is offered him by external authority has a vastly wider reach than his power to criticise what is so offered." There will always remain depths which the mind cannot measure. The ultimate criterion of truth, the final basis of certitude, is in a Revelation the authority of which rests not more upon a reasoned assent to its contents than upon the collateral externals, credentials which attest to reason the divinity of its source. There is something to be said also for the verifying faculty, the faculty that determines the *ought* and the *ought not*, the faculty that gives motive power to mankind, the moral side of reason, but with all the great writers on Ethics from Aristotle to Spencer, the question of the ultimate ground of moral obligation is still in dispute. Christianity has furnished the guide in practical ethics, not the teachers of philosophy.

This is the upshot of Bishop Littlejohn's book, and we have only dealt with this point. He sees very clearly the issue which is foremost in modern life, and shows from the negative side that reason, whether in the form of will or of conscience, is unequal to the task which modern thought has laid upon it. In the last analysis reason is not self-determining; it is receptive. It is not infallible, but in the deep distinction between the *ought* and the *ought not*, it reaches up to the Divine intuition. It is personality touched by a Person.

The intimation that Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God" is positive where the work on "Individualism" is negative applies only to the method of the argument. Dr. Mulford is never controversial, never pauses for occasional explanations but, after the method of the real logic, advances from beginning to end like the tread of a regiment, with precision, with confidence, with certainty. The two writers are closely in accord, but the Bishop's argument just reaches up to the point of personality with which "The Republic of God" begins. The one book is as much needed as the other and both point the way out of the theological confusions of the day. Some intelligible basis of conviction must be reached before any advance in religious thought can be made. Bishop Littlejohn searches for this by the historical and evidential method; Dr. Mulford, with bolder step, advances by the scientific method. His book could not have been written without the Bible; but when

written the Bible is no longer necessary except as a further illustration of his thought. The "Republic of God" is an institute of theology; it organizes present thought upon the basis of the personality of God reconstructs step by step the old Catholic faith upon the basis of the universal truths of the spiritual philosophy which has always been its complement. It stands out therefore as an exceptional book, and is the last, in succession, of the great works which have attempted to deal during the century with the revelation of the Christ. It is exceptional also in the position of its writer, who is not an alien from the Church, not a brilliant sceptical Jew or German or Englishman, but one of our foremost theological and philosophical thinkers and an eminent clergyman of our own faith. "The Nation", which was his first book, indicated extraordinary capacity to lift an abstract subject up into the region of concrete fact, and the present work shows the same ability to strip away what is local or controversial from theology and discuss its truths in the light of pure essentials.

It opens with the statement that the being of God is the primal truth, primitive in human thought; there is nothing before it nor apart from it, from which it is to be derived. The personality of God is implied in the self-determination,—the perfect determination,—of the being of God. It is in consistence with that process of thought, through the realization of righteousness and freedom, by which there comes the manifestation and from which there is derivative the knowledge of God. Personality with God is in substance the same as personality in man. The elements in the will, and in freedom, and in righteousness are the same. The personality of God is the foundation and the condition of the freedom of man. This makes personality the central principle of the worlds, and, for us, the first principle of human emotion and of human thought. The personality of man not only has its foundation in the personality of God, but in that alone is its eternal life. The personality of God determines our apprehension of His attributes, and is not determined by them, but the perfect manifestation of God to man is in a person. This opens the discussion of the precedent relations of religion and philosophy to the revelation of God. Dr. Mulford believes that religion and philosophy in their end are one, though in certain respects it is necessary to place philosophy above religion, but the Revelation of and in

the Christ is not a religion nor a philosophy. It is not within the process of the history of religions. The Old Testament is not the revelation of a religion but the revelation of God to the world, neither is the Christ the founder of a religion, nor have the writings of the New Testament the revelation of a religion for their object. It is the revelation of the Christ in man, and the finite and eternal life of man. It is a revelation of righteousness, of the righteousness by faith, the ethic formed of the knowledge of God. It is the revelation of a judgment in the presence of the infinite and eternal, in which alone is the right judgment, by individuals and by nations, of this finite world. It is a judgment of the world by One who has lived on this earth and is risen from the dead. Thus the difference between the revelation of the Christ and all religions is ultimate. The revelation is from God but primarily it is of God. It is the revelation of God's own being and will. The revelation of God in His personality, in His spiritual being and relations, is not of and in the physical process of the world. It is of and to a person; "It is a revelation through reflection, through the pure forms of thought, through faith, through experience, through the life of the spirit." This revelation is through relations. It is of the Father and the Son; it is the revelation of that knowledge which the Son has of the Father; its centre is in the relation of the Father to the Son. It is the revelation of the truth, and the truth is set forth as one with the life of God, and as elemental in the life of man. This revelation recognizes the facts in the spiritual life of man.

In the progress of humanity there is the ampler revelation, the clearer recognition, of the eternal, and the realization of it in truth and freedom. In this revelation there is the manifestation and realization of the divine reconciliation. In this revelation God passes judgment upon things finite, and in their relation with things infinite. The ultimate *criteria* of judgment are brought to the knowledge of man. This revelation does not come to man to assert dominion over him. It is light that brings life, and the germination of freedom and its energies. This revelation alone can satisfy humanity. The revelation is not simply an incident in the life of man, as a moment in the limitations of time; it is of the knowledge of the eternal; it is continuous; it is a revelation through experience and through history. It is in us; it is from God, it is of the Christ, it is

the life of the Spirit. The revelation of the Christ is the manifestation of the consciousness of perfect unity with God and again of perfect unity with man. The coming of the Son of man is in judgment on the powers which enslave and degrade man, and in the manifestation of righteousness, in the crises in the life of humanity, in the revelation of the divine and eternal foundations of life. Through the death of Christ the limit of the finite is passed in the realization of an infinite life, and the isolation and separation of death, for humanity, is overcome. In the Christ there was the perfect realization of personality, the self-determined One. In personality there is always the element of unity and of universality, and the realization of personality in men in its advance is towards the universal as found in the Christ. There was in the Christ the highest and fullest assertion of personality. The Christ in his humanity and in his relation to humanity is manifested as the head of the human race in its real and eternal life. The relation of the Christ with humanity has an organic character which does not exist alone in the relations of an external history, it passes beyond the limitations of the finite, in the life of the Spirit. Dr. Mulford now finds, in the life of the Spirit, the life of truth and freedom, the overcoming of the world, and the fruition of righteousness and peace and joy. The chapters on the conviction of the world, the realization of the kingdom of heaven on earth, and the life in which death is overcome, touch the older forms of theology and draw their strength into a new and fresh statement of the atonement, the justification by faith, the meaning of the judgment, and the restoration to men of their proper spiritual personality. There is much to be said on these points. Dr. Mulford has certainly expressed the hopes of the age,—but whether his resolution of evil into the force which one's rising personality finally subdues and makes an experience of the past can be maintained is a point which it is hard to decide. Dr. Mulford is an optimist and takes the best side of a mystery in theology, but in the chapter on the life of the Spirit he carries his thought out fully to its conclusions, by constant identification with the system of the Church, and in the sense in which the Nicene Creed has caused the Christian faith to be understood.

This is not a full analysis of the "Republic of God". It has not been my purpose to thoroughly review either of these books, but rather to so far open their vital points

that one can see their aim and recognize the presence of a new direction in American religious thought. Without endorsing all that Dr. Mulford has written, it may be claimed that his position is the only one that rises above the constant antagonisms and furnishes the point of view for a constructive Christian belief. His book gives men something to stand upon. It organizes the religious common sense of men upon a spiritual basis, and by the method that now obtains in the world of thought and investigation. It lifts men into the sphere where they see truth as a first principle. It touches the thought of the day on the one side ; it opens the way of the eternal to men on the other. It reaches out to more which is involved in the Christianity of the future than any book of the century ; it is, in fact, the thought of the century made accordant with the Catholic belief and with spiritual philosophy ; it meets and solves the religious problems of the modern world.

Both these books are valuable over and above what is their particular aim, because they indicate direction in the Church toward the work which must precede in men's minds the adoption of an ecclesiastical system. It is to be hoped they are but the beginning of a school of thought, at once Catholic and spiritual and philosophical, which without interfering with the Church's traditions shall help us to recognize our duty in the rapid shifting of opinion and bring the vantage of a certain faith nearer than ever to thinking and hungering people.

JULIUS H. WARD.

CHANGES IN THE LITANY.

AT the last General Convention (October, 1880), it was on motion referred to the Committee on the Prayer Book to consider whether it is not expedient to change the third petition of the Litany by inserting "Comforter" in lieu of "proceeding from the Father and the Son," and in the fourth petition, the words "Lord God Almighty" in lieu of the word "Trinity." (See Journal, p. 71.) That committee reported adversely, and assigned as their reason "inasmuch as the proposed change in the third and fourth petitions of the Litany would involve a change in the well-considered language in which the Church has hitherto expressed its belief *in one of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith;*" and their report was adopted. (See pp. 85 and 172.) The report itself shows how little consideration was given to the proposed changes, which, although wholly independent of each other, are by some odd process of ratiocination jumbled into one. The mover anticipated such a result, but was not astute enough to contemplate such a classification. When he offered his resolution, he announced that he hoped for nothing more than to turn attention to these petitions, and thus lead the thoughtful to their correction. The note of Dr. Huntington, appended to his able and

interesting article on the Revision of the Prayer Book is proof of success, and the mover has received other assurances and other evidence of the interest which has been awakened. When his motion was made, he very well knew there could be no time for its discussion and scarce any opportunity for explanation; and he foresaw the danger of being misunderstood and misrepresented as he has been. We shall endeavor now to vindicate the soundness of his faith, and at the same time to defend and advocate the proposed changes. More than twenty years ago he had determined to make such a proposal if ever he saw a suitable occasion. The proposed revision of the Prayer Book, and the direct proposal to add a petition to the Litany seemed to present such an occasion. Had there been time for a full discussion, the mover himself was conscious that he was not then well prepared for it. Not foreseeing such a concurrence of favorable circumstances, he had gone to the Convention without the slightest preparation.

For the proper treatment of the subject it is absolutely necessary to consider the four first invocations of the Litany together. The four are so intimately related and connected as to make it indispensable that we should have a clear comprehension of each of them. The first three are intended to lead us to the fourth. We set out with the assumption that the purpose of these Invocations is to make most solemn affirmation and to produce the intensest realization of the great truth, that there are three distinct, divine personages in the Godhead, and yet but one only God. The proposed changes should be shown to be more scriptural and therefore assuredly more effectual, for the declaration of these truths; and more appropriate to our petitions, than they are now, or these changes should not be made. To this task we shall address ourselves, frankly, not doubting that it may be accomplished by others, if not by ourselves.

The object is the assertion and realization of the great truth that there are three distinct divine personages in the Godhead, and yet but one only God. The Personages must be distinctly before us and distinctly realized. This can only be vividly brought to our minds by addressing Them by their several and respective divine names as revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures and referring to their several and peculiar offices, and their respective relations to us, as therein described. Both the name and the office,

and also the special relation of each, to us, must be known, and understood and expressed to make this realization of the three distinct personages possible. This will be better understood and can be better illustrated by a careful and reverent reading of the second invocation and petition, which is the true ideal of what each of the others should be. It reads, "O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us miserable sinners." Here we have severally and distinctly declared, 1st. The divinity of Him whom we address "O God." 2d. His name, "The Son"—revealed to us by the Father, from Heaven. "This is my beloved Son." (Matt. iii: 17; xvii: 5.) And by Himself, "I am the Son of God." (John x: 36. Luke xxii: 70.) And so He is called and spoken of throughout the whole New Testament. 3d. His office and relation to us and to all mankind. "Redeemer of the world." So described everywhere—and even in heaven the new song is "Thou hast redeemed us to God." (Rev. vi: 9.) Then we beseech Him to have mercy upon us, confessing ourselves to be miserable sinners. Every word of this invocation is significant, every word instructive and inspiring; not a word redundant or irrelevant, but all leading and inviting the miserable sinner to his petition for mercy.

Let us now look at the other Invocations and see whether some changes in them would not make the whole more harmonious and consistent, and the design more manifest and impressive. The first, as now printed in our Prayer Book reads thus: "O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners."

Some of our clergy, (perhaps many of them,) find this invocation somewhat of a stumbling block. "Father of Heaven," is a limitation of the fatherhood of God, the Father, not at all in accord with Christian sentiment. That sentiment, especially at such a time, craves a father near to us poor sinners, not one far off from us. Some have suggested that, "of heaven" is an improper translation of *de calis* in the old Latin Litany, which they say should be rendered as *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* is in Luke xi: 13, that is "heavenly;" so as to make, as there, "heavenly father." But, while this would bring the Father in nearer relation to us, it would not conform to the structure of the other invocations, or to their manifest common design; that is, to distinguish the three persons, while professing the oneness of the Godhead. For this purpose the definite article before "Father" seems essential. If my analysis and conception

of the second invocation be correct, the definite article must be used to designate the name and relation as it is revealed to us, and the change to "*heavenly*" would not meet the exigency.

Some clergymen pause after "Father," and say "O God the Father—of Heaven;" but there is no warrant for this in the punctuation of any Prayer Book we have seen; and it can only be an approximation to "*heavenly Father*," the objection to which has just been stated. And perhaps very few of the worshippers observe the reading, and fewer still understand its purpose, and so do not pray with their understandings, while they conform with their lips. Then neither of these will meet the real difficulty or cure the defect in this invocation. The want is, the mention of some attribute usually applied to and connected with His name in distinction from those usually applied to the Son and Holy Ghost. There is no ancient Liturgy, we believe, which uses such an invocation as "Father of heaven," nor is it to be found in the New Testament; while all these ancient Liturgies, and many collects in our own Prayer Book apply certain other terms as descriptive or characteristic of the Father; such as Almighty—Everlasting—which are hardly ever applied to any other person of the Godhead. Indeed in our Book of Common Prayer these two attributes together are rarely if ever applied to any but the Father, so that according to the Liturgy of our branch of the Church, these two combined definitely describe the Father, and his very name imports his near and dear relation to us all.

After the preceding observations upon the first and second invocations, we may venture upon the consideration of the changes proposed in the other two. The third reads thus:

"O God, the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

This is not only defective in the omission of any allusion to the office or relation of the Holy Ghost to us, but is at variance with the whole scope of the four Invocations and Petitions. That the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son presents to our minds none of His offices, and no one of his most intimate relations to man. However true the dogma asserted, what has it to do in such a place? Not only does it fail to suggest anything to warm our hearts, kindle our affections and embolden us to make our petition for mercy, but it painfully and unne-

cessarily reminds us of the unhappy controversy, which has separated the Eastern and Western Churches from each other. We are now, as is supposed, living under the dispensation of the Holy Ghost and are constantly praying for communion with Him; in which communion only, can we hope for communion with the saints of all ages: and that communion is borne from age to age chiefly in and through our common Liturgies and public worship. The assertion of this dogma, unnecessarily and inconsistently thrust into our worship, cuts us off from such communion in prayer with the saints of the first six centuries at least as we are sure they never so addressed the Holy Ghost, but always with the endearing and inspiring attributes of Life Giver, Sanctifier or Comforter. Our Lord promised to send the Holy Ghost to us as the Comforter, who would comfort us and supply our spiritual needs in His absence. How much more appropriate therefore would it be to invoke Him as Sanctifier of the faithful and Comforter. Our own Anglo-Saxon Church invoked the Holy Ghost simply as *Spiritus Sancte Deus*, in her Latin Litany, for five or six centuries; and the present form was not adopted until the latter days of Henry the VIII. (in 1544), about a hundred years after the abortive Council of Florence. There can be no reason assigned why it should then have been inserted, as there can be no reason given now why it should be retained. The dogma is asserted in one of our creeds, the proper place for it, and why should it be inconsistently put here?

The Report of the Committee on the Prayer Book plainly expresses their opinion that the words proposed to be omitted are a *definition* of what they call "a fundamental principle" of our faith. The proper place for such a *definition* is in a creed or article of religion. There such a definition is appropriate and pertinent, but in an invocation or petition, it seems to be the very opposite of both. Why put it here? There are but two conceivable purposes. The first, that the worshipper must be perpetually reminded of this fundamental principle of faith; the second, that He who is worshipped should be reminded, *how* He is divine. The first must reflect upon the worshipper's orthodoxy; the second is simply monstrous. The words proposed to take their place are scriptural, and encourage and embolden us to make our supplication, "have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

We now come to the consideration of that change,

which perhaps may be thought the most offensive; that proposed to be made in the fourth Invocation, which reads, "O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

The first three invocations designate each of the three persons of the Godhead, separately by the name revealed to us, throughout the New Testament. This certainly cannot be regarded as an unimportant or immaterial feature or characteristic of these three invocations. God continually throughout the Old Testament declares Himself to be a jealous God, and jealous of the name by which He revealed Himself, first to Moses from the burning bush, and afterwards to all the people of Israel. Again and again He speaks of His NAME as if it were Himself. It is no light thing to draw near to Him and address Him by any other name than such, as He has been pleased to make Himself known to us. Here we have a name introduced, which was unknown to the Jews, and to all Christians for the first three centuries—which never found its way into any Liturgy (as we read Littledale) until the sixth century, and then only in the form in which it occurs in our collect for Trinity Sunday — and nowhere in any of the ancient Liturgies, even after Justinian's time, can it be found invoked as it is in our Litany, as a name of God. This of itself separates us in our public worship from so many centuries of the whole Christian Church—breaks the continuity of Liturgical tradition, the only means of communion with all the Saints who have lived in those ancient times; and that without any just cause. We know full well the origin of this word, which was begotten of strife, coined for controversy, and has no Divine stamp upon it, to warrant its use in such a solemn prayer. For, here it must be remembered, that this fourth Invocation is intended to be the culmination of all these invocations; and begins with grand ascriptions to the *Name* invoked, not to be found in any of the three preceding. These are only solemn invocations of holy names. This begins with words of fervent adoration of the *Name* to be invoked as if it were the holiest of all. Should the *Name* so adored be an earthborn name, when God so pointedly avows His jealousy of His name, and has made known to us how He is worshipped by Cherubim and Seraphim and all His hosts, in heaven itself, and has declared that He has a memorial name to be honored above all others. In that grand message, which He put into the mouth of the last

of His ancient prophets, which holy men of the early ages regarded as the foreshowing of the melting away of the old ritual into the new—blending both into one, and which we hear so often sounding through our holy places at the beginning of our services, He proclaims, “From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering; for My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.” Was *Trinity* the name, which from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, was to be great among the Gentiles? Was that the name to which incense was to be offered in every place? Is that the name which we shall instruct our missionaries to proclaim as the great name of our God, when they call upon the heathen to worship Him? If not, should we teach our children, and impose upon ourselves the duty, when we bend our knees in this solemn Litany, to call upon Him by that name, as “holy blessed and glorious”? Our sponsors in baptism were not required to pledge us to believe in anything but the Apostles’ Creed, and, in that there is no such name given us to worship.

When I first suggested this difficulty to a friend, a clergyman, he almost rebuked me; and yet a year after, he told me he had never been able to use that word in that place afterwards, as he had done before; and asked why I did not try to have it altered. My answer was that the time had not yet come. Some years after, he addressed a letter to a joint Committee of the Confederate Council appointed to revise the Prayer Book, composed of Bishops, Priests and Laymen (one of which I was), calling attention to this objection to the Fourth Invocation. Others have experienced the same feeling when they have been induced to reflect upon it.

Is there any necessity for the use of this word in this place? Can no scriptural terms be found to take its place? To say none can be found, it seems, would induce hesitation in admitting, and provoke objection to the truth which is intended to be taught. It was the truth before the invention of this word, which was unknown to any language for the first three Christian centuries. And if the truth, it could only be found in the Scriptures; and there are such scriptural terms, as we shall show, and they should be substituted.

The words proposed from the Cherubic hymn, “Lord;

God, Almighty," are certainly more solemn and have the highest scriptural sanction. The other words of that hymn "that wast and art and art to come," may be added without lessening the fervency of our adoration, if we remember that at the utterance of that hymn, the representatives of the Church Old and New, "the four and twenty elders fall down before Him that sat upon the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever." Such an invocation could not impair the face of the declaration of the force which it is feared would be impugned by ceasing to use the word *Trinity*.

There is also a single word, of the very same number of syllables as *Trinity*, by which the "memorial name" has been rendered in our Authorized Version. That word is *Jehovah* which, as is supposed by Gesenius, Robinson and others, finds its counterpart or development in the Cherubic hymn, and either may be used with Scriptural propriety.

Two objections to the name *JEHOVAH*, of very opposite characters, have been suggested. One was that the pronunciation had been lost and could not be recovered, and therefore *Jehovah* would not truly represent the memorial name. This is rather fastidious. If the Jews did substitute the vowel points of another name of God, for the true points, they nevertheless did write for this name, a word different from the other names of God, which they always recognized as representative of the memorial name, and if we use that word, whether it should be pronounced *Jehovah* as in our Version, or *Yoveh* according to some, or *Yehaveh* according to others, we still would show to the Jew that the Christian accepts the memorial name as the most majestic of our worship, just as he did. This would make the reality of the identity of the old and new Church more palpable to his perceptions. Could we set before us a more constraining motive for a change, than this alone?

The other objection suggested was, that there is no difficulty with scholars about the true word, and that the word is *Yaveh*, but means Christ distinctively and peculiarly, as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "the one to come." If this be the peculiarly appropriate name for Christ, in contradistinction to Father and Holy Ghost, it would not suit our purpose, as we must have a word intended to embrace Father, Son and Holy Ghost in one. One of the arguments urged in favor of this meaning of the word, is, that the Septuagint translates the memorial name by Lord, and that is the term applied to Christ throughout the whole New Testa-

ment. No objection shall be made to the reference to the Septuagint, for we have long maintained, what we have recently found expressed by another (Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*), that "the Septuagint affords invaluable lexicographic aid as an interpreter between the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament," and we shall presently find great use for it, as such ; but we cannot admit that a judicious comparison of Septuagint and New Testament Greek will sustain this argument.

The word in the Septuagint for the memorial name is generally κύριος, (kurios) : in our Version it is JEHOVAH, as in Ex. vi., 3, although it is usually printed LORD in capitals when Jehovah is meant. When Lord means some other than Jehovah it appears in common type. There are, we believe, but two places in the Old Testament, where the name is given and is expressly said to be "memorial." The first is in Exodus iii., 15 : "The Lord God of your fathers . . . hath sent me unto you ; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial to all generations." In the Septuagint it is κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν . . . ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Τὸντὸ μου ἐστὶν ὄνομα αἰώνιον καὶ μνημόσυνον γενεῶν γενεαῖς. The other is in Hosea xii., 5, "Even the LORD God of hosts ; The LORD is his memorial." This, in the Septuagint, ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐστὶ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ. We find, *Ho Theos*, following the memorial name, *Kurios*, in both these verses of the Septuagint. So also it is to be found in Ex. xx., in the first five commandments ; and again in the sixth of Deuteronomy. The importance of all these texts, and the constant addition of, *Ho Theos*, to the memorial name, *Kurios*, in them, demands consideration in confronting the objection that Christ only is designated in that memorial name. In no place in the New Testament, is the word *Kurios*, so accompanied, when applied to Christ ; and that would be necessary to sustain the argument we are endeavouring to confute.

Then if it be true that JEHOVAH was applicable to Christ only, it necessarily follows that the first three commandments teach and command that He alone of the God-head was to be recognized by the Jews as their God, and it was His name only that should not be taken in vain. This seems to be a complete answer to this objection. Yet much more may be said. Comparing the Septuagint and the New Testament together we find, that both S. Matthew (xxii., 44) and S. Mark (xii., 36) give us our Lord's quotation from Psalm cx., 1, in the words of the

Septuagint, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου. "The LORD said unto my Lord." Here *Kurios* is applied to two different persons, the first being Jehovah in the Hebrew, and the second Adonai; and the purpose was plainly to distinguish the one from the other. Again, when our Lord quotes Deuteronomy, vi., 4, "the LORD our God is one LORD," the first part is given by S. Mark in the language of the Septuagint, ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἰς ἓστι (S. Mark, xii., 29), and S. Mark proceeds and gives the rest of the passage very nearly in the words of the Septuagint, as do S. Matt., xxii., 37, and S. Luke, x., 27, ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν, κτλ. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," with all thy heart, etc. Now these Evangelists could never have understood our Lord to have said that He was the only God, and that He only should be loved, to the exclusion of the Father and the Holy Ghost. It seems plain that *Kurios* never was applied to Christ as the memorial name, and that whenever that name was represented by *Kurios*, it embraced and represented, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

However the learned may differ as to the orthography and pronunciation of this "memorial name," they seem generally to be agreed as to its etymology. Considering the passage in the third chapter of Exodus, where it first appears, as the key, they find its root in the Hebrew verb TO BE. In the same place the Septuagint gives us (ver. 14.) the same verb, in Greek. It does not, however, repeat the first person singular of the present tense, as does the Hebrew, "I am that I am;" but in the second place uses the present participle with the article, thus, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὁ ὢν. And in the next verse does not read, I AM hath sent me, but, *ho ὢν*, hath sent me. This must be kept in mind as we proceed; for according to the lexicons, this participle with the article implies real and true existence: and as here employed can mean nothing but absolute, independent existence—He that liveth—The self-existent, and therefore the changeless. In the fourteenth verse in the Septuagint it is *ho ὢν* hath sent me; in the fifteenth verse of the same, *Kurios ho Theos* hath sent me, and this last is said to be the "memorial name"; *ho ὢν* and *Kurios* are therefore both used for that name. These last words, as has been shown, represent the memorial name throughout the commandments in the Septuagint, and in Hosea xii. it is the same with the addition of ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Turning now to the Apocalypse, we find S. John saying to the Seven Churches, "Grace unto you, and peace, from Him

which is, and which was, and which is to come;" in the Greek ἀπὸ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, so that ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος are employed as a compound indeclinable proper name of God, governed by the preposition ἀπὸ. Immediately after, in the eighth verse of the same chapter, we read in our version, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." In the Greek (perhaps best) ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Here we have, brought together, the whole memorial name in the Septuagint, in Hosea, and that compound name in the fourth verse of this same chapter of the Apocalypse. This seems to be identifying them as the same, and confirming the Septuagint's version of Exodus throughout; and still more significantly, its version of Hosea, where "Almighty" is used in the place of Lord of Hosts, as in our version—*pantokrator*, in place of the original "God of Sabaoth." We have thus blended, existence—immutability—omnipotence and divinity, in the "memorial name." And soon after we are taught that thus blended, they are to be revered and adored above all others.

In the fourth chapter (chosen as the Epistle for Trinity Sunday) eighth verse, we have the Cherubic hymn: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." In the Greek; ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος. This is the ceaseless praise and worship of all the heavenly hosts—the four and twenty elders as representatives of the earthly Church being permitted to unite by falling down before him that sat upon the throne and worshipping him that liveth forever and ever. The significance of this scene and song in heaven demands devout contemplation, and profound study. First we have before us the ONENESS of the object of adoration. There is but one throne—but one upon that throne (glorious but indescribable), and in the hymn every word, verb, noun or article is singular. It seems to proclaim: "The LORD our God is one LORD—one KURIOS—one JEHOVAH. Yet the description of the heavenly vision preceding the hymn, was plainly intended to portray to mortal sense the most majestic presence of the whole Godhead. We are shown the throne, emblem of dominion, and Him that sat upon it—the seven lamps of fire, symbols of the Holy Ghost—and during the ceaseless adoration, the Lamb, the Son, appears in the midst of the throne.

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are here. And around about the throne the rainbow, token of the covenant, and the lightnings and thunderings proceeding out of the throne, as out of Sinai. It is the same God who gave his memorial name out of the burning bush from the holy mount and by the mouth of his holy prophet Hosea.

Let it be remembered that in all the passages in the Septuagint to which reference has been made where that word is used, *Κέριος*, represents the memorial name more especially (see Lev: xxiv. 16, Sept.); and that, *ὁ ὢν*, only was ever used in the same sense. Throughout this Book of Revelation we have both, again and again addressed and applied as they are in this cherubic hymn to the glorious Godhead. S. John hears in heaven the very words of the Septuagint.

We have now traced the memorial name from its origin, through the most ancient and most famous version of the Old Testament; and this in a language, at the date of this version, most eminent in history, biography, philosophy, poetry and oratory, and which afterwards came to be generally employed in every department of literature throughout the Roman Empire, and was finally consecrated as the language in which was to be published to all mankind the glad tidings of salvation. That was the language of the Gentiles, among whom that name was to be great from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same. We thus seem to have inspired authority and sanction for the use of this name in every language into which it may be translated for the purpose of Christian worship. In our language (now spread throughout the world more widely, as we believe, than any other ever was) we have this memorial name handed down to us for more than two hundred years in a volume, acknowledged to be a standard, and recognized by all Christians who speak with English tongues,—as JEHOVAH. That is now the word in our language for that memorial name, and here, in two places in our Litany, it should no longer be usurped by another.

It is in this same Gentile language we have received those ancient Liturgies in and through which the saints of the first centuries poured forth their praises and thanksgivings, and lifted up their hearts and minds to heaven, in prayer and adoration; and so sanctified those Liturgies and their language to us as well as to them. It is not unnatural or unbecoming, therefore, to turn to these for confirmation of what has been said. In two of these

Liturgies, that of S. Mark, and that of Basil, the Great, the name, *ὁ ὢν*, is used as in the Septuagint. We call it the NAME because it has been shown to have been so used by God himself, in the third chapter of Exodus, just as *κύριος* was; and is frequently employed in the same way in the Apocalypse. In S. Mark's Liturgy it occurs more than once; but most conspicuously in the first prayer after the *Sursum Corda*, "Lift up your hearts," or *Anaphora*. In that same prayer in S. Basil's Liturgy it is the first and most conspicuous word. It cannot be said, however, that the memorial name is recognized in this word (*ὁ ὢν*) by translators generally, or so interpreted in their translations. On the contrary, Renaudot translates it by *Tu es* or *Qui est*, "Thou art" or "who is." Others either take no notice of it or render it by "everlasting." Neale in his translation of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy does seem to have had in view the memorial name, as he frequently (but perhaps indiscriminately) presents, *κύριος*, as LORD, printed in capitals, as it is in our version, to designate Jehovah; and in one place converts the present participle, *ὢν*, without the article, into I AM, twice, improperly (as we think) as the words connected with it (*αἰὲν ὢν, ὡσαύτως ὢν*) and the context point to Littledale's version, "the same from everlasting to everlasting." Littledale has fully conceived and clearly expressed the conception of this use of the representative of the memorial name: and his authority, fortunately, will not be readily, and cannot be successfully impugned, and we shall therefore refer to his translation with some degree of confidence.

In the prayer after the anaphora of S. Mark's, where *ὁ ὢν* stands less prominently than it does in that of S. Basil, Littledale renders it (possibly in deference to our version) I AM, but distinctly as a proper name. In the same prayer in S. Basil the Great's Liturgy, where it is so much more conspicuous and prominent, he boldly gives it its true meaning JEHOVAH. It is manifest, therefore, that where he renders it I AM in S. Mark's Liturgy, he means and considers that to be the same memorial name.

Is it unreasonable to suppose, when so many others have misconceived this word, that their misconception was caused by their neglect to compare the language in Revelation with that in the Septuagint, while Littledale may have pursued the same process of comparison or collation between the two, which has been presented in this paper? If that be not so, this comparison and collation seem to

support his interpretation. Whatever may have been the process, it is certain that he (and perhaps Neale also) according to his (or their) learning and judgment, has (or have) determined that the Liturgies of the early ages did contain invocations of the memorial name, while ours has not a single prayer or invocation so addressed. Surely this name should not be forever excluded from our Liturgy as it is now. And nowhere can it be introduced with so much significance and appropriateness as in this place.

What has now been said cannot be expected to secure the immediate assent of those whose conservatism leads to alarm at the suggestion of any change, lest, in it lurks some covert design. Even these, however, must see that these changes were not proposed for the purpose of undermining that "fundamental principle (*verity*, rather) of the Christian faith," that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are three distinct divine personages, yet but one God. Some may possibly be led to perceive that the language of the Litany intended to affirm this great truth may be made more forcible by the substitution of one or the other of these representatives of the memorial name, either, alike, kindling the fervor of devotion from sympathy with the cherubic choir in heaven. Some again may even venture to think, that the mode in which this fundamental verity has been sustained, as exhibited in the memorial name and proclaimed in heaven itself, although not ordinarily, if ever, employed to establish this great truth, is nevertheless strictly critical and logical, and may be more readily examined, and perhaps more easily apprehended than the analysis of the original Hebrew word for this "memorial name," by much greater scholars, who discern in its letters and syllables the distinct idea and expression of "Three in One." All who reflect upon the action of the last General Convention, in appointing a Joint Committee to revise the Prayer Book, must see that some changes are very likely to be made. The changes advocated in this paper come entirely within the scope of the design and authority of this Committee. Nothing could enrich our Liturgy more than the making all the first four Invocations and Petitions of our Litany, that most impressive portion of our Common Prayer, more harmonious and consistent, and more luminous (by the light of the everlasting word of Revelation), with the grand truth which is indeed the foundation of all truly Christian faith. The allusion to the Apostles' creed and baptism was not intended to suggest

the exclusion of the fourth Invocation, but simply to call attention to the fact that that ancient creed was older than the word objected to. Since writing that sentence, we have seen the Form of Family Prayers put forth by a Committee of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, and it is not an unpleasant coincidence, that the Litanies in that, in these first three Invocations (*) uses the very words of the answer to what is taught by that Creed, as we find them in the Catechism. The connection between the Creed and the Invocations seems to spring up naturally.

There are many indications that the time of the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles is drawing to its close. When that time comes to an end, we are led to expect the coming into the Church of the Jews. In ancient times the Jews had a reverence for the Septuagint, and their Rabbis recognized the Greek as one of the three languages in which their Scriptures might be written. May not such a change in this last invocation serve to show them, that we Christians worship the same "memorial name" which they so superstitiously revered, and take from them the suspicion that our worship is addressed to One, of whom they never heard? This possibility has always been a strong incentive to my persistent effort to effect this change.

* There is no fourth answering to that in the Prayer Book.

EDWARD MCCRADY.



LITERARY NOTICES.

The Organization of the Christian Churches.*

THERE are two ways in which the organization of the Christian Church may be studied. It may be studied as it exists now ; in which case the materials available will be the ecclesiastical laws now in force in those Christian communities which are admitted to form part of the Catholic Church. Even here, it is obvious, a definition of "the Catholic Church" must be agreed upon—which is not easily obtained ; and it is equally obvious that the organization of the Eastern, Roman and Anglican Churches differ widely from one another, even in essential particulars. Or the organizations of the Christian Church may be studied historically : just as the British constitution, or the Athenian democracy, or the institutions of Sparta may be studied. In this case the materials will include an immense mass of literature, every part of which may furnish evidence of existing usages at any given period. This evidence will need sifting, and must be employed with judicial impartiality. These modes of studying the organization of the Church differ, as in other respects, so chiefly in this : they begin at opposite ends. The one begins with A.D. 1881, the other with A.D. I. The one may admit, as of immediate though only collateral importance, the question, What ought the Church, as an organization, to be? The

* The Organization of the Christian Churches (the Bampton Lectures for 1880.) By Edwin Hatch, M.A., Vice-Principal of S. Mary's Hall, and Gunfield Lecturer in the Septuagint, Oxford. Rivingtons, London, Oxford and Cambridge : New York, E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1881. Price \$3.50.

other admits only of the question, What, as matter of fact, good or bad, wise or foolish, actually was the organization of the Church at any given time? The one is the work of the canonist, the other of the historian. The one might produce a work like Story's on "The Constitution of the United States;" the other a work like Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England." The qualifications for the one kind of work are widely different from the qualifications required for the other. The results are always very different, and may seem to be conflicting. Those who admire the one will nearly always regard the other with prejudice and aversion.

It is, of course, obvious that the organization of the Church *may* be studied historically; for, in fact, the Church is, in any theory, by far the largest part of modern history, the largest factor in modern civilization. Thus Cardinal Newman says, in his "Essay on development," "Christianity has been long enough in the world to justify us in dealing with it as a fact in the world's history. Its genius and character, its doctrines, precepts and objects cannot be treated as matters of private opinion or deduction, unless we may reasonably so regard the Spartan institutions or the religion of Mahomet. . . . Christianity is no dream of the study or of the cloister. . . . It has from the first had an objective existence, and has thrown itself upon the great concourse of men. Its home is in the world; and to know what it is we must seek it in the world, and hear the world's witness of it" (pp. 1, 2, ed. 1846). We all know the conclusions at which Cardinal Newman arrived: We know also the conclusions at which the Tübingen school arrived. The historical study of Christianity, as a growth, or at least an active force adapting itself to ever-varying necessities, both doctrinal and practical, has now for a long time occupied the attention of perfectly competent investigators, whose honesty is as indisputable as their conclusions are diverse. We may say, then, not only that Christianity *may* be studied historically, but that *it must*. Those who care nothing for such researches can let them alone; but they will proceed none the less for any contempt or aversion, and they must be governed by their own laws—those, namely, of historical science and historical method.

Mr. Hatch is well aware that his lectures are likely to be received by many with prejudice; and he is very careful to define the precise limits of his investigations. It is abso-

lutely necessary to bear these limits in mind if we would do justice either to Mr. Hatch or his lectures. It is a disgrace to the Church—not to say a disgrace to modern civilization—that calm historical discussion should excite violent passion and be the occasion of an amount of unfairness that can scarcely be distinguished from sheer lying. Thus Bishop Lightfoot has, by a certain school, been treated with the grossest contempt, and represented as a kind of ignorant or wilful degrader of episcopacy; though he deliberately affirms, as the result of a long investigation—the very significance of which, even when it confirms their own beliefs, many of his critics seem incapable of understanding—that “the institution of an episcopate must be placed as far back as the closing years of the first century, and that it cannot, without violence to historical testimony, be dis severed from the name of S. John” (Philippians, p. 232, 2d ed.; it is very much to be regretted that Mr. Whittaker’s edition was without the notes). It may be well, therefore, to quote here a few sentences from the very end of Mr. Hatch’s lectures, which indicate at least his own belief as to his own opinions. “The difference,” he says (p. 209), “between this [his own] view and the common view is one of degree, not of kind. The one no less than the other assumes the organization of the Church to be divine; but while the one accounts for certain phenomena of ecclesiastical history by a special and extraordinary action of the Holy Spirit, the other is rather in harmony with the belief that God acts in the realm of grace, as He acts in the realm of nature, by the mediation of general and far-reaching laws. It appears necessary to point out the existence of His relation between the two views of which I have spoken, because there is a confusion in the minds of some persons between the *fact* of divine operation and the *mode* of that operation, and a complete identification of the fact with some particular mode, which causes them to regard the questioning of that mode as equivalent to a questioning of the fact itself.”

It may be worth remarking—for it is a great and very rare merit—that Mr. Hatch’s *style* is perfectly lucid. Indeed, it is so lucid that a reader of the text who does not also read and verify, as far as may be, the notes and their numerous references, may fail to perceive the amount of learning, and of the thought which makes the difference between learning and pedantry, with which these Lectures are saturated. Sometimes the style is so felicitous as to

rise almost to a severe eloquence. Thus for instance, in the fourth Lecture, "On the Supremacy of the Bishop," can anything be more admirable in its way than this brief summary of the causes and effects of gnosticism? Even the ordinary reader will perceive its beauty; but only those who have tried to understand that Protean theosophy will be able to appreciate its real merit. "Before the close of the Apostolic Age," says Mr. Hatch (pp. 90-92), "Christianity had come into contact with various large tendencies of contemporary thought. Its first contact was with the great school of fantastic syncretism, which had grown up with Judaism itself, and which has left a considerable monument in the works of Philo. To that school all facts past and present were an allegory. Nothing was what it seemed to be, but was the symbol of the unapparent. The history of the Old Testament was sublimated into a history of the emancipation of reason from passion. If Abel was described as a keeper of sheep, the meaning was that moral wisdom keeps the irrational impulses under control. If Israel was described as warring against Amalek, the meaning was that when reason lifts itself up away from earth, as Moses lifted up his hands, it is strengthened by the vision of God. If Abraham was described as migrating from Chaldea to Canaan, the meaning was that wisdom leaves the prejudices and crude ideas of its original state, and seeks a new home among the realities of abstract thought. To those who thought thus, the records of the Gospel were so much new matter for allegorical interpretation. To the lower intelligence, to the eye of sense, Christ was a person who lived and died and ascended, and the Christian communities were the visible assemblies of His followers, and the Christian virtues were certain habits of mind which showed themselves in deeds. But to the spiritual mind, to the eye of reason, all these things were like the phantasmagoria of the mysteries. The recorded deeds of Christ were the clash and play of mighty spiritual forces; the Christian Church was an emanation from God; the Christian virtues were phases of intellectual enlightenment which had but slender, if any, links with deeds done in the flesh. Before long the circle widened into which Christian ideas were rationalized. Christianity found itself in contact not only with mysteries, but with metaphysics of 'wonderland.' Abstract conceptions seemed to take bodily shape, and to form strange marriages, and to pass in and out of one another like the dissolving scenery of a dream. There

grew up a new mythology, in which Zeus and Aphrodite; Isis and Osiris, were replaced by Depth and Silence, Wisdom and Power, Christianity ceased to be a religion and became a theosophy. It ceased to be a doctrine and became a Platonic poem. It ceased to be a rule of life and became a system of the universe. It was transferred from the world of human action in which it has seemed to have its birth into a supersensuous world of unimaginable vastness, and its truths were no longer fixed facts of faith and life, but the gorgeous, and shifting, and unsubstantial pageantry of the clouds of an autumn sky."

The first Lecture explains the method of study by which alone we may hope to arrive at sure results in any part of the great field of history. This method includes testing the documents which contain the evidence on which we must base our conclusions; ascertaining their authenticity and genuineness, or at least their probable origin and date. The evidence itself must then be carefully weighed, with a due regard to the distinction both of time and locality; and care not to confound "the homiletic value of a father with his value as a witness to fact." When the facts of which we are in search have been ascertained, they have to be compared with one another, and with any other contemporary facts which may help us to discover the law of their sequence. Mr. Hatch directs attention to the peculiar difficulties attending an investigation into what we may call the constitutional history of the Church arising out of the extreme abundance of our materials and the vast range both of space and time over which they extend. Much of the early church literature is apologetic, rhetorical, avowedly partisan; the beliefs and practices of those who were ultimately regarded as heretical or schismatic have, in some very important cases, to be gathered only from the representations and replies of their enemies. On the other hand, Mr. Hatch has largely availed himself of a kind of evidence only recently accessible, and remarkably free from liability to misrepresentation or distortion—the evidence of monuments and inscriptions. He reminds us that his work is in no sense an investigation, historical or otherwise, of Christian doctrine. The concluding paragraphs of his first Lecture are essential to our comprehension of his subject; and we must keep it carefully in mind in attempting to form an estimate of the value of his conclusions. He says (pp. 20, 21): "I propose to begin at the beginning, and to take into consideration as we go on

the conditions of the society in which the Christian communities grew, as well as the facts of their growth. But I do not propose to occupy your time by a preliminary discussion of the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament, because I believe that that polity will be better understood by the light of subsequent history. At the time when the majority of the sacred books were written that polity was in a fluid state. It had not yet congealed into a fixed form. It seems, as far as can be gathered from the simple interpretation of the text, without the interpretation which history has given it, to have been capable of taking several other forms than that which, in the divine economy, ultimately established itself. It has the elements of an ecclesiastical monarchy, in the position which is assigned to the Apostles. It has the elements of an ecclesiastical oligarchy in the fact that the rulers of the Church are almost always spoken of in the plural. It has the elements of ecclesiastical democracy in the fact, among others, that the appeal which S. Paul makes to the Corinthians on a question of ecclesiastical discipline is made neither to bishops nor to presbyters, but the community at large. It offers a sanction to episcopacy in the fact that bishops are expressly mentioned and the qualifications described; it offers a sanction to Presbyterianism in the fact that the mention of bishops it excluded from all but one group of epistles. It supports the proposition that the Church should have a government in the injunctions which it gives to obey those who rule. It supports, on the other hand, the claim of the Montanists of early days, and the Puritans of later days, in the pre-eminence which it assigns to spiritual gifts.

"Which of these many elements, and what fusion of them, was destined in the divine order to prevail, must be determined, not by exegesis, but by history."

This we may remark is the ground assumed in the preface to the Ordinal of our own Church: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture *and ancient authors*," etc. It would be difficult to persuade ourselves that the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament, taken alone, is either complete or unambiguous in face of the notorious fact that its meaning is variously interpreted not only by individual scholars but by whole communities, none of whom can pretend to enjoy a monopoly either of learning or candor. Thus the Roman Church finds in the New Testament an ecclesi-

astical monarchy; the Presbyterians an oligarchy; the Congregationalists (including Baptists) a democracy. Moreover, the question is not this: Is the polity of the Church of divine authority? This in the present argument is admitted on both sides. But the question is: In what mode did it please GOD to complete that ecclesiastical organization, the divine authority of which is not disputed? There are only two conceivable answers to this question, each of which may be summed up in a single word—viz., Miracle and Growth. *A priori* the probabilities are immensely in favor of the latter, as the ordinary mode of the divine procedure, and as conforming to that law of parsimony which forbids us to assume a more complex or mysterious cause where a simpler will suffice. Almighty GOD has been sparing of miracles, and has seen fit to work out his most beneficent purposes for the most part by intermediate, and especially by human, agency. Moreover, that natural growth and development has a very large place in the organization of the Christian Church is simply indisputable, and is in fact by no one denied. Nobody pretends to affirm that metropolitans, patriarchs, provinces, œcumenical councils, monastic orders, the coercive power over liberty and property of ecclesiastical courts, form a part of any supernatural church order that can be traced in detail either to the Scriptures or to the primary apostolic tradition. Nobody affirms that in minute detail—to say the very least—the Church polity was exactly the same before and after the Council of Nicæa, before and after the legislation of Constantine and his successors, before and after the fall of the Roman Empire, before and after Hildebrand, before and after the Reformation. Nobody pretends that the status of bishops, of presbyters and of the laity respectively, has been absolutely unchanged during nearly twenty centuries. And the question is, What was the starting point, and what was the course, of these acknowledged changes and developments? So far as Mr. Hatch's lectures are concerned, they must be judged not by their conclusions, but by *the evidence* they produce, and the mode in which they deal with that evidence. The scholarship and (of course) the honesty of Mr. Hatch are beyond controversy.

In this brief notice it is impossible to do more than indicate some of the conclusions at which Mr. Hatch

arrives, with here and there a word or two on the evidence by which he supports them. He directs attention to the enormous multitude of associations existing throughout the Roman Empire at the time of the first preaching of the Gospel. He describes their objects, their offices, and marks the singular resemblance between these and the early Christian communities. The evidence here is largely derived from monuments and inscriptions, and is both valuable and new. He directs special attention to the large place occupied in early, primitive Christian societies by what we call "charity"—a regular and ample provision for the poor, for widows and orphans, for strangers and all in need. A chief part of the duty of the president or presidents of each Christian community arose out of the administration of the funds necessary for this purpose; and the name of the officer to whom this duty was intrusted was common to the Christian communities, and many of the almost innumerable contemporary associations for other purposes—viz., Bishops. Out of this duty, ever-increasing both in magnitude and complexity, arose the need of some division of labor; provided for by the appointment of the Seven, and afterward by the order of Deacons. "In the Christian communities," says Mr. Hatch (pp. 38, 39), "there appears to have been from very early times a body of officers: it must be inferred from the identity of the names which were employed that those officers were, in relation to Christian communities, what the Senate was in relation to a municipality, and what the committee was in reference to an association. They were known collectively by a name which is common in both relations—that of *ordo*: they were known individually as well as collectively by a name which was common to the members of the Jewish *συνέδρια* and the members of the Greek *γερονσίαι* of Asia Minor—that of *πρεσβύτεροι*; they were also known—for I shall here assume what the weight of evidence has rendered practically indisputable—by the name *ἐπισκοποι*. In their general capacity as a governing body they were known by names which were in current use for a governing body; in their special capacity as administrators of church funds they were known by a name which was in current use for such administrators."

The conclusion—strengthened by a mass of evidence which we have no space even to indicate—is that in the organization of the Christian Church the divine Providence

made use of existing forms of associations, existing functions and offices ; that the new spirit animated bodies already prepared for all practical purposes, and capable of any amount of modification or development. A further conclusion is that the authority of the clergy is not personal and adherent, but representative and official. What Mr. Hatch regards as sufficient evidence of this is furnished in great abundance, and marshalled with admirable skill.

We must now content ourselves with calling attention to a few separate points of interest in these Lectures ; not perhaps altogether new, but brought out into a prominence and with a purpose that gives them a new value and significance. Thus, for instance, the chief object of the Epistles of Ignatius (whichever version be accepted) has been considered to be the exaltation of the Episcopate ; and undoubtedly that was one of their most conspicuous effects. But Mr. Hatch connects them with an important fact, otherwise proved, which gives to them a slightly different significance. That fact is, the reluctance of many converts to Christianity to connect themselves with any Christian association. We have evidence of this reluctance in the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews, in S. Jude, in the Shepherd of Hermas, in the Epistle of Barnabas ; and the reasons for such reluctance in the time of danger and persecution were so obvious and strong that we may well wonder at the power of that inward conviction by which it was overcome. Hence Mr. Hatch says : " The Epistles of Ignatius make the exhortation to association especially prominent. The chief purpose of those much controverted and most valuable monuments of early Christianity seems to be . . . (accepting the Episcopate as an established institution in the Asiatic churches) to urge those who called themselves Christian to become, or continue to be, or to be more zealously than before, members of the associations of which the bishops were the head " (p. 30). He adds in a note, with references which well deserve, and indeed demand, the most careful consideration, that " this separation from the assembly and its officers went to the extent of having separate Eucharists," which Ignatius, in the passage referred to, seems rather to deprecate than to condemn.

Every Lecture deserves attentive study, and must be judged not according to our personal preference for the conclusions at which Mr. Hatch arrives but according to the force of the evidence he adduces. Indeed this

book deserves, and may perhaps hereafter receive, a more extended notice in these pages ; but it may safely be recommended as learned, fearless, reverent, and bearing directly upon the ecclesiastical questions of most permanent importance and of most immediate interest. It is a *historical* treatise ; and startling as some of its conclusions may be to some of those who take their theology and ecclesiastical polity at second or third hand, it is hoped by the author that it may do something to mitigate the ferocity of ecclesiastical controversy, and even to strengthen men's faith in the divine authority of that Church which has been built up on such wide foundations, and perfected by so manifold and far-reaching a wisdom.

Boston Monday Lectures.*

There is, unquestionably, an enormous reaction going on in New England, and especially in Boston and its vicinity, from Unitarianism and Rationalism. The career of Joseph Cook is one of the most remarkable evidences of this : but it is by no means the only one. In his preliminary lecture, which opens the volume, he gives us some strong assertions on the subject, a few of which we shall quote. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, Theodore Parker, the destructive, was, apparently, the leader of Boston progress. Of him Mr. Cook says : "He left no theological school behind him in Boston. Theodore Parker is now far less a power in Boston than he was ten years ago ; he was then far less a power than ten previously. He represents no extensive or permanent movement of thought." He goes on to say : "We have learned, in the United States, by our experience in heterodoxy, to judge it not so much by the men who make it, as by the men it makes. We have had noble men revolting from Puritanism ; we have had a Socinian secession from orthodoxy—Boston has been the centre of it ; but experience shows that the second generation of rationalistic negation, on the line of the Unitarian faith, usually becomes far more rationalistic than the

* Boston Monday Lectures, 1880-81. Christ and Modern Thought. With a Preliminary Lecture, on the Methods of meeting Modern Unbelief, by Joseph Cook, Boston. Robert Brothers, 1881. Price \$1.50.

first generation. The third generation of Socinian negation is usually rationalistic in the extreme, sometimes infidel. You drop from Channing to Theodore Parker, from Theodore Parker to Frothingham, from Frothingham to the incomprehensible and undescribable! You arrive, at last, at a state where lax teachers have no Gospel to preach; they become simply literary men, and in that way end their career as defeated propagandists of a fallen faith."

As to individuals, Mr. Cook thus speaks of Emerson: "Mr. Emerson, who began his career as more or less pantheistic, has of late been assisting his neighbor, Mr. Alcott, in conducting a summer school of philosophy at Concord, which teaches theism, and carries its doctrines almost up to the verge of Christianity Mr. Emerson lately said to Mr. Alcott, and the latter reported the words before fifty ladies and gentlemen in my parlor in Boston: "If you wish to call me a Christian theist, you have my authority to do so, and you must not leave out the word 'Christian,' for to leave that out is to leave out everything." A similar reaction is going on in Germany. Mr. Cook tells us: "In Germany we have seen the defeat of school after school of rationalistic speculation. It has been my fortune to examine the religious history of the European Universities very carefully, and I undertake to affirm that there are to-day in Germany only three universities that deserve to be called predominantly rationalistic in their theological department." He gives details and statistics through several pages. Perhaps the most striking are the following: "I found Dorner's, Müller's, and Tholuck's lecture-rooms crowded, and Shenkel's empty. There are, in 1880, but twenty-four German theological students at Heidelberg; and I have heard Shenkel often, and never saw more than nine, eight or seven students in his lecture-room. Counting both the native and the foreign theological students in these institutions, the whole number at rationalistic Heidelberg is twenty-four; at Evangelical Halle, three hundred and four; at Evangelical Berlin, two hundred and thirty; at Hyper-Evangelical Leipzig, four hundred and thirty-seven." The sketch, too, of the gloomy state of things which greeted Tholuck on his first going to Halle, as contrasted with the glowing triumph that gladdened the close of his labors there, is very striking. The volume of Boston Monday Lectures, as a whole, illustrates this general return to modes of thought less remote from Old Catholic Faith of Christen-

dom. It is worthy of note that on the Executive Committee of these Monday Lectures, we find the names of our own Bishop of Massachusetts, and of Dr. Gray, the Dean of our Theological School at Cambridge. It is also worthy of note that while there are only ten lectures in the book, the first is by one of our Bishops, the Bishop of Rhode Island; and the last is by the Rev. Dr. John Cotton Smith. Who, twenty years ago, would have expected *this* in Boston? In this connection, we would allude to the fact, that in Cambridge there are *six* parishes of our Church, all doing well; while there is only *one* Unitarian Society, and that not very flourishing, even although it has had a Peabody for its pastor; and at the present time more than *two hundred* of the Undergraduates of Harvard are Churchmen; and the invitation to the vacant Chaplaincy of the University was lately extended to a distinguished Church clergyman, the Rev. Phillips Brooks. Nor should we forget, in this connection, the cordial invitation given by so many Boston ministers, of various denominations, last Autumn, to the Rev. Mr. Knox-Little to explain to them the true meaning of "Ritualism." Things *are moving*. And there is no doubt as to the direction which they are taking. We could find other evidences of it in the Lectures in this book, had we the space to consider them in detail. We can only touch upon Dr. Howard Crosby's splendid victory over the "bashibazouks" of Teetotalism, the Rev. Mr. Dike's unfolding of the horrors of American Divorces, and the Rev. Dr. Thomas' setting forth of the "Significance of the Historic Element in Scripture," as of peculiar value. The whole volume is well worth study, as a "sign of the times."

Dr. Dix on the First Book of Edward VI.*

These admirable lectures are most opportune just now. Dr. Dix is one of the most important members of the Committee of the General Convention on the subject of Liturgical Enrichment, and in these lectures he gives us a specimen of the sort of study and research which that

* Lectures on the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. By Morgan Dix, S.T.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co., Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue. 1881.

work imperatively demands. Whether the Committee succeeds in doing anything else, or not, one thing is certain, its appointment will most energetically stimulate *liturgical studies* amongst us; and this cannot but do great good to every one who takes part in it, as well as (unconsciously) to the Church at large.

Dr. Dix fearlessly maintains and proclaims that great truth, which has been upheld by so many of our soundest and most learned divines—the late Bishop of Vermont among the number—that the fullest and clearest expression of the English Reformation, pure and simple, is to be found in that First Book of King Edward VI. This, and this alone, is the *true* standard of the “Principles of the English Reformation,” of which some people talk so much *because* they know so little. The statement of the leading points of true Catholicity embodied in that Book; the history of the circumstances under which it was enacted by the joint authority of the Church and State; the graphic sketch of the violent and illegal action by which it was superseded; the successive revisions, *every one* of which has brought the Book nearer to its grand original; and the bearing it ought to have on the work of Liturgical Enrichment,—all these parts of the argument are handled with the utmost clearness and frankness, and in the pleasantest possible style.

There are one or two slight slips of the pen to which we would call the author's attention. On p. 57 we read: “When Henry the VIII. died, and Edward ascended the throne, Hooper returned to England. This was the year 1549, the same in which our Prayer-Book was set forth by Church and State as the one service book for the realm.” This is a mistake. Edward ascended the throne in 1547 not 1549. In another place, p. 91, speaking of our Colonial Clergy, Dr. Dix says: “So mixed up were their ideas of Church and State that to break their *implied* vow to the Crown,” &c. The vow to the Crown was not “implied” only. The oath of Allegiance is part of the Ordination Office in the Church of England Prayer-Book, and every one of those Colonial Clergy had taken it *expressly*, at the time of his ordination. But these are mere trifles. Dr. Dix's boldness and candor are above all praise, and we only hope that his lectures will be carefully studied by *all*, of every school, who take an interest in the most important work of Liturgical Enrichment.

Liddon's Thoughts on Present Church Troubles.*

Sermons by the greatest living English preacher require neither analysis nor criticism. But in the present slender volume, the *Preface* is the most notable feature, being a fearless onslaught against the present abominable courts in England, which profess to be Spiritual, and yet exist only by Act of Parliament. That they will not be submitted to is becoming clearer and clearer day by day. Priest after priest goes bravely to prison, and hundreds more are ready to do the same, sooner than allow spiritual validity to such secular things. And no one in high place has done better service than Canon Liddon in sounding the trumpet for the battle.

* Thoughts on Present Church Troubles, occurring in four Sermons preached in S. Paul's Cathedral, in December, 1880, with a Preface, by H. P. Liddon, D.D., Canon Residentiary of S. Paul's and Ireland Professor at Oxford. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881. Price, \$0.90.

Bishop Dudley's Bohlen Lectures.*

This book is a very interesting sample of the drift that is carrying onward those who, a few years ago, were distinctively "Evangelicals," fresh from Alexandria. The lectures are written in a delightfully vigorous and clear style; and, with the popular and animated delivery of their author, must have been very pleasant to listen to. They are remarkable for four things. 1st. Their thorough acceptance—in words at least—of the Œcumenical Creeds and dogmatic definitions. 2d. Their wonderful haziness as to matters of doctrine outside of that line. The Bishop says: "The definitions of the false Athanasius (he means the Athanasian Creed), the Westminster Confession, the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Thirty-nine Articles, are all, it seems to me, the no less natural effort to express the traditional aspect of the eternal realities agreeably to the philosophic conception of the day, and in the language

*The Bohlen Lectures, 1881. "A Wise Discrimination The Church's Need." By Thomas Underwood Dudley, D.D., Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House, 1881.

of the different schools." This putting of the Athanasian Creed, the Westminster Confession, the Trent decrees, and the Thirty-nine Articles, all on the same level, would have made the Old Evangelicals turn pale with horror. Some of the foggiest is bestowed, most significantly upon the doctrine of the Atonement. The stress laid upon the preaching of the Personal Christ, is well enough. The third remarkable thing is, the recognition of the rights of what is commonly called Ritualism, in every thing except one point. The strongest Sacramental teaching of the Church is reiterated by the Bishop, with manly straight-forwardness. He says: "We need liturgical enrichment, for we need liturgical freedom, which is wealth." And again: "Ritual legislation, rubrical revision, I believe to be the crying need of the Church to-day; and I hail with thankful delight the appointment and the assembling of that Commission of learned men to whom this matter has, by the Church, been given in charge." He recognizes the lawfulness of the choral service, and of nearly every thing commonly called "Ritualism," even including the "mixed chalice" and "what are called the sacrificial vestments." As to these last he says: "If it please the priest or his people that he wear them, who shall object?—for *most assuredly we have no law to guide*, and the people—I mean the people who are not of us, but whom we are sent to win,—find just as little, and just as much, cause for wonder in the alb and chasuble, as in the surplice, and possibly a colored stole evokes their surprise no more than a black one." When it is remembered that these lectures were delivered only last February, in Philadelphia, by an Alexandria graduate, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, the words which we have italicized slash like a scimitar through the ridiculous and unconstitutional legislation of the Convention of Pennsylvania on Ritual two years ago,—a legislation so null and void that they have never dared to attempt to enforce it, and an Evangelical Bishop thus laughs it to scorn under their very eyes.

The *fourth* remarkable thing is the delicate sense of equilibrium shown in two special points of discrimination. The Bishop discriminates strongly in *favor* of theatrical amusements and dancing, which, in view of their attempted canonical legislation on these subjects, will make some of the more rigid Virginians gnash their teeth. But he makes up for it by discriminating *against* Eucharistic Adoration. So

2

long as he "slights" this, perhaps his advocacy of theatres and dancing will not be thought quite unpardonable. But his language here is as severe against the old disciplinary Canons of Virginia, as it was in the other place against Pennsylvania. He says: "I must here again express my satisfaction, that on the statute-book of the Church *are found no enactments against particular transgressions*, other than those plainly laid down in Holy Scripture, in the inculcation of principles rather than of precepts, in the effort to develop self-determining manhood rather than to essay the continuance of a childhood to be directed and guided at its every step." This affirms the nullity of the Virginia canons, and that to try to pass them is "to essay the continuance of childhood!" We could make many more extracts, of striking, racy, epigrammatic, or startling character; but what we have already said will, we trust, induce the thoughtful ones to read these lectures carefully as a remarkable "sign of the times."

Political Eloquence in Greece.*

This work will be welcomed by scholars and students of literature. The ear of both classes is ever open to any one who can give additional knowledge of the character and work of the great orator, or who can open new sources of pleasure in retracing old and familiar paths of study. The author, M. Brédig, shows himself to be an enthusiast in the prosecution of this task, with an equipment of classic knowledge and an analytic faculty that insure satisfactory and profitable work. The method and treatment of the book are admirable and adapt it to the instruction of the school-room, as well as to the uses of the more mature student. The introductory chapter contains the gem of the whole, except that which is personal or biographical, giving an historical and philosophical presentation of the

* Demosthenes, with extracts from his orations, and a critical discussion of the "Trial of the Crown." By L. Brédig, Doctor in the Faculty of Letters, at Paris. Prof. at Toulouse, etc. Translated by M. J. Mac Mahon, A.M., large 8vo, pp. 510. Price, \$3.00. Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co.

three ages of Athenian Eloquence. The explanation of its wonderful spontaneity and development he finds primarily in its physical surroundings and in the democratic institutions of Athens. He then passes its phases under a minute and critical review, designating its periods of difference by characteristics, viz.: First, In the time of Themistocles or Pericles it was almost exclusively oral and practical. Second, Was the period of the rhetoricians, when it was prostituted to the purposes of entertainment and of a showy culture, and, as a power in the service of patriotism, was disarmed by artificial ornament and refinement. Third, It reached its Zenith under Demosthenes and Æschines. Genius and patriotism found the most gifted and exalted exponent in the former. He combined the excellencies of the preceding periods, and by his logic, culture and pathos, brought the art of speaking to its climax of affiliated beauty and power.

The prolonged contest of Demosthenes with Philip, and with the politicians of his nation, is given in much detail, and in such lights and shadows as to fully vindicate his character as a conscientious patriot and statesman. The author warmly and successfully defends his desperate duel with Philip, and exposes with all the heat and finesse of an advocate, the duplicity and cowardice of the Athenian demagogues, the enemies alike of Athens and of Demosthenes.

The close of the book is devoted to an analysis of the elements of his eloquence, illustrated copiously by quotations and comparison. But we cannot summarize this analysis without destroying its relations and force. We generalize our endorsement of the work by saying that it is scholarly in its conception and treatment, and in the attainments of learning revealed. The analytical table of contents is a most valuable appendix, and will be of service even to the most careful reading.

The translator is to be commended for his fidelity to the text of his author. Perhaps if he had been less precise and literal, and had yielded more to his *own* idioms, the book would have lost some of its apparent stiffness of style. Abating the numberless digressions of the author himself, which beget a tedium sometimes; the texture of the book, as translated, is not sufficiently pliable. But notwithstanding its faults, which are few and small, it will amply repay close study.

Victor Hugo: His Life and Works.*

We might fairly call this book the adoration of Victor Hugo. The spirit of timid reverence with which the biographer approaches his solemn task, the kindling enthusiasm with which he continues and completes it, has in it, to any but a Frenchman, even a touch of the absurd. By way of prelude, he says: "Nothing that relates to Victor Hugo will be indifferent to us. We shall seek to illustrate the life and work of this incomparable author, who better than any other living author deserves to be called "master," since compared with him his literary contemporaries are but pupils. The greatest of his fellow authors bow before him; the leaders of the Romantic school call him their "King;" it might almost be affirmed, their "God." And the concluding sentence of the book is, "This nineteenth century, with all its wise men and all its triumphs, will have only one name for posterity. It will be called *The age of Victor Hugo*." The sensation of stupefying awe with which these votaries of the "Romantic school" which acknowledges him as its creator, stand before the actual presence of this Jupiter Tinans of letters, is thus naively told in the reminiscences of the sparkling Theophilus Gautier. It was on the occasion of his first presentation. "Twice we mounted the steps slowly as if our boots had leaden soles. Our breath stopped. We felt our hearts beating in our throats. Icy drops bathed our temples. When we stood before the door, just ready to pull the bell-knob, seized by a foolish terror, we turned on our heels and rushed down the steps, four at a time. A third attempt was more successful. Victor Hugo was then twenty-eight years of age. The first feature that impressed us was the monumental forehead which like an arch of white marble crowned the placid gravity of his face. It was really of superhuman beauty and amplitude. The greatest thought could be written here; crowns of gold or laurel might rest here as upon the brow of a god or a Cæsar. Light chestnut hair of considerable length enframed this brow. The smoothly shaven face had a peculiar pallor and was pierced and illumined by two brown eyes with pupils like those of an eagle. The mouth

* Victor Hugo: His Life and Works. From the French of Alfred Barbon. By Francis A. Shaw. pp. 207. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1881.

was firm and obstinate in outline with sinuous lips arched at the corners, which half opening for a smile, disclosed teeth of dazzling whiteness. We guard as a precious memento this portrait, handsome, youthful, smiling, beaming with genius and giving out as it were *phosphorescent rays of glory*." Comparing the photographic vignette of M. Barbon's book, which he declares to be an accurate likeness of Hugo at this period, with this pen-sketch of Gautier, we cannot but feel disposed to credit the latter with extraordinary powers of idealization.

Our readers will at once perceive that a true and critical estimate of the character and work of Victor Hugo is not to be obtained at the hands of such dazzled and abject worshippers. Their impatient enthusiasm will hardly wait for his apotheosis. Mr. Barbon has set all the facts of his career in this golden mist of incense. A sober estimate of human nature will not permit us to accept a being of such absolute perfection as he paints Victor Hugo. But making all necessary allowance for these extravagancies—impossible out of France—there is a sufficient basis of fact to justify us in regarding him as one of the first of living Frenchmen—perhaps we may even say, without the exaggeration which we deprecate, that he is the largest and most comprehensive type of the French genius and character which the race has produced. But the true and exact measure of this greatness, let us leave, as a matter beyond us, to that coming judgment of history—in the fires of whose crucible all that is unreal in the splendor of his fame, will be mercilessly evaporated.

The father of Victor Hugo was a veteran general of the first empire—a gallant soldier, but notable for nothing, so far as appears, but the patient sagacity with which he left his son's early and passionate Bourbonism to the quiet "cure of time." The mother was of another strain—a woman of a presence so majestic and of a will so forceful, as to stifle even the powerful individuality of her gifted boy—while under her maternal wing. Inheriting loyalty with her hot Vendean blood, she laid herself and her children alike on the altar of King worship. This fever of loyalty was the inspiration of Victor Hugo's childish muse.

"Now and then," says his biographer, "these early efforts contain superb lines and traces of a growing inspiration. These amiable stammerings prove to be all, in some sort, echoes of maternal affection. The mother—

a venerable muse—appears to dictate rhymes and thoughts." The spirit of authorship from that time possessed him. While yet a schoolboy of fifteen, his portfolio was crammed with dramas, romances and lyric odes, and beyond the bounds of the academy, his name began to be whispered as that of a coming poet. With incredible rapidity his genius became full-fledged, and at an age when most youths are still at college, in all his essential characteristics as an author, he was the same: Victor Hugo who has reigned for years in the literature of France.

To English-speaking people, he is best known as writer of fiction. His first great work—"The Hunchback of Nôtre Dâme"—reveals his genius for romance at the pinnacle of its power and forms a part of the standard literature of the world. In our own opinion it is the greatest of his novels. Rivalling in ingenious plot, in daring characterization—in profound pathos—in tragic situation—the best of his later romances—it is free from the labored extravagances of style, and the grotesque fancies by which, to any but a French taste, the latter are disfigured. This passion for morbid horrors—which is noticeable as a mere taint in the Hunchback—grew consciously or unconsciously upon Hugo until it culminated in the capability to conceive the obscene and revolting imaginations of "The Man Who Laughs," some scenes in which—the "bath scene" for instance—are an offence to human nature. But in his deepest outrages upon pure taste, there is always a power that binds the reader like an enchanter's spell, and if with indignant protest, he reads on to the "end." The great fault of Victor Hugo's romances, is their unreality in the midst of an assumed and pretentious realism. He endows his characters with such superhuman energies and passions, that we seem to move not in a world of men, but of Titans. The admirers of Balzac, who is a genuine realist and draws men, not melodramatic monsters, on this ground, may fairly contest Victor Hugo's title to be the King of Romance. The dramas of Victor Hugo possess the same characteristics as his novels, and from their very excesses of powerful passion, are likely to continue to be monopolized by the French stage. But in his lyrical poetry, the genius of Hugo seems to have passed through some strange transformation. The affected, the stogy, the sensational, are dropped like the garments of a masquerade. Purity, simplicity, sweetness, alike of style and thought, appear

in their place. It is difficult to attribute to the same source "The Man Who Laughs" and the "Rose and the Tomb." The mind of Hugo is almost as many-sided as that of Goethe. Dramatist, romancer, lyric poet, he is also orator and artist. His eloquence is like the sweep of a river and the leap of the cataract. There is nothing in the record of parliamentary oratory grander than his heroic indictment of Louis Napoleon, while his imperial councils were yet wet with the blood of the *coup d'état*. His biographer, at least, sees in the illustrations which adorn Victor Hugo's home and illustrate his books, the elements of an artist of the first power. Perhaps the readers of Mr. Barbon will find the political phases of Hugo's life fullest of interest. It is marked by changes of political opinion sudden and surprising, but not unaccountable. Bourbonist—Bonapartist—Orleanist—in swift revolution, he is best known to this generation as the stern Republican exile who under the most terrible and protracted sufferings for his principles, never bated a breath of his fiery scorn for the Imperial usurper living, and embalmed him dead, in the "History of a Great Crime" in eternal infamy.

Diocesan Histories. *

These neat volumes, in their bright bindings of blue and gold, are a new departure in the history of our Mother Church. Local history always has its charms to the true student, being as indispensable to the formation of right views on a large scale, as the microscope is to the naturalist in summing up the general results of scientific research. In these volumes—and others are to follow, until the list of the Dioceses in England is completed—it must not be supposed that the rubbish of statistic details renders them only fit for occasional reference. By no means. But in one easy, flowing, continuous and inter-

* Diocesan Histories. Canterbury, by Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., with Map. pp. 428. Price, \$1.05. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Pott, Young & Co., 1880.

Diocesan Histories. Salisbury, by William Henry Jones, M.A., F.S.A., with Map, pp. 287. Price, \$0.75. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Pott, Young & Co., 1880.

esting narrative, the story of each Diocese is told, from its first foundation down to the present time. In tracing this continuous Diocesan life, the reader's conviction of the continuity of the Church is vastly stronger than it is apt to be when the history is given only as a whole. It is exceedingly instructive to follow the Diocesan life through those ages in which the want of a Reformation was increasingly felt: and to watch how all the needed changes were dovetailed into the regular working of a regular system, without a "solution of continuity" in any manner, in any thing. The subsequent troubles of the Great Rebellion, the Puritan Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution, and the Catholic Revival in our own day,—all these give additional life and interest to these exceedingly valuable pages. We shall welcome the rest of the series with great pleasure, and expect to learn something from every successive volume.

The National Church of England.*

This handy manual gives, in most convenient form, a vast mass of information concerning the dear old Mother Church of England. It is arranged, like Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, in brief separate sections, each with a heading in heavy-faced letter, so as the more easily to catch the eye. Its views as to the union between Church and State are not in all respects such as it is necessary that an American Churchman should accept. But in all that is said as to the origin of the Church's property, including tithes, and the iniquity of such a thing as disendowment, the book will open the eyes of many readers in America. Take for instance this one paragraph concerning the most unpopular and (as is commonly supposed) the most unjust part of the Church's heritage,—*tithes*:

Tithes were not created by Act of Parliament. They were payable, and were paid, to the Church, long before Parliament existed, or before anything answering to its constitution was even in embryotic being. The payment of tithes is of more ancient date than the Crown of England, the Constitution of England, or the Parliament of England. No

* The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church. New, Revised and Enlarged Edition. pp. 211. Price, \$0.60. London: S.P.C.K. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.

State document, however ancient, can be produced, which being put into Court as evidence, could prove that the State or Realm of England *created* the tithes. . . . The title of an incumbent of a parish to his tithes is the most ancient, indisputable, and infeasible of any title to property known to the law.

So also with regard to the other endowments of the Church, which are commonly supposed to have come from Parliament. They are known to be almost entirely the gifts of individuals in ages past, and it is shown how nobly the same work is going on in the same way at the present time. It is impossible, within our limits, to specify the great variety of points in which this little work furnishes most useful information; but one fact deserves special mention. The income of endowments given *before* the Reformation is £1,950,000. The income of endowments given *since* the Reformation is *larger*, namely, £2,250,000. And the *voluntary* offerings *besides*, amount to about £5,500,000 every year: which is more than *both* the others put together! There is no danger of *that* Church suffering much from any possible Disendowment! No one can rise from the perusal of this work, without a clearer conception than before of what the National Church of England is, and how it has been the spirit, and core, and life, and essence, of England's Nationality, even from those times when the Saxon Kingdoms in England were many, while her Church was *one*.

The Bishop of Lincoln's "Church History."*

When a writer of such great experience and such profound learning as the present Bishop of Lincoln publishes anything, the sound Churchman knows at once that it is worth reading. His more purely classical works, his established reputation as one of the best writers of Latin and Greek now living, his skill as a poet in these languages as well as in his own, his circle of dogmatic instruction as furnished in his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, his Commentary on the whole Bible,—the best that we have in English from the labor of one man,—his patristic studies especially as connected with the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, and

* A Church History to the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; by Charles Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. pp. 481. Price, \$2.25. London: Rivingtons, 1881.

very many lesser works, all attest the high position held by him among the most learned divines of the Church of England. In once more working over the well-worn field of Church History down to, and including, the Council of Nicæa, we expect, naturally, to see displayed a breadth, depth, and thoroughness, not easily found elsewhere to the same degree. And we shall not be disappointed. The distinctive doctrines of the Church herself, as an organic body, are brought out with singular clearness and power. The book is indeed a complete manual of Church principles; and its perusal and careful study will fortify the mind effectually against the modernisms of Rome on the one hand, and the still later modernisms of Protestant sectarianism on the other. The full sacramental teaching of the Church is witnessed to, with candid fearlessness. The peculiarities of the various heresies and schisms are given with theological accuracy, and are entirely free from German haze. The symmetrical perfection of the settling of dogmatic truth is chronicled with beautiful precision, and enriched with quotations of critical phrases both from the errorists themselves and from their chief opponents among the Fathers of the Church. In a work by such a master, it is not to be expected that American critics shall be able to pick flaws. Yet we would call attention to a mere typographical error in the note to page six, where the mystic one hundred and forty-four thousand is said to be "the square of twelve multiplied by one hundred," whereas this last numeral should be one thousand.

The theological equilibrium of this History is, perhaps, the chief among its many merits. It is written with a full consciousness in the mind of the writer of all the great features of the subsequent history of the Church; and the true importance of things is thus shown, by their connection with actual subsequent developments. This is the true way to distinguish the vital in history, from that which may rather be termed the incidental. One of the most scientific instances of this, is the analysis of the action of the Council of Nicæa, which *demonstrates* the falsity both of the modern Roman theory, and also of that of the Protestant Sects. This work will manifestly, at once, take its place among our permanent Church Classics. Its moderate size and pleasant type make it very desirable, and its readable style will render it doubly attractive to all who honestly desire information.

Sinai.*

Major Palmer's book condenses into one readable volume, and in very readable style, the substance of what is at present known of the Sinaitic Peninsula. It includes an account of the physical character of the whole region, and that of its present inhabitants; and gives also its past history, so far as it is yet known. Several systematic explorations of that most remarkable region have been made in our own day, especially one in 1868, the results of which were published in 1872, in five massive folio volumes, three of which were filled with photographs, and one with maps and plans. Some portions of the ancient history, concerning the mining works of the Egyptians, and the stone dwellings, stone circles, archaic sculptures, and especially the famous rock inscriptions, are peculiarly interesting. The critical account of the Exodus, taking note of all the leading modern theories, down to that of Brugsch Bey in 1874, occupies the closing chapter,—the most important of the whole. A map and woodcuts add to the value of this volume, which would be suitable for all Sunday School and Parish Libraries.

* Ancient History from the Monuments. SINAI, from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the present Day. By Henry Spencer Palmer, Major Royal Engineers, F.R.S.A. London: S.P.C.K. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co. pp. 216. Price, \$0.60.

Turkish Life in War Time.*

Well had it been for the literary and financial interests of Mr. Dwight if his book had been published at the eventful time when the eyes of the whole nation were turned toward the great war between the Russian and the Turk. Bound to the Old World by the subtle ties of a common civilization, it was not in the nature of things for America to look on as a cool spectator upon a struggle, in which the dearest interests of so many oppressed Christian nationalities were at stake, and which might, in a moment, engulf all Christendom in a vortex of universal war. But it was equally in the nature of things that a reaction

* Turkish Life in War Time, by Henry T. Dwight. pp. 428. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner & Son. 1881.

from this state of tense interest should be inevitable, and that with the close of the contest by the victorious arms of Russia, in the engrossing consideration of our own affairs of state, the great Turkish question should gradually fade out of sight. Turkey has become but an unmeaning word in an occasional and brief trans-oceanic telegram. But if anything could transport us back to the days when we hung in breathless interest over the news of battle, and make us live them over again in memory, it would be this little book of Mr. Dwight's. Constantinople was the very brain and heart of Turkey during the war. There all the lines of European diplomacy centered—there sat the grand council of state, the Porte, in whose hands the Sultan himself seems to be but a splendid puppet, and who virtually exercised supreme control over the civil and religious functions of the government. Beneath, the vast populace of the capital were in a chronic state of almost hysterical excitement. With the varying fortunes of the war, hope, fear, suspense, distrust, despair, moved the mighty multitude as the winds move the sea. In all this strange life of the capital, Mr. Dwight was an actual participator. With personal and diplomatic interests at stake—in constant intercourse with foreign and native statesmen—one in the mighty masses which daily crowded the streets to hear and discuss every passing rumor of the policy of the government and the conduct of the war, he daily transferred the shifting scene, while the impression was warm and vivid, to his note-book. The result, in a literary point of view, was most happy. These rapid and lively jottings of feelings and observation, drawn directly from actual life, furnish more fascinating, if not more profitable reading than could the most elaborate and scholarly work of the historian—than the most telling essay of Mr. Freeman when he smites luckless Turkey with his inexorable logic of facts as with the hammer of Thor—or the cleverest diagnosis of the sick man's fatal symptoms by the "Eastern Statesman" or the *Contemporary Review*—because every page palpitates with the living sympathy of an actor in the scene.

A selection or two, taken at random, will give our readers, at least the flavor of the contents of Mr. Dwight's note-book. Constantinople has just received the news of the Russian repulse before Plevna. "September 19. Sunday, shortly after midnight, I was awakened by a noise which was not quite a din, and yet which dominated all

other sounds. This was the combined noise of hundreds of bass drums, beaten with might and main in the streets of all Constantinople, in honor of the new repulse of the Russians from Plevna. The myriads of lamps hung on the minarets, as is usual in the Romazan, and which had been allowed to burn out, were now restored to their pristine brilliance. The streets, the squares, the coffee-shops were full of people, discussing, with the utmost enthusiasm, the bulletins just published by the war office. On every lip was the word, 'It is God's judgment on the proud!' The night was dark, and as I looked off from my hill upon the great city, partly hidden by a white mist, which filled the harbor and covered the valley, I could see none of the deeper shadows, but only the lights on the minarets, which seemed to float in mid-air above the sea of mist. Between the minarets, lamps were so hung that they formed Arabic words. High over the dome of the mosque of Suleiman the magnificent, you could read in letters of trembling light, 'Mahomet, sent of God,' and far around to the right was written on the sky, in letters of gold, 'Allah Ekber,' the old war cry of the armies of the prophet. In the minds of the surging crowds of Moslems which filled the streets, the whole arch of heaven was transformed into the dome of a vast cathedral—its base inscribed in letters of fire, with the phrases dear to the hearts of the faithful; and one could not doubt that this cathedral magnificence, thrilled the hearts of the joyous multitude below as they gazed upon the evidence of the glory of Islam, in the legends written on the sky."

December 21st. "So long as Plevna held out even the most desponding of the people had lingering hopes, that in some way the tide of war would be turned back. Since the surrender, however, every spark of hope has died out. I never saw such despair and helplessness as that which now exhibits itself among the mass of the people. The people curse their ruler and their generals, and are ready to sink into lethargy in the belief that, in the event of the last three months, they may see the foreshadowing of what is fatal in the future." We have no space for more. Unfortunately the best things in the book are too long for quotation. But, after all, the most interesting part of Mr. Dwight's volume is the discussion in the final chapter of Turkey's probable destiny. By this time he has gained the full confidence of his reader in his powers as an acute observer of men and things, a sagacious critic of politics

and diplomacy—and in regard to every phase of the Turkish question, is established as a high authority. Upon the probability of a resuscitation of Turkey by her own unaided energies and internal reforms to a true and enduring—we may say enduring—national life, his opinion is a most clear and emphatic negative. He fully coincides with Mr. Freeman, in the belief that the case of Turkey, left to herself, is beyond hope. Having probed with his keen analysis every separate plague spot in the body corporate of the dying Turk, he thus powerfully summarizes his detailed investigation of the case: "This book has been written in vain, if it has not brought home to the reader a deep sense of the complications which surround every undertaking to produce a solid reconstruction of Turkey. The jealousies of European powers—the selfish greed and incompetence of the Turkish officials, crying aloud for the destruction of the Sultan's power—the interests of the Christians of Turkey demanding protection from Europe—the religious bigotry of the Moslems opposing that protection—the ignorance of all classes, unfitting the whole nation to co-operate in measures of relief—the intricate mixture of various races, preventing separate treatment of them—the race hates any ambitions found among the people of Turkey, defeating attempts to deal with them as a whole, are serious obstacles to the restoration of peace and prosperity among this people." In a word, Mr. Dwight seems to consider reconstruction from without only less hopeless than self-reconstruction. He suggests the only possible solution of the case in a protectorate composed of all the European powers, but takes care to show how little faith he has in the plan proposed. In truth, Mr. Dwight can only be a prophet of woe to the Turk. He expresses a doubt even of the possibility of the establishment of a Turkish empire in Asia Minor, if cast out of Europe. The same fatal causes would surround her there and precipitate her down.

Men Before Adam.*

Of late years, Adam has been very much in the way of explorers into the remote and prehistoric past. There

* Preadamites, or a Demonstration of the Existence of men before Adam; together with a study of their condition, antiquity, racial affinities, and progressive dispersion over the earth. With charts and other illustrations. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D., etc., etc. pp. 500. Price, \$3.50. Chicago: S. C., Griggs & Co. .

could be no elbow room because of him, and, all the while, the evidences seemed to be multiplying, even to the unscientific mind, that the sweep of time must have extended many ages behind the period in which he is said to have appeared on the planet. Archbishop Ussher had fixed the precise date of the creation, and the Authorized Version had adopted it in its margin. Thus we read it to this day, "Before Christ, 4004." The translators knew all about it, and so, therefore, does the public. The lone figure stops the popular vision beyond that year. Here is the chronological *Ultima Thule*. To make it worse for the explorers, this period is still further abridged by the same authority. A universal Deluge submerged the earth exactly 1656 years afterward, that is to say, "Before Christ 2348," leaving Noah as the sole progenitor of the present human race. Within this space of a little more than four thousand years, the present diversified population of the globe, amounting, say, to fifteen hundred millions, must account for itself. These are its conventional and orthodox limits. Such is the established theory.

On the face of it this space would seem all too small for such a mass of convoluted beings to turn round in ; for its convolutions were not the simple ones of individual lives or of national development, but of racial divergencies, physiologically so wide apart, so radical and so complex, as now when fully realized, to burst the theory asunder. The next Authorized Version of the Old Testament will, doubtless, find it advisable to lift away this marginal horizon of all past time, and leave it to dissolve into extra-visual space, like the natural one, instead of resting, as before, on the boundaries of the literal eyesight. For nothing is more uncertain than the chronology of the Bible after a given point has been reached. Let any one satisfy himself of that by looking over the tables of the chronologists, where he will find scores of varying computations based on the same Biblical data. He will have his choice of the creative era from Bunsius, 20,000 B. C., down through any number of gradations to Rabbi Lipman's, 3606 B. C. "Biblical chronology is uncertain," says Abbe Le Hir, "it is left to human science to discover the date of the creation of our species." It is all "uncertain before Abraham," says Prichard. "There is no connected chronology prior to Solomon," says Bunsen. "There is no Biblical chronology," says Sylvester de Lacy. "It must be quite apparent," sums up Dr. Winchell, "that Revelation has not revealed the age of the world."

It is a realm of conjecture, of no theological moment, or it would not have been left so ; but, with respect to science, an important field of exploration and discovery, as it was doubtless intended to be, Adam and Noah remain, but Archbishop Ussher does not. As to his myriad brethren in the same line they are equally unsuccessful, if not ephemeral candidates for the honor of discovering the hour when the star of Adam appeared.

It is interesting to know what science will discover, and to what point its explorations will converge. There is reason to think that its system of anthropology, now to be formed under the freedom of this condition of things, will come to a result as modifying and enlarging to our Biblical interpretation, as its system of cosmology has already been.

Dr. Winchell's book is an earnest and reverent contribution to this inquiry. No one who reads it can fail to recognize his honesty, his candor, his judicial fairness, the thoroughness with which he has conducted his investigation, and the sincerity with which he has reached and now advocates his conclusions. He has endeavored, moreover, to make his work a popular one, so far as he could do so without yielding up too much of its necessary scientific character. His style is massive and vigorous, often mounting into beauty and eloquence, though, at times, his earnestness in maintaining an adequate precision and gravity of statement leads him into a ponderousness of diction, not easy to the reader, though evidently the natural gait of a writer, who so profoundly takes his subject to heart. The work is worth reading and worth owning. Aside from its theory, it is full of valuable facts, well marshaled, considering the difficulty of the theme, for the end he has in view.

Dr. Winchell's investigations do not disturb the historical Adam. He is also content to let him have any chronology which the reader prefers. Nor does he question Noah, except as to the universality of the Deluge, and therefore, his traditional claim to be the one transmitting line of the race. The received account of the dispersion of descendants remains also untouched. On the contrary, it is adopted. The whole period of the Pentateuch, as written from the standing-point of Israel, he does not attempt to traverse. Indeed it will relieve the reader to know that he incorporates it into his argument, though careful to make a distinction between the original and the

translation. The latter, he very truly says, could not but reflect the unscientific position of the era in which it was made. It read the Hebrew according to its light.

The field he opens is the profoundly interesting one of a great conjectural period of time behind Adam, and a great necessary space of territory on either side of Noah, which were filled with races of men who have now their descendants over all the earth : the races Black and Brown, so well known to us under the names (the Black) of Negro, Hottentot, Papuan, Australian, and (the Brown) Mongolian and Dravidian. These go back, possibly one hundred thousand years into primitive forms of humanity so low in the scale that no vestige of them remains at present on the earth, though he points out some curious examples, in secluded districts, of communities of human beings who might be surviving specimens of such. The White, or Mediterranean race, is the only Adamic race, rising later, very probably within the average period fixed upon by chronologists. It is with this that the record of the Bible begins. It is with the Divine and progressive career of this that the Bible is engaged. And this, the White race, Dr. Winchell believes, is of "one blood" with all the rest, coming down, alike with them, from an original and central stock. So Adam was not the "*first* man."

There are enough facts abroad to start the theory and to justify the inquiry. Indeed the Bible itself, at the very outset of its record, seems to show a tacit consciousness of the existence of another race. There have always been the curious questions : Whom did Cain fear when he went out a fugitive and a vagabond? Why was a mark set upon him? Whom did he marry? etc., etc. As long ago as 1655 the priest Peyrerijs, in addition to these considerations, founded a theory of Preadamitism on the 12th, 13th and 14th verses of the Vth chapter of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The same theory has been repeatedly revived in recent days ; notably in the work "The Genesis of the Earth and Man," introduced and endorsed by Reginald Stuart Poole ; and more lately, in "Adam and the Adamite," by Dr. McCansland. These works argue the question also on Scientific and Secular grounds. Under these leaders the inquiry has entered the whole field as it now lies open, and Dr. Winchell's book presented it to us in the more thorough form it has now assumed. His argument is based on the intimations of the Bible ; on the limited extent of the noachite dispersion ; on the vast

diversification of races now existing; on the great inferiority of some of these races to the Mediterranean race; on the fact that a complete differentiation of races existed in the early dynastic periods of Egypt; on the want of time since Adam or Noah, as chronologically placed, for this to take place; on the fact that the Hamitic origin of the Negroes is opposed to the Bible itself; and, finally, on the fact that the supposition of universal degeneracy of all human races is scientifically inadmissible. He also endeavors to show that "the doctrine of Preadamitism is entirely consonant with all the fundamental principles of Biblical Christianity."

The remaining half of the work is devoted to an interesting study of these preadamite races as present existing, "their condition, antiquity, and racial affinities and progressive dispersion over the Earth."

The book is interestingly illustrated, and its mechanical execution is in elegance and beauty exceedingly creditable to its publishers.

Stones Crying Out.*

This is a reissue of a compilation, for many years before the public. It has received a new Introduction, and much is added of the later discoveries in the East. The style is popular and quite interesting, the illustrations are numerous, the tone of the book—while here and there are expressions not so Churchlike—is reverent, and full of faith in the Divine authority of Holy Scripture. There are graphic sketches of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, of the Samaritans and their ancient copy of the Pentateuch, of Egypt, Arabia, the Exodus, Niveveh, and Persia. The Moabite Stone and the Chaldean account of the Deluge are included. It is not a profound work, but forms a very useful and interesting compilation for the ordinary reader.

* *Stones Crying Out, and Rock-Witness to the Narratives of the Bible concerning the Times of the Jews.* With a new Introduction, and the Moabite Stone included. The Evidence of the last twenty years, collected by L. N. R., Author of "The Book and its Story" and "The Missing Link." Fourth Edition, Fifteenth Thousand. Nearly 100 Illustrations. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881.

Mozarabic Collects.*

This slender and neatly-printed volume is interesting and useful in itself; but its importance is greatly enhanced by two points prominently brought forward in the Preface written by the Bishop of Western New York. One is, the hope expressed by him that the Commission on Liturgical enrichment may here find some materials for their proposed work. The other—far more suggestive—is the information that Dr. Hale “has compiled an admirable Office for the Holy Eucharist; and a Baptismal Office, also, from such [Mozarabic] materials.” Bishop Coxe adds: “I trust they may soon see the light, with an introductory *Excursus* and with the *Notes* with which he is so capable of enriching the work. The COLLECTS herewith presented are a mere specimen of their editor’s entire work, but they are not an inconsiderable portion of it, and they may, by God’s blessing, awaken attention to the subject, and thus promote his ultimate desires and purposes, with which I sympathize ardently; not only because of my respect for him, but rather because of the importance of the subject to Catholic Reconstruction and Reform in Mexico and elsewhere.” By all means, if there is any prospect of such a Liturgy being adopted in Mexico, let it see the light, and the sooner the better, with *full proof of the adoption of it by the Mexicans*.

* Mozarabic Collects, translated and arranged from the ancient Liturgy of the Spanish Church, by the Rev. Chas. R. Hale, S. T. D. With a Preface, by the Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., Bishop of Western New York. 12mo. pp. 80. Price, \$0.75. New York: James Pott, 1881.

Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans.*

The volume before us contains a short autobiography of the author and a history of wonderful archaic discovery on a field which will now generally be believed to be the site of ancient Troy. The biography forms a necessary and pleasant introduction to the main subject. It is interesting to read of success, and here is the history of a remark-

* Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans. By Dr. Henry Schlieman. pp. 800. Price, \$12.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881.

ably successful business man, and a persevering, conquering student. From the condition of a poor boy, by zealous attention to mercantile pursuits he amassed an ample fortune. By habits of application to study, prosecuted with youthful ardor in poverty and almost distress, which habits were persevered in when opulent ease and matured years came, he has made for himself a name among scholars. His linguistic acquirements are such that he could probably have written the handsome volume before us in his native German, in French, in Latin, in Greek, modern or ancient, or perhaps Russian, as well as he has done it in English. Prosperous in business, having attained a ripe knowledge, Dr. Schlieman, in the full tide of his manhood, devoted the resources of his fortune and his linguistic acquirements to the achievement of a purpose formed in childhood. This purpose was the exhumation of buried Troy. And, although the proofs do not amount to demonstration, it is probable that the consenting voices of a majority of lovers of archaic lore and Homeric literature will unite in pronouncing him to have achieved here also a grand success—will unite in decreeing for him an apotheosis, and he henceforth shall take his seat among the immortals.

When the youthful reader first begins to wander in the fields of ancient Grecian History, the page there most striking to his fancy is the tale of the abduction of Helen, the rousing of the Greek States to vengeance, and the whole story of the siege and fall of Troy. But he learns in after years that a school of Nihilist critics arose about two hundred years ago, who, assuming, unwarrantably, that alphabetic writing was unknown in the age of Homer; that because the site of Troy is, or rather *was*, unknown, therefore Troy never was; that because the Iliad is a poem too long to be recited in a body at the festivals, and was recited in parts perhaps by Homer himself and his disciples, the Homeridae after him; therefore it is a poem by many authors, and Troy *never was* Homer or Homeric legends, having no foundation in fact; in short, that what has always been praised as the first and grandest epic is an aggregation of legends—a machine poem made to order at the command of Pisistratus, who thus mechanically produced a grand unity, just as the father of the Epicurean philosophy taught that all the beautiful order of the universe was the result of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms. This odious doctrine of the Nihilists was

repulsive to the youthful Schlieman. He never bowed to the dicta of these Iconoclasts of Homeric literature. He believed in the personality of Homer, his individual authorship of the *Iliad* and the existence of Iliam. Witness his words. "Though my father was neither an archæologist nor a scholar, he had a passion for ancient history. He often told me with warm enthusiasm of the tragic fate of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and seemed to consider him the luckiest of men, who had the means and time to visit the excavations that were going on there. He also related to me with admiration the great deeds of the Homeric heroes, and the events of the Trojan war, always finding in me a warm defender of the Trojan cause. With great grief, I heard from him that Troy had been so completely destroyed that it had disappeared without leaving any trace of its existence. My joy may be imagined, therefore, when, being nearly eight years old, I received, as a present from him in 1829, as a Christmas gift, Dr. George Ludwig Jerrer's *Universal History*, with an engraving representing Troy in flames, with its huge walls and the Scæan gates from which Æneas is escaping, carrying his father, Anchises, on his back, and holding his son Ascanius, by the hand; and I cried out, 'Father, you were mistaken; Jerrer must have seen Troy, otherwise he could not have represented it here.' 'My son,' he replied, 'that is merely a fanciful picture.' But to my question, whether Troy had such huge walls as those depicted in the book, he answered in the affirmative. 'Father,' retorted I, 'if such walls once existed, they cannot possibly have been destroyed; vast ruins of them must yet remain, but they are hidden away beneath the dust of ages.' He maintained the contrary, whilst I remained firm in my opinion, and at last we both agreed that I should one day excavate Troy!

"What weighs on our heart, be it joy or sorrow, always finds utterance from our lips, especially in childhood; and it so happened that I talked of nothing else to my playfellows but of Troy. I was continually laughed at by every one, except two young girls, Louise and Minna Meincke, the former of whom was my senior by six years, the latter of my own age. It was agreed between us that as soon as we were grown up we would marry and at once set to work to explore Troy. Thanks to God, my firm belief in the the existence of that Troy has never forsaken me amid all the vicissitudes of my eventful career; but it was not destined for me till in the autumn of my life, and then without

Minna, nay far from her, to realize our sweet dreams of fifty years ago!"

How extensive Dr. Schlieiman's explorations of the Troad have been, may be seen, from the fact that his work has been continued, with slight interruptions, from 1868 till the present time. He has employed as many as one hundred and sixty workmen a day, at a cost of about thirty-six cents for common day labor, and his whole daily expenditure was at times about eighty dollars per day. That the laborers of the Troad are not very particular about lodgings, may be seen from the circumstance that two of his men used to sleep in a large vase, about six feet long and four feet wide, dug out of the ruins and laid sidewise. Thus they slept in the jar that may have contained the wheat or the wine of Priam, for such was probably the use of these vases; in the burnt city, carbonized wheat was found in one of these earthen garners. The people of the Troad in that old time were not only agricultural, but drew largely from the sea for their subsistence, and the interesting archæological inquiry, "who ate the first oyster," must be relegated to a period anterior to the destruction of Troy; for there is positive evidence that the mollusc was used by the inhabitants of those old cities. And this fact may help to the solution of a difficulty which may suggest itself to readers. How could a country so small as the Troad have maintained a population so large that the Greek States collected an army of one hundred thousand men, conveyed in one thousand one hundred and eighty-four ships for its subjugation. They were a maritime as well as agricultural people. In our day, in the Island of Newfoundland, a population of one hundred and nineteen thousand people obtain their subsistence directly or indirectly from the sea, without any products of agriculture except those received in trade, which are paid for out of the harvests reaped from the sea.

Before making the pick and shovel survey of Troy, Dr. Schlieiman was confronted with the preliminary question, Where shall I begin to dig? A large proportion of those wishing to seek for the site of Troy would have been inclined to do so at a spot called Bournarbashi, eight miles from the shores of the Sigeuin and Rhœteum promontories, but as the Greek armies could not have marched and countermarched that space more than once in a day, as they are described as doing in the Iliad, it has been suggested by the supporters of that theory that a gulf or

bay extending between Sigeuin and the Rhoeteum, more than three miles up into the Troad, once existed, which has since been filled up by alluvium. But Prof. Virchow and others have come to the conclusion that that theory must be abandoned, and that the features of the country of the Troad and the Trojan plain are essentially what they were in the days of Priam, only that the Scamander has changed its bed more than a mile westward for several miles of its course, and empties into the Hellespont nearer the Sigeuin promontory than formerly; and that the Simois is diminished in volume and loses itself in swamps, from which cranes still rise "clangingly," as they did in the days of Homer. Dr. Schleiman first excavated at Bournarbashi, but, as he tells us, with negative results. That is, he found only a small amount of debris, before he reached the undisturbed virgin soil—far less accumulation than would have resulted from the destruction of a city. He then went to the hill Hissarlik, only three miles from the shore, a natural site for an acropolis, a spot pointed out with assurance by a Scotch traveller—McLaren—fifty years ago, and a site which corresponds best with most points given in the *Iliad*. And here, just as the geologist "drills and bores the solid earth, and from the data there extracts a register," his data being the buried remains of ancient animal and vegetable life, so Dr. Schleiman made a cut wide enough for a railroad, and sixty feet deep, in the hill of Hissarlik, through ancient walls and crumbling ruins and debris of houses containing implements and relicts of peace and war, and jewels of amazing richness and beauty, and thus has extracted a register, which shows it to be tolerably certain, that on the hill of Hissarlik have existed and been overwhelmed in ruin seven distinct cities. One of these, the third from the bottom, called the burnt city, was destroyed, as appears from layers of ashes and vitrified remains, by a disastrous conflagration like that which must have taken place at the sack of Troy, when the destruction was so sudden and overwhelming that the princely owners could neither remove their riches nor the conquerors recover all of them from the hot crumbling ruins. This third, or burnt city will be regarded by most readers as the Homeric Troy.

A question presents itself to the mind of the reader, How could the destruction of even seven cities have accumulated an amount of debris 66 feet thick, and how could Troy and the Troad have contained a population so large

that an army of invasion 100,000 strong was judged necessary for its subjugation? The Trojan peninsula, if we may so call it, was a part of the ethnological bridge from Asia to Europe, and just as its shores at times resounded with the tread of those enormous armies from Asia to Europe and in turn from Europe to Asia; so perhaps in times of peace, for ages the Troad was the path of trade between the continents, and thus, in addition to agriculture and the harvests of the sea, it had probably the advantage of an extensive overland commerce. In regard to the density of population at Troy, Dr. Schlieman thinks the houses were built of brick on a first story of stone and may have been five and six stories high. The lower one was of stone, without doors or windows, and was used as a storeroom; and the living rooms were in the stories above, and these were provided with terraces. Now we ask the favor of the reader to compare the houses of Troy with those of an existing aboriginal civilization in America. The Pueblos are certain semi-civilized Indians within the limits of New Mexico, so called by the Spaniards because they live in pueblos or villages. The Pueblo Indians cultivate the soil, raising generally maize, wheat and other cereals, vegetables, fruit and cotton. They raise herds of cattle, mules, horses, goats and sheep, and spin and weave cotton and wool, and make heavy blankets, sometimes of a superior texture. They also make a superior kind of pottery, ornamented with geometric figures. They live invariably in commonwealths and towns. Their houses are sometimes built of stone laid in mortar, but more generally of sundried bricks, called adobes, the common building material in Northern Mexico. They are generally large, of several stories, and contain many families. In some of these huge structures the whole community, amounting to from three hundred to seven hundred souls, is domiciled. The houses are sometimes built in the form of a hollow square, at other times are constructed on the brow of a high cliff or mountain terrace (acropolis) difficult of approach. The first or lower story is invariably without doors or windows or other openings, entrance to the houses being effected by ladders, each upper story recedes a few feet from that below it, leaving a terrace or walk around, or along the whole building, from which ladders lead to those above. The upper stories have doors and windows, but no stairways. In most instances a single family occupies one apartment, and as its number increases another room is added, when there is

sufficient space, one is built above and reached by a ladder. In this way these buildings are reared sometimes five or six stories in height. This mode was practised by these Indians three centuries ago, when the country was first visited by the Spaniards. The civilization which belongs to the Pueblo Indians was not introduced among them by Europeans. They practised agriculture and the art of spinning and weaving, as well as the manufacture of pottery, when first visited by the Spaniards in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Schlieman and Prof. Virchow have given us their idea of the houses of the ancient Trojans, and of the present inhabitants of the Troad, and from the above description of the houses of the Pueblo Indians, do they not appear to bear a remarkable similarity to those of the Trojans? Is not the Pueblo idea of a house derived from the pyramid—the most substantial of structures, and may not these truncated terraces in the sides of their pyramidal houses be an exceedingly convenient form of dwelling for defense, for air and light, and coolness in a warm climate, and suited to a dense population? And may not the dwellers in pyramidal-shaped houses be connected with the great monumental pyramid builders of the world? Now, let one of these six story brick buildings, large enough to hold three hundred inmates, go to ruin, and that seven times over, and may we not have an amount of debris large as that accumulated at Troy?

The book is rich in classic lore and well repays careful reading even although no fixed conclusion may be reached touching the site of ancient Ilios. This, however, will be an individual judgment for each reader to form for himself. The millennial, among critics, will be approximated when a consentaneous decision of a majority can be attained on a controverted question of archæology whether it pertain to philology, history, topography, geography, or ethnology. The rule of divergence and heated antagonism seems yet to prevail. But this war of the erudite should not blind or distort the optics, or cloud the reason of the honest scholar or even dilettante student with the ample proofs, the result of wearisome, protracted and conscientious toil, such as Dr. Schlieman has afforded him. We think that no unbiased judge, with sufficient classic attainments and Æsthetic culture to constitute him a judge, can help granting the award to the Doctor as he unconsciously, during the stages of his work and more particularly at the

termination of his titanic exhumations, exclaimed "*Eureka*."

The book itself is confirmatory of the honesty of the man and his work. His simplicity and fidelity in the detailed narrative of his five years of consuming toil, putting his labors in such form as to provoke admiration and yet defy denial, are the witness as well of his integrity as of his deathless enthusiasm. But as if forecasting the opposition of a jealous fraternity he fortifies himself by bringing classical and historical authority to his aid in maintaining the identity of Hissarlik with ancient Troy. He gives ample Homeric quotations showing the correspondence of the ancient and modern descriptions of what *was* and *is* Troy. Here the classic scholar has the comparison of proofs for his own manipulation. Hence whatever of abatement may be deemed necessary by reason of alleged fanatical *one-idealism* yet the names of such men as Virchow, Müller, Mahaffy and Prof. Brugsch-Bey, by way of indorsement, more than supplement the loss. The one idea men are typical characters. From Paul to Napoleon, in whatever department of thought or action, in all enterprise, whether private or public, they are the successful ones, they are conquerors, they live in history.

What the illustrations of a book are to its text, such we firmly believe have the explanations of Schlieman been to the Grecian Epic and the *Iliad*, as read in the light of Hissarlik, is illuminated as never before by all the labor, culture and enthusiasm of the achæological and classic scholars from the death of Homer until now. Here the accumulated learning of students is given significance by the potent confirmation of ocular proof, and what was speculative, problematical and recondite takes the form of historic certitude. We expect to hear of the adoption of Schlieman's *Ilios* by the Greek Professors in our colleges and universities where Homer, in any measure, is regarded as necessary to complete classic culture.

But to return to Troy, Dr. Schlieman replies to the question of the identity of the site described, "If asked, Is this Priam's splendid place as described by Homer?" The answer is: "Here is Priam's splendid habitation adorned with polished corridors, in which were fifty chambers built of polished stone all side by side. There the sons of Priam slept with their wedded wives. Facing there on the other side of the court within were built twelve covered chambers, side by side of polished stone. Where

the sons-in-law of Priam slept beside their chased wives,
I would answer with the verse of Virgil:

"Si pana licet comparare magnis."

"I wish I could prove Homer to have been an eye witness of the Trojan War, but alas I cannot do it. At his time, swords were in universal use, and iron was known, whereas they were totally unknown at Troy. Besides the civilization he describes is later by centuries than that which I have brought to light in the excavations. Homer gives us the legend of Troy's tragic fate, as it was handed down to him by preceding bards, clothing the traditional facts of the war and destruction of Troy in the garb of his own day. Neither will I maintain that his acquaintance with the Troad and Troy was that of a resident; but certainly he was not without personal knowledge of the localities for his description of the Troad in general, and of the plain of Troy in particular, are too truthful for us to believe that he could have drawn all of his details from the ancient myth. I have never called in doubt the unity of the Homeric Poems, and have always firmly believed both the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* to be by one author. If I consider how much learning and ingenuity have been expended in a hundred efforts (scarcely any two of the assailants agreeing in their negative or revolutionary criticism) to disintegrate the Homeric poems, to break up into nebulous fragments the Sun of the ancient literature, idle on my part to attempt a task already marked by so many failures, and I rest content with these immortal epics as they stand—the first fruits of the noblest literature of the world, and the fount of poetic inspiration for all later ages."

The work, in binding and clearness of type, is a fine illustration of the excellence attained in book making. The wood-cuts of objects exhumed, the various forms of pottery sets are novel and give the reader a good idea of many of the utensils common in that ancient life. The index, at the back of the book, is an excellent feature, facilitating reference while reading it, and will prove eminently serviceable when, after a lapse of time, from the first reading, occasion may arise in recurring to its pages. We commend "*Ilios*" to the literary public as full of interest to the classical scholar, and the lover of antiquarian research.

England, Without and Within.*

Mr. White, in adding a new volume to the library of English travel, has given the public a fresh and instructive book. It is simply his remembrances of out-of-the-way features of English life. There is no pedantry, no book-learning. The chapters cover such topics as "English Skies," "England on the Rails," "London Streets," "A Sunday on the Thames," "Rural England," "English Women," "Parks and Palaces," "Oxford and Cambridge," "A Visit to Stratford-on-Avon," and "Habits of English Life." The sketches are in some respects like Mr. Louis Jennings's walks in Southern England. They are rich in illustrations of character and present features of English life and society which have hardly ever been presented to American readers. The book is written throughout in a candid spirit, and there is a perceptible care in the style which is not found in his volumes on language. It makes one acquainted with the English people, which is the truest and best word that can be said for it.

* England, Without and Within. By Richard Grant White. pp. 613. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Channing Centenary.*

This volume is well and carefully edited and deserves a place in the library of every student of religious opinion. It preserves all that was worthy of preservation among the utterances of the Channing centenary of last year. It sets forth the Channing of to-day and the changes which have been wrought in religious opinion in New England during the last half century. This is done faithfully and impartially. The speakers were in all cases men who had earned the right to say something on that occasion. The English celebrations were quite as remarkable as the American, and the tributes of the English and American press were notable for their interpretation of the religious movement which Channing chiefly initiated. The memorials of the centenary were abundantly worthy of preservation in this way.

* The Channing Centenary in America, Great Britain and Ireland. Edited by Russell Nevius Bellows. Crown 8vo. pp. 532. Price, \$2.00. Boston: George H. Ellis,

Ideality in the Physical Sciences.*

The lectures which make up the several chapters of this little volume, almost his only contribution to general scientific literature, were originally prepared for delivery before the Lowell Institute, and are Professor Peirce's contribution to the great theory of evolution. They testify his unwavering faith in the ultimate advantage to religion of every movement of scientific thought. They were delivered in February and March, 1879. Their titles are: "Ideality in Science," "Cosmogony," "From Vebuta to Star," "Planet, Comet, and Meteor," "The Cooling of the Earth and the Sun," and "Potentiality." It is not our purpose to discuss the contents of these lectures. They deal with daring speculations where most writers can only sit at the author's feet and listen to him. The last lecture is a specialty of this class. Here he considers the glory and majesty of the future intellectual life, and rises to the loftiest heights possible to the scientific imagination. The remarkable feature about the lectures is their wonderful clearness and beauty of style. The thought is severe and condensed; the speculations are as bold as any known to true science; and yet there is not a line which an intelligent person in common life cannot understand. Prof. Peirce was great in his simplicity, and this little book, which opens with a fine steel portrait of the author, is an apt memorial of perhaps the first of American scientists.

* *Ideality in the Physical Sciences.* By Benjamin Peirce. 12mo. pp. 211. Price, \$1.75. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

The Theistic Argument as Affected by Recent Theories.*

This is one of the few books which can be said to deserve a careful reading. The title is a fair statement of its contents. It is not a discussion of theism, but a discussion of the way in which the speculations growing out of the

* *The Theistic Argument as Affected by Recent Theories.* By J. Lewis Diman, D.D. 12mo. pp. 400. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

physical sciences have influenced the theistic argument. It is an attempt to furnish the intellectual or rational grounds upon which the belief in God may be based, and to ascertain to what extent these have been modified by recent scientific theories. This carries the writer into philosophy and metaphysics quite as much as into science. He discusses the relativity of knowledge, the meaning of cause and force, the argument from order, the argument from design, the relation of evolution to final cause, imminent finality, conscience and moral order, history and a moral purpose, personality and the infinite, the alternative theories, and the inferences from theism. We have not the space to enter into a lengthy criticism of the way in which the several topics are handled, but it may be said of the discussion as a whole, that it clears away the difficulties which the scientific inductions have raised against theism and turns the results of science, especially of the doctrine of evolution, in its favor. Dr. Diman has argued afresh and with signal ability the grounds for belief in natural religion, and has shown that the process of revealed religion is only a higher method of reaching the conclusions to which natural religion, through every department of modern science, inevitably points. The book, however, is less an argument directly for theism than it is an effort to indicate the strength of the theistic argument from the scientific point of view. It is closely related in points of method to Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God." Again and again the same lines of teaching are advanced. It is also luminous with the fresh suggestions of a fertile and thoughtful mind. The style is natural, straightforward, making the thought easily understood. The book rises in dignity as it nears the end. Dr. Diman reaches the conclusion that "the most rational explanation that can be given of the universe, with all its varied manifestations both of matter and of mind, is the explanation which recognizes a being of infinite wisdom and power, in whose will all existence had its origin." The treatment of the whole argument is serious, full and strong. Nothing is passed over; the arguments against theism have fair treatment, and the volume has the weight, the vitality, the reach of argument, which belong to the subject. Dr. Diman has written a book that will live, a book so good as to make the regret all the keener that we shall not have another from this lamented American scholar.

Mary Marston.*

The plot of the story before us, like that of all George MacDonald's novels, is but the chain upon which to hang beautiful pearls of thought ; and any reader familiar with his keen study of motive and wonderful poetic insight will readily understand the value of these precious stones of which he is so lavish. The author's books are poems in prose, and only those seeking elevation of thought as well as recreation in a novel can justly appreciate him.

To the story, strictly speaking, we cannot give such unmitigated praise. The sketch of an humble yet lofty character searching and finding "sermons in trees" and good in everything, is full of interest ; but when this same womanly and noble creature, who is the heroine, ends by marrying the untutored blacksmith, a great musical genius, but wholly devoid of all else that would be likely to attract as refined a woman as Mary Marston, it is a shock to the sensibilities. Perhaps the author logically follows out the tendencies of a character such as he has drawn, to see the capabilities, hidden to others, of a musical nature, no matter how obscured by roughness and ignorance, but it renders the otherwise very real although rare character of the heroine, one of fiction. The rest of the personages in the book are well drawn, and we would advise our readers who have enjoyed his "Robert Falconer," "Wilfred Cumbermede," "Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood," etc., to give themselves the rare treat of so well-written and pure a novel as Mary Marston, for they will feel the old charm of the author throughout.

*Mary Marston. By George MacDonald. pp. 467. Price, \$1.50. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1881.

Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1815-1829.*

The appearance of the third and fourth volumes of Prince Metternich's Memoirs, is of interest more especially, as affording renewed opportunity to the general reader for the study of a noted character in the history of diplo-

*Memoirs of Prince Metternich. Edited by Prince Richard Metternich. Translated by Alexander Nopier. Vol. III., pp. 674; Vol. IV., pp. 642. Price, \$5.00. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

macy, rather than as throwing any new light upon either the man and the statesman. The period covered is that between the years 1815 and 1829. The principal events, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Conferences at Carlsbad and Vienna, the Congresses of Laybach and Verona, and the diplomatic negotiations resulting from the Eastern complications up to the death of the emperor Alexander, and the accession of Nicholas to the throne of Russia. In addition to these topics, very fully treated, there are long dissertations upon the general political aspect of Europe; involving the expression of views in regard to the University system, and secret societies, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Poland, and their reception in the Dominican convent in Galicia, the position of the Jews in Austria, the liberty of the press, etc.; with unsparing comments upon the condition of France, as the outcome of the French revolution, and from that, as from a Medusa's head, the spread of those doctrines which were to engulf Continental Europe in all the horrors of unlicensed liberty. The key note of his life seems to have been a vast personal ambition drawing to itself the eyes of the world in the accomplishment of a single object, namely, the union of sovereignty against the disintegrating effect of freedom of thought and action on the part of the individual member of society. This opinion of the governing power of the mass of mankind is expressed in the following sentences: "Why must I of all people among so many millions be the one to think, where others do not think, to act, where no one else will act, and write because no one else can." As the result of Napoleonic ideas, he describes Europe "as tormented by a burning fever, the forerunner of the most violent convulsions since the fall of the Roman Empire. It is a war to the death between the old and new principles, and between the old and new social order." As the only panacea for all this, he presents the Union of princes as the "nucleus of organized strength provided by Providence to preserve the order of society, or, at least, soften the changes which are indispensable." This devotion to an established order of things, under the guise of a high morality, led him to an exaggerated estimate of many of the events of his time. The distribution of Bibles to the sailors on board an American frigate at Naples, calls forth a remark upon the "Maladie Biblique" as only one form of the many sided disease then spreading through Europe under the general head of mysticism. In his

views in regard to the German Universities and the freedom of the press, we find him again alluding to this wide spread malady which was at the root of all political evils at that time. Perhaps one of the most interesting things in the book is his "Political Confession of Faith" addressed to the Emperor Francis, which, of course, gives us the key to the character of the diplomatist as presented to the world at least. Throughout his political correspondence are scattered many letters of a private nature addressed to his first wife, containing impressions of men and things, and giving glimpses of a character both tender and reverential. The descriptions of the cities visited during several extended tours have the freshness of enjoyment, belonging rather to the youthful pleasure seeker than to the jaded man of affairs, which he describes himself to be. Music seems also to have been one of his passions, especially in an operatic form. It is in this free expression of private feelings that we seek for the character of the man rather than in the lofty strains of moral sentiment in his official papers. Again in his perfect acquiescence in the Divine Providence which deprived him of wife and children, and in a few years of his second wife, Antonia, Countess of Beilstein, we have proofs of the Christian faith which he professed throughout his entire career. In addition to sketches of members of his own family, there are rapid characterizations of the great men of his time, which cannot fail to interest, as the convictions of a man occupying his high position. The perusal of the volumes will undoubtedly stimulate a desire to know more of the man and of the diplomatist.

Hours with the Bible.*

In this second volume of "*Hours with the Bible*," Dr. Geikie has gained fresh laurels in setting forth "the Scriptures in the light of modern discovery and knowledge." In literary execution, in the popular presentation of exact scholarship and wide research, it is even superior to the first volume, published several months ago. The author,

* *Hours with the Bible*. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. Vol. II. From Moses to the Judges. With illustrations. pp. 520. Price \$1.50. New York: James Pott, 1881.

though not noted for original work as an Egyptologist, has thoroughly mastered the works of the special students in that department, and in an unbiased manner presents us the results in a readable and popular form, so desirable in this present day of wild speculation.

In sixteen chapters, Dr. Geikie discusses all the difficult questions that arise in the presentation of the history of the children of Israel from the time of Moses to the Judges, under the following headings: 1. The Land of Goschen; 2. Egypt before the Hebrew Sojourn; 3. The Oppression in Egypt; 4. Moses; 5. The Plagues of Egypt; 6. The Tenth Plague and the Exodus; 7. The March to Sinai; 8. Still on the Way to Sinai; 9. At Sinai; 10. Still at Sinai; 11. The Wilderness; 12. The Eve of the Conquest; 13. The Conquest of Canaan; 14. The Time of the Judges; 15. The Judges; 16. Gideon to Samson.

Twenty-two illustrations are scattered through the volume, and make the work more valuable.

This second volume is accompanied by an index, which is lacking in the first; indeed, there are two indexes, one of matter and the other of texts illustrated.

The publication of this work is *timely*, inasmuch as it will interest thousands of readers who are at present engaged in the study of the book of Exodus.

We anxiously await the appearance of the third volume.

The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic.*

This is one of the latest attempts to delineate with historical accuracy and with imaginative insight the period in which Jesus lived and had relations with his fellowmen. It is similar in conception and tone to Dr. Abbott's "Philo-Christus," and fails precisely where that work fails, and where all similar attempts to reconstruct the life of Jesus must fail. The author shrinks from that imaginative conception of things which gives the story adequate character and strength. Dr. Clarke has evidently labored faithfully over this book and made it a channel for conveying a great deal of useful information, but this is part of the mistake.

* The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic. By James Freeman Clarke. 12mo. pp. 462. Price, \$1.75. Boston: Lee & Shepherd, 1881.

The book is overweighted with matter which belongs to the dictionary. It needs the kindling brain of M. Renan to treat such a subject with the light touches that give reality to the sacred scenes. Thomas Didymus tells his story too tamely and with too much detail, where the simple story as we have it in the holy Gospels is quite enough to arouse the imagination and touch the heart. Dr. Clarke has written a useful book, but the difficulties in the way of his making an exceptional book were really insurmountable. The attempt to treat a perfect character from an imaginative point of view can never, in the nature of things, be successful.

Madame Delphine.*

In this little character study which will serve to occupy an idle hour, Mr. Cable has with the unerring pencil of the Artist presented another type of a class which from its very isolation appeals to our sympathy and curiosity.

With perhaps less power in both plot and description than is shown in "The Grandissime"; and with but one or two examples of the strong passion characteristic of "Old Creole Days," we have an exquisitely drawn picture of a life which in the pathos of its quaint simplicity, and the utter hopelessness of an inherited doom, will not fail to fascinate. In addition to all this, we miss in Madame Delphine, none of that wonderful skill in delineating the physiognomy of architecture which is almost Horgarthian in its effect upon the sensitive mind.

*"Madame Delphine." By George W. Cable, 12mo, cloth. Price, \$0.75. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

The Social Law of God.*

It is a fitting time to reissue the present volume, when the writer of it has so recently been called away to his rest. It is a volume not only of personal interest and value, written in the clear, flowing style of Dr. Washburn,

*The Social Law of God: Sermons on the Ten Commandments. By E. A. Washburn, D. D., late Rector of Calvary Church, New York. With a sketch of his life and work. 12mo. pp. 238. Price, \$1.50. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1881.

but also characterized by breadth as well as depth of the-ological view, and by admirable reasoning on the great social questions of our day. Mr. De Costa's "In Memoriam," by way of introduction, covers ten pages. It gives a brief sketch of the chief incidents in Dr. Washburn's life, which, like that of most of scholars and clergymen, was not marked by any startling events or exciting scenes and experiences. The larger part of Mr. De Costa's introductory sketch is taken up with critical remarks upon Dr. Washburn's style as a writer and speaker, his extensive acquirements, his personal characteristics, etc. Though here, as in like cases, the tendency is rather too much in the eulogistic line, yet it is entirely true that his high rank is acknowledged by all, and all who knew him thoroughly appreciated his candor, frankness, sincerity, and varied learning.

English Philosophers.*

These are the first two volumes of a new series on the plan of "English Men of Letters," and others. "We live in an age of series," as the editor (Iwan Muller of Oxford) says, and philosophy is certainly entitled to its place in company with literature, science, and art. We welcome the new venture, and wish it success, though, to speak frankly, it must be admitted that philosophers, as a rule, have never been a very popular class of men. Their lives in general are singularly barren of accident, or matter for biographical purposes. And philosophy itself, as usually studied, proves to be for the most part wearisome to students and teachers alike. Yet philosophy must be studied, and in studying it we cannot well ignore the two eminent *Scotch* gentlemen who take the lead in this series of *English* philosophers. Adam Smith is so much better known by his great work, "The Wealth of Nations," than by his contributions to philosophy, that it may be open to question whether it was wise to put him so prominently forward as in the present instance. Mr. Farrer does the

* 1. Adam Smith (1723-1790). By J. A. Farrer, author of "Primitive Manners and Customs," etc. 12mo, pp. 207. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

2. Sir William Hamilton. By W. H. S. Monck, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. 12mo, pp. 200. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

best he can in preventing Adam Smith's doctrines and discussions, under the heads of Phenomena of Sympathy, Moral Approbation, Merit and Demerit, Conscience and Duty, Relation and Religion to Morality, Happiness, Final Causes in Ethics, Utility, etc. The last two chapters are devoted to the Religion of Adam Smith's Theory to other Systems of Morality, and to a Review of the Principal criticism of Adam Smith's Theory. The biographical portion of the volume is very meagre and unsatisfactory, and as a whole it is rather disappointing.

The Treasury of the Psalter.*

This little book well deserves its name; it is indeed a treasury. Its purpose is to be "an aid to the better understanding of the Psalms in their use for public and private devotion." Its general plan is to present on opposite pages the text of the Psalms, and such notes and references as will best explain its meaning. The execution of this plan is painstaking and scholarly in a high degree. Seldom is so much of interest and value to be found compressed in one book as in this compact volume. The way in which by parallel references Scripture is made to explain Scripture is very admirable; and the frequent literal renderings of a word or a clause, the brief and suggestive comments drawn from the choicest sources in both prose and verse, the notes which show the use made of each Psalm in the Service Books and Hymnals of Christendom, the various indexes at the end remarkable for ingenious and thoughtful labor, all these form a work of very unusual worth. The clergyman who comes into possession of it will be apt to have it by him on his library table at all times. And the earnest layman who desires a help in his private devotions or in the interpretation of the Psalms, in which he so often takes part in public worship, will find this volume a treasure indeed.

* The Treasury of the Psalter. Compiled by the Rev. Geo. P. Huntington, M.A., and the Rev. Henry A. Metcalf, M.A. pp. 678. Price, \$1.25. Boston: A Williams & Co., 1881.

Poems.*

There is a certain pathetic interest about these two little volumes. They represent scenes of such, every year appealing to an unheeding world, in vain, for life. To that busy world, they seem of no more importance, than drops of a passing cloud, falling into the sea. For however it is in nature, in poetry, the law of the "survival of the fittest reigns" with inexorable sway. How few in English literature, have secured a place even among the minor poets! That exceptional force of the human mind which we call, genius, and which alone can impart to poetry, enduring life, has no grades below the second-rate. Yet these poems may serve an end, which justifies their brief tenure of existence. The "Angel in the Cloud," dealing with the hardest problems of man and nature, is full of robust thought, eloquently put, and no doubt is helpful to some minds in speculative perplexities and doubts, which would turn from formulated theology and science. Miss Havergal's religious poetry, rich in Christian experience, will find in many a spiritual nature, a soul waiting for such a gentle sowing of heavenly truth.

* Poems. By Frances Ridley Havergal. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881.

"The Angel in the Cloud," by Edwin W. Fuller. New York: E. E. Hale & Son, 1881.

Alexander Hamilton Vinton. A Memorial Sermon.*

"The great Presbyter," as Dr. Vinton was best known in the Church, is here commemorated by the pupil whom he could most fittingly call his son in the ministry, in marvellously fitting terms. The whole man is touched upon, and the portrait is wrought with words of love through and through. All know something of Dr. Vinton's public career; few could interpret his public by his spiritual and private life as Dr. Brooks has done. The sermon amounts almost to a biographical sketch, and yet the writer's close relations to him have not warped his judgment of his great friend or betrayed him into a partial characterization of his work. Dr. Vinton deserved all that Dr. Brooks has said of him, and some larger memorial of him, accompanying a selection of his writings, ought to be prepared.

*Alexander Hamilton Vinton. By Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. 8vo. pp. 46.

The Gospel of the Resurrection.*

The key-note of this book is to be found in a few passages in Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God," though each book was written quite independently of the other. Dr. Mulford speaks of God's judgments of the world and of persons as past and present and continuous; Dr. Whiton does the same; but, while the one asserts these statements to the higher reason in the magnificent sweep of his great argument, the other applies himself to exegesis and evolves a new interpretation of the spiritual resurrection, one more in accord with modern thought and one with which the church has not been previously acquainted. Dr. Whiton claims that the Apostle's interpretation of the resurrection is literal and Jewish, that they made a grand mistake as to the doctrine of a resurrection of the buried body, that their inspiration did not wholly emancipate them from this bias of inherited opinion. He urges that the resurrection is not reserved till the end of time, but is now taking place in the unseen world, through the continuously acting operation of the spiritual power which was manifest in Him who said, "I am the Resurrection and the Life." He finds a wide difference between such resurrection as mere nature brings to pass, and what Christ calls "the resurrection of life" in the full harvest of spiritual endeavors. The resurrection, in his opinion, is the continuous process of the rising of spirits, "every man in his own order," into that condition of existence in spiritual bodies which they are fitted to rise into. This condition, whatever it is, involves such a conscious experience of the spiritual results of the present life as will perfectly declare the divine judgment upon "the deeds done in the body." There is no middle state of waiting to be refurnished, at some great distant day, with a body, but an onward movement even without arrest, without halt, both in embodied life and under law, and in the judgement, consequences of uninterrupted law. Thus much what we already know of the works and ways of God, and the ideas expressed in a few great sayings of Christ require us to believe. This is the argument of the book, and expresses its positive ideas. Dr. Whiton appears to have worked independently to these conclusions from a careful study of New Testament exegesis. His

*The Gospel of the Resurrection. By James Morris Whiton, Ph.D. 16mo. pp. 273. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

position is more in accord with present thought in philosophy and experience than with the doctrine of the Church. It overturns the customary opinions concerning the intermediate state as well as concerning the judgment of the world. Dr. Whiton is no doubt right in the general drift of his argument, in the spiritual side of his interpretation of the resurrection, but it is doubtful if his exegesis is equal to his needs at all points. It is too much like work at carrying a point, too little in the method of calm and thorough induction. The book is bright and suggestive and will be widely read, but it will require careful reading before one can give assent to all that Dr. Whiton claims for the development-theory of the resurrection. To discuss the question by piece-meal with him would take more space than the present notice has a right to.

Work and Play: Moral Uses of Dark Things: Building Eras.*

These volumes are appropriately designated, "Literary Varieties." They show not only the ability of the author, giving him a place, if not the foremost one, among distinguished American Belles Lettres authors and scholars, but show his versatility of resources and talent. As a theological writer he had gained a wide and deserved reputation for incisive thought and statement, while no book of his issued from the press without provoking sharp criticism, yet he secured and maintained a reputation for Evangelical integrity, as well as bold originality of thought and treatment.

These gathered articles show him to have been the great American Essayist. In fact for breadth, fulness, and continuity of thought, he is more than equal to Emerson. Though all these articles, although originally of dissimilar design and construction, as for oral or written presentment, there runs the unconscious aptitude and travailing power of the constitutional Essayist. In this character may be found his influence and his lasting fame.

*"Work and Play—Moral Uses of Dark-Things—Building Eras." By Horace Bushnell. 3 vols. Price, \$1.00 per vol. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1881.

THE
AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

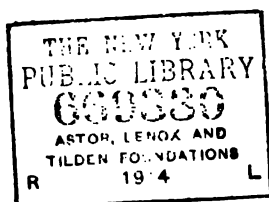
EDITED BY THE
REV. HENRY MASON BAUM

v. 35.
—
OCTOBER 1881
—

No. 135

—

NEW YORK:
AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW PRESS
LONDON:
TRÜBNER & COMPANY
1881



Copyright, 1881,
By HENRY MASON BAUM.

I. HOLY ORDERS IN THE SWEDISH CHURCH,	1
By the BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.	
II. ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE BIBLE,	13
By the Rev. CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, Paris.	
III. EVOLUTION AND THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FALL,	25
By the REV. F. D. HOSKINS.	
IV. CHRISTIANITY PROVED BY THE RESURREC- TION OF CHRIST,	41
By the Rev. Prof. HENRY A. YARDLEY, A.M.	
V. THE REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,	63
By the BISHOP OF ALBANY.	
VI. THE DEBT TO AFRICA—THE HOPE OF LIBE- RIA,	85
By A. N. BELL, A.M., J.M.D.	
VII. REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER,	113
By the Rev. ARTHUR C. A. HALL, A.M.	
VIII. THE HARVARD SHAKESPEARE,	129
By the Rev. Prof. J. A. SPENCER, D.D.	
IX. THE SERMON,	146
By the Rev. SYLVESTER CLARKE.	
X. CHRISTIANITY ON TRIAL,	161
By the Rev. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, D.D.	
XI. THE CATHOLIC FAITH AND THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS,	179
By the Rev. WM. A. SHIVELY, S.T.D.	
XII. AN ETHIOPIAN MANUSCRIPT IN THE ASTOR LIBRARY,	189
By Mr. L. LUND.	
XIII. WOMAN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH,	213
By Canon R. W. NORMAN, M.A., D.C.L.	
XIV. BISHOP BERKELEY,	241
By the Rev. E. E. BEARDSLEY, D.D. LL.D.	
XV. LITERARY NOTICES,	263
Correspondance du Prince de Talleyrand, 263—The Variorum Edi- tion of the New Testament, 265—The Gospel According to Satan, 270 Anthon Günther, 272—Letters, Speeches and Tracts on Irish Affairs, 275—Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century, 278—The New Testament in the Original Greek, 281—The Religions of China, 282—Analytical Concordance to the Bible, 284—The Ober-Ammergau Passion Play of 1880, 286—Lettres de Madame de Rémusat, 1804–1814, 288—Sermons, by Bishop Odenheimer, 289—Outlines of the History of Art, 290—The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, 292—The Bible and Sci- ence, 292—Greek Wit, 293—A Memoir of Alexander, Bishop of Bre- chin, 293—Literary Style and Other Essays, 295—Mercy and Judg- ment, 297—Handbook of the General Convention, 298, A Question, 298 —David Hartley and James Mill, 299—Christian Institutions, 300.	

THE
AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

is published in the months of January, April, July and October. Each issue is an Octavo volume of 300 pages, bound in Cloth. Subscribers who wish to have their copies in Paper Covers, uncut edges, should so indicate at the time of subscribing, otherwise the *Review* will be sent in Cloth Binding.

TERMS: \$1.00 a Number, or \$4.00 a Year In Advance.

The *Review* is open to a free discussion of the great Religious, Civil, Literary, Scientific and Philosophical questions of the times. On all Ecclesiastical questions, writers of whatever school of thought in the Church will be granted an equal hearing.

The Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions and views of writers expressed in their articles.

The Office of the *Review* is at 234 Broadway, New York City, but all communications for the Editor and Publisher should be addressed:—AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, New York, N. Y., and *not* to the Office.

HOLY ORDERS IN THE SWEDISH CHURCH.

SOME two years ago the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester called the attention of the Upper House of the Southern Convocation to the question of Swedish Orders. A good deal of discussion and correspondence in various journals followed. The most important result, however, was a visit to Sweden, made in the autumn of 1879, by Dr. Nicholson of Leamington, who will be remembered by many as the acute and learned opponent of Cardinal Manning. He went for the sole purpose of examining again, and more fully, the proofs for or against the Swedish Succession. In the process of examination he had access to "rare authorities and original sources of information, at Stockholm and Upsala, as well as elsewhere." The results of his investigation have been given to the Church in a small, but most valuable and conclusive, volume of sixty pages; well adapted to "these days of limited leisure and impatient readers." If anything outside the domain of pure mathematics may be said to be capable of demonstration, Dr. Nicholson has demonstrated the reality of the Swedish Succession. The object of the present paper is to give a summary of his cogent line of argument; though, indeed, it is difficult to summarize what is really a summary in itself.

There is no question as to the Swedish Succession till we reach the reign of Gustavus Vasa ; and it then comes up in connection with the name of Peter Magnusson, Bishop of Arosia or Westeras.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been united in one State by Margaret, commonly called the Semiramis of the North, at the treaty of Colmar, in 1397. So far, however, as Sweden was concerned the union was not a real one. The Swedish nobles kept their country in continual agitation, and "chose administrators of the Kingdom whose allegiance to the crown of Denmark was merely nominal." In 1520, Christian II. of Denmark was crowned King of Sweden at Stockholm, and, only a few days after his coronation, perfidiously executed ninety-four of the principal Swedish nobles. This was the signal for a revolution. Gustavus Vasa, the son of one of the murdered nobles, fled to the fastnesses of Dalecarlia, gathered around him its sturdy peasantry, and proclaimed the freedom of his country. His efforts were successful, and he became King of Sweden in 1523.

At his accession he found several of the Swedish sees vacant ; and he made it one of his earliest cares to provide for their occupation. Four elections of Bishops were held. John Gothus, or Magnusson, was elected Archbishop of Upsala ; Magnus Haraldson, Bishop of Skara ; Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengnäs ; and Peter Magnusson, Bishop of Westeras.

It being, as yet, no part of the policy of Gustavus to break with the papacy, provided he could maintain relations with it "without compromising his rights as a temporal sovereign or the independence of the nation," he wrote to the Pope, under date Sep. 14th, 1523, communicating these elections, and asking that the confirmation of the Bishops-elect might be expedited, in order to their consecration. It may be observed, in passing, that Adrian VI., to whom, no doubt, the King supposed himself to be writing, died on the very day on which the letter was written ; so that the Pope into whose hands the missive came was Clement VII., who succeeded to the Pontificate, Nov. 19th, 1523. The same Pontiff, therefore, who witnessed England's rejection of the Papacy, witnessed also, as will appear later on, its rejection in Sweden.

Of the genuineness of this document there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Not only are copies of it preserved in Sweden and printed in various historical works, but the

autograph original is in existence in the archives of the Vatican at Rome ; and the correctness of the copy printed by Dr. Nicholson is attested by the papal officer in charge of those archives, under date Aug. 5th, 1853. No stronger attestation can be needed.

The election to the Metropolitan See of Upsala was made in order to fill a vacancy occasioned by the deposition and banishment of Archbishop Gustavus Trolle. The consecration of John Magnusson, the Archbishop-elect, (who was also papal legate to Sweden), was delayed by the refusal of the exiled Archbishop to resign his See. We are not, however, concerned with it here further than to say that Magnusson was consecrated, some years later, by Cardinal Caesarini, at Rome. There was, also, a long delay of consecration in the cases of the Bishops-elect of Skara and Strengnäs. With that however, we have nothing to do at present.

The case of Peter Magnusson, Bishop-elect of Westeras, is the only one we have here to consider. Where and when was he consecrated? On the answer to these questions, and its attestations, the Swedish succession depends. A few words are necessary before we speak of the consecration itself.

There was at Wadstena, in Sweden, a celebrated and largely endowed Monastery, founded by a Swedish King in 1346. Later on, Bridgeta, a noble-woman of Sweden, became a patron of the Monastery. She spent a considerable part of her life in Rome—where she was canonized, in 1373, by Boniface IX.—and, at her death, bequeathed to her favorite Monastery a religious house in Rome, known afterwards as the House of S. Bridget ; the prior or rector of which was always appointed by the monks of Wadstena. Peter Magnusson was one of their fraternity, and was sent, in 1508, to Rome to become prior of the House of S. Bridget. This office he held when he was elected to the See of Westeras, being then resident in Rome. It is not very difficult to see reasons why his consecration was not delayed. He was a person of considerable consideration in the *Curia*, the brother of the Swedish legate, (who carried the King's letter to Rome and succeeded Magnusson as prior of S. Bridget's), favored him, and last, not least, it is in evidence that "considerable sums of money were promised and paid to the papal chancery, in order to expedite his consecration." Thus helped on, he was consecrated at Rome on the Sunday before Ascension, May 1st, 1524.

The most important testimony to this consecration—important in many points of view—is found in a contemporary letter sent from Rome to the Archbishop of Thronhjelm in Norway. Its author was Zutpheld Wardneburg, "Papal Prothonotary and Apostolic Secretary," who was, also, the Archbishop's Commissary at Rome. Writing to the Archbishop, to whose diocese that of Westeras was adjacent, under date Aug. 5th, 1524, he says "that he has expedited the business of the See of Westeras, in behalf of our religious Father and Lord, Peter Magnusson, Prior of the House of S. Bridget in the city [Rome], who was consecrated Bishop of Westeras on the Sunday before Ascension, and this in accordance with the letters of the King of Sweden and the Chapter of Westeras, who demanded for Bishop the said Lord Peter, then absent;" and adds that "on May 7th, he left the city for Sweden." This important document, it will be seen, not only certifies to the consecration of Peter Magnus, but it furnishes, also, "an independent testimony to the reception of the letters from the King and the Chapter of Westeras."

Next in importance is the testimony of the *Diarium Vadstenense*. This was a diary kept by the monks of Wadstena from 1344 to 1545. The original MS. is preserved in the University Library at Upsala—in the same cabinet with the celebrated *Codex Argenteus*—and was inspected by Dr. Nicholson. The Diary mentions the departure of Peter Magnusson for Rome in 1508, as above mentioned; and, under the year 1524, furnishes the following record; "On the day following the Separation of the Apostles [July 15] came our brother, Dr. Peter Magnusson, from Rome, after having been consecrated Bishop of Westeras"; it is also stated that he spent two days in the Monastery and then went to attend the Diet of Jönköping.

From the three contemporaneous and entirely independent documents which have now been described and quoted, we find that Peter Magnusson was a monk of Wadstena; that, in 1508, he went to Rome to become Prior of S. Bridget's, a religious house belonging to his monastery; that, in 1523, he was elected by the Cathedral Chapter of Westeras (acting on the nomination of the King of Sweden), Bishop of that See; that, on May 1st, 1524, he was consecrated at Rome; that on May 7th he left Rome for Sweden; and that on July 16th he came to his old home at Wadstena, and left it, after a stay of two days, to

attend the Diet at Jönköping. Secular history tells us that he took his place in that Diet as Bishop of Westeras. If historical certainty can be attributed to anything it must be attributed to such a record.

Passing by a good deal of interesting confirmatory testimony, especially the curious epitaph on Peter Magnusson, we come to the year 1528, when three bishops were consecrated by the now aged Bishop of Westeras. Two of these prelates, Magnus Haroldson of Skara and Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, are mentioned, as has been seen, in the royal letter of 1523. The third, Martinus Skytte of Abo, was elected some years later. The enormous delay in the cases of the Bishops of Strengnäs and Skara, a delay of more than four years duration, is quite accounted for by the fact that Gustavus Vasa "plainly informed the Pope that in the impoverished state of his kingdom the papal chancery would not be any the richer for their consecrations." He had, probably, paid all he could afford to expedite the consecration of Peter Magnusson. Wearied out with the delays at Rome, the king ordered the Bishop of Westeras to proceed to the consecration of these bishops-elect *without waiting for the confirmation of the Pope*. The aged prelate, who himself owns that he stood in great fear of the King, was thus placed in a strait betwixt two. On the one hand he had to face the wrath of the Pontiff, on the other that of the King. He chose, however unwillingly, the former alternative, and, as we learn from a contemporary annalist, Peter Svart, consecrated the three Bishops-elect, on the fifth day of January, 1528, in the Cathedral Church of Strengnäs. "The consecration was ordered with a view to the coronation," of the King, "which was now impending;" and which, in fact, took place on the Sunday after Epiphany, in the Cathedral Church of Upsala.

"The consecration of these bishops," says Dr. Nicholson, "by a Catholic prelate without the Pope's sanction was a startling incident; it took place, also, with *marked intention of publicity*, in the Cathedral of which one of the three, Magnus Sommar, was Dean."

This consecration is attested by an accumulation of testimony that is not to be gainsaid or questioned. It is also confirmed by a curious bit of evidence which is not the less weighty because it is incidental. The Swedish sees took rank of precedence as follows: Upsala the Metropolitan See, Linköping, Skara, Strengnäs, Westeras, etc. Now at

a Diet of Westeras, held in 1527, and before the consecration just mentioned, a document was signed, called the "*Obligatio*," which exhibits the following order of signature: John of Linköping, Peter of Westeras, *Bishops*, and Magnus of Skara and Magnus of Strengnäs, *Elect*. Here, it will be seen, the Bishops of Skara and Strengnäs, though "retaining their relative position *inter se*," sign as being elect only, *after* the Bishop of Westeras, who was a consecrated bishop. But in the decree of the Council of Orebo, held in Feb. 1529, after their consecration, the Bishops of Skara and Strengnäs sign *before* the Bishop of Westeras, in virtue of the precedency of their sees.

We pass on to 1531, in which year four bishops were consecrated. In order to approach these consecrations intelligently some previous explanations are necessary.

At the accession of Gustavus Vasa the Metropolitan see of Upsala was actually vacant, by the deprivation and banishment of Gustavus Trolle. In 1523, as we have already seen, John Magnusson Gothus was elected to the Archbishopate by the Chapter of Upsala and his name sent to the Pope for confirmation. In consequence, however, of Archbishop Trolle's refusal to resign the see, he was not consecrated; though he was made administrator of the diocese with right of succession. This is stated in terms in the letter of the "Apostolic secretary" quoted above. After Archbishop Trolle's death, John Magnusson was consecrated in Rome by command of the Pope, July 28th, 1533. But this took place after Sweden had broken with the papacy, and also, as we shall see, after the See of Upsala had been filled. In 1531, he was in exile, and though Gustavus Trolle was still alive, he was in exile also, so the Archbishopal see was actually vacant. Moreover, Hans Brask, Bishop of Linköping and Magnus Haroldson, Bishop of Skara had fled the kingdom, the former in 1527, the latter in 1529; and Ingemar Petri, Bishop of Wexiö, had died in 1530. Thus three sees besides that of Upsala were vacant.

"At midsummer [1531]," says Peter Svart, "the king summoned all the leading men of the clergy over the whole kingdom, with the bishops, to assemble at Stockholm in order to elect an archbishop." The person elected was Laurentius Petersson Nericius. Elections were also made, by the several Cathedral Chapters, of John Magnus for Linköping, Sveno Jacobi for Skara, and Jonas Bosson for Wexiö. These three bishops were consecrated by Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, and Peter Magnusson of

Westeras, August 12th, 1531. The Archbishop was consecrated at Stockholm, September 22d, 1531, with "the laying on of hands, the anointing with the chrism, investiture in the archiepiscopal pallium, coronation with the mitre, and presenting with the crosier." The King placed the crosier in the Archbishop's hand; and also provided the pallium, which, therefore, "was not purchased from Rome of the Pope at the cost of a heavy contribution from the clergy."

A remarkable contemporaneous document witnesses to this consecration, which, it should be said, no historian, popish or protestant, denies. Magnus Sommar and Peter Magnusson were "uniform upholders of the power of the Church against the King, and firmly attached to the Roman See." We have already noted the unwillingness of Peter Magnusson to consecrate the three bishops in 1528, without the papal confirmation. He knew, however, at that time, that two of the bishops then to be consecrated, sympathized with him in his loyalty to Rome, and he might not unreasonably believe it of the third. Besides, the relations of Sweden to the Pope had entirely changed between 1528 and 1531. It was at the Synod of Orebro, in February, 1529, that the King announced his change of attitude and policy toward Rome. Action before that synod, therefore, was by no means the same thing as action after it. In 1528 there was no actual break with Rome, nor did the King favor Lutheranism. In 1531 the break was unquestionable and Lutheranism was gaining ground.

Required, under such circumstances, to "transmit the succession to the new Bishops and Archbishops-elect," and to do so at an early date, the two bishops relieved their consciences by uniting in a protest, under date August 10th, 1531, in which, professing their hatred of Lutheranism and their loyalty to Rome, and describing the persons elect as being intruded, they say: "We are compelled and forced, and this only by oppression and by fear (to which all men are more or less subject), to consecrate bishops, a thing which we exceedingly deplore." "This document," says Dr. Nicholson, "was designed to be kept secret until some convenient season." If the movements in Sweden came to nothing and the Pope triumphed, it would serve for an excuse with him; if things went otherwise, it need never see the light.

When, however, in a merely private document (and in no public manner), persons enter the plea of compulsion

against an act which they neither refuse to do beforehand nor disavow afterwards, no man in his senses can doubt that the act, however disagreeable, was actually done by them. The only escape from such a conclusion is to claim that the document is a forgery. In the present case such a claim would be nugatory. For the purpose of the forgery could only be to bring discredit on the authors of the protest. It would not touch in the remotest manner the fact that they performed the act of consecration.

In 1571, forty years after his consecration, the Archbishop of Upsala made provision for the perpetuation of the succession which he had received. In that year he published his *Church Ordinance*. "Therein three points were laid down: (1) that a Bishop should be regularly *elected*; (2) that the election should be *confirmed* by the state; (3) that the person elected and confirmed should receive *episcopal consecration*. This ordinance was made a law of the Church at the Synod of Upsala in 1572. Except that we find in it no provision for the Nicene requirement of three bishops at a consecration, it is all that could be desired.

In 1573 the aged Archbishop of Upsala died, and Laurentius Petersson Gothus was elected to succeed him. By this time, also, Gustavus Vasa and his successor Erik XIV. had passed away, and John III. was King of Sweden. Both the Archbishop-elect and the King were favorers of what would be called "high ritual," and this fact and the discussions connected with it have occasioned a minuteness of detail in the accounts of the consecration which would, probably, have otherwise been wanting. The Archbishop indeed objected to the chrism, but the king commanded it, and in the end prevailed. "The Archbishop," says Theiner the Roman Catholic historian, "was consecrated with the mitre, ring, crosier and chrism." The consecrator was Paul Junsten, Bishop of Abo, and the consecration took place June 14th, 1575.

Who consecrated Paul Junsten? The answer is not far to seek. In May 1554 we find two bishops consecrated by Bothvid Sunonis, Bishop of Strengnäs; namely. Michael Agricola, Bishop of Abo, and Paul Junsten, Bishop of Wiborg. And history further tells us that in 1563 this last-named prelate was translated from Wiborg to Abo. The consecrator of Paul Junsten was Bothvid of Strengnäs.

Of the consecration of Bishop Bothvid there is no record. Its absence is fully accounted for by the fact that the

Cathedral Church of Strengnäs was burned to the ground on the 18th of June. 1551. in the fifteenth year of the episcopate of Bishop Bothvid." Proofs of his consecration must, therefore, be sought elsewhere.

Such proofs, and they are conclusive, are found in the facts that his consecration has never been disputed and was from its occurrence matter of public notoriety; that his election, confirmation and investiture in the temporalities of his see are certified in the King's letter under date September 7th. 1536; that during his long episcopate he exercised, unquestioned by any, episcopal functions in consecrating bishops and ordaining priests; and that among those consecrated and ordained by him are to be found persons holding the highest views of episcopal ordination and apostolical succession. Against such a mass of evidence the mere absence of a register, especially when we know that the building which contained it was burned to the ground, amounts to nothing; and we may feel well assured that Bishop Bothvid was consecrated not far from the 7th of September, 1536.

Dr. Nicholson notices, what must occur to any careful student of English Church history, the strange similarity between the cases of Bishop Bothvid and Bishop Barlow, the consecrator of Archbishop Parker Both were consecrated in 1536, and the registers of both consecrations are missing. He quotes Mr. Haddan's remarkable and unanswerable array of proofs of Bishop Barlows consecration, and adds, most justly, that the same arguments "apply *mutatis mutandis* to the case of Bishop Bothvid—with this difference, be it remembered, that there are *some special circumstances which bring the consecration of the Swedish prelate still nearer to demonstration.*" In truth, if the absence of any registry of consecration is to be received as proof that such consecration did not take place, then neither Gardiner nor Bonner, to say nothing of many more, were ever consecrated. If such absence, in the face of other proof, is not to be regarded as disproving *their* consecration, then it is entitled to no more weight in the cases of Bishops Bothvid and Barlow.

But it may still be asked, have we no knowledge as to the consecrator of Bishop Bothvid? None, it must be replied, derived from actual record; but a most reasonable assurance resting on a basis of established facts.

First, the unvarying rule in Sweden was (and is), that the Metropolitan of Upsala should consecrate his suffra-

gans in person. Unless some special evidence to the contrary appears, we must suppose that all Bishops elected by the Chapter and duly confirmed, during his tenure of office, are consecrated by him.

Secondly, *exceptio regulam probat*. On one occasion, in 1554, two bishops were consecrated, as we have seen, not by the Metropolitan but by Bishop Bothvid. "One of these prelates, Bishop Jùnsten . . . thinks it necessary to account for this exceptional fact. He says: "*Erat enim Dominus Archiepiscopus quodam-modo in regia indignatione*." The primate did not consecrate in this instance, because he was under the royal displeasure, and the variation from constant usage is considered to require explanation. Dr. Nicholson adds several considerations which carry a certain amount of weight in increasing the probability that Bishop Bothvid was consecrated by the Primate, but the supposition must rest mainly on the two considerations stated above. It must be remembered, however, that any doubt as to Bishop Bothvid's *consecrator* cannot, under the circumstances, be carried over to his *consecration*.

We are thus enabled to trace the succession of Archbishop Petersson Gothus in a way that leaves no reasonable doubt about it. Since his time there is, so far as we know, no question as to the continuance of the succession in the Swedish Church. The line is as follows:

1. Laurentius Petersson Gothus, Archbishop of Upsala, was consecrated at Upsala, June 14th, 1575, by Paulus Jùnsten, Bishop of Åbo.

2. Paulus Jùnsten was consecrated (as Bishop of Wiborg though afterwards translated to Åbo,) at Strengnäs, in May, 1554, by Bothvid Sùnönis, Bishop of Strengnäs.

3. Bothvid Sùnönis, Bishop of Strengnäs, was consecrated in 1536, probably in September, and by Laurentius Petersson Nericius, Archbishop of Upsala.

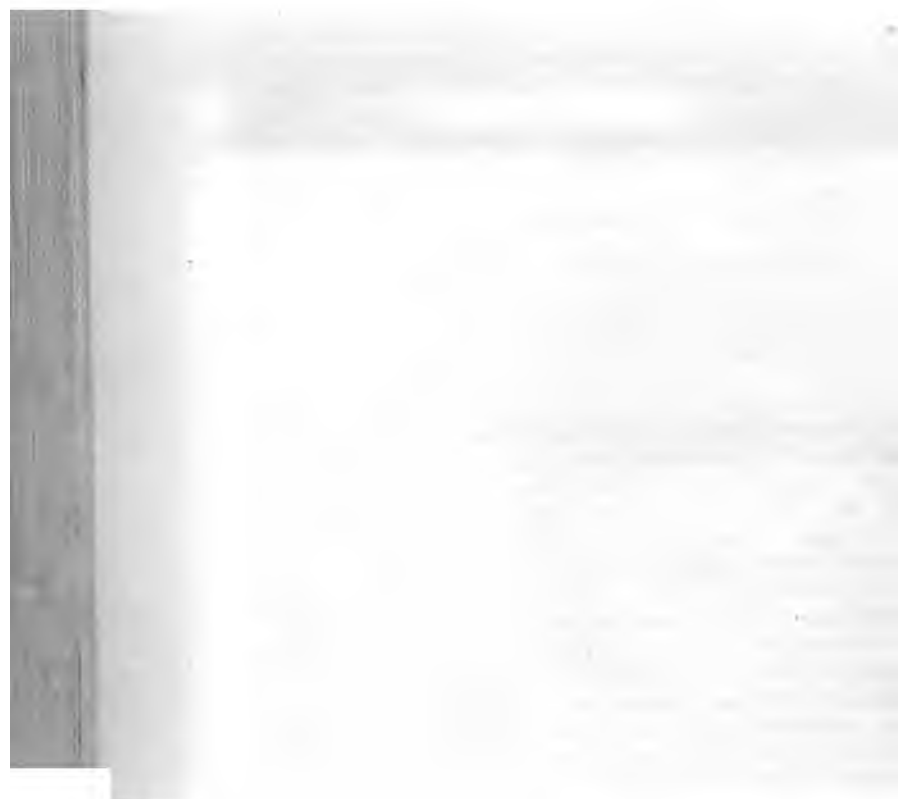
4. Laurentius Petersson Nericius, Archbishop of Upsala, was consecrated at Stockholm, on the Sunday before Michaelmas, 1531, by Peter Magnusson, Bishop of Westeras.

5. Peter Magnusson, Bishop of Westeras, was consecrated at Rome, May 1st, 1524.

It should be clearly understood that there is very little in this paper which is not taken from Dr. Nicholson's book and sometimes expressed in his own words. The writer's purpose has simply been to outline his argument and call attention to his admirable work.

How greatly the members of the Church of Sweden have valued the Succession which has been preserved for them is a question with which we need not concern ourselves. One could wish that they had manifested the same jealous care for it as has been always shown in the Church of England and the Churches founded by her, and adopted as obligatory the Nicene rule of consecrations by these Bishops. Rome, however, had taught them a bad lesson in this as in many other things, and it fortunately is not doubted that consecration by one Bishop is sufficient.

It is obvious to remark that the Doctrine, Liturgy (using the word in its proper sense), Baptismal and Confirmation Offices of the Swedish Church are matters quite aside from the Succession. Important as they are it is beyond the limits of this paper to consider them.



ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE BIBLE.

THE precise locality of the Land of Goshen has become known only within the last few years, by the progress of Egyptology. It lay on the North-east of the Delta toward the isthmus of Suez, and was thus specially fitted for the settlement of an Asiatic tribe like the family and dependents of Jacob by its isolation from the jealous native population of the Nile Valley. Shepherds were tolerated in all parts of the land, but only as individuals, from the necessities of ordinary life : foreign shepherd communities were relegated to outlying districts where they would not come into contact with the people at large. It seems, moreover, to have been designed, by the position of the districts allotted them, that they should form an advanced guard over the Nile Valley against the tribes always hovering on its borders and eager to pounce upon its spoils.

Goshen was famous in the days of the Hebrew sojourn for its fertility, and seems to have been especially fitted for tillage rather than pasture since the Hebrew tribes gradually passed into agriculturists under its influence, except Gad, Reuben and Manasseh, who permanently retained their liking for a wandering shepherd or Arab life. Many centuries of neglect have long ago, however,

converted its once smiling fields into arid sand-wastes, though even these blossom into rich beauty whenever water is brought into play for their culture. The "field of Zoan," now the image of desolation but once so luxuriant from its being well watered as to recall to the Hebrews the thought of Paradise, is a type of the whole region. Under good government it would speedily vindicate its ancient fame.

In Joseph's day and for centuries after it Goshen rejoiced in a large population, flourishing cities, waving fields, and all the details of a happy and prosperous landscape. Its numerous canals were full of fish; birds of many kinds frequented its reed beds and streams in flocks; its meadows were green with crops and its gardens with every luxury of the soil; its orchards and vineyards with luscious fruit. Trade of many kinds flourished. Men drank the beer of Palestine and boasted of the wines of Rameses. If life had its shadows it had also its sunshine. Gay processions swept to the temples, and on the festivals of the year choirs of trained choristers filled the air with rejoicing while the population streamed abroad in the glory of their best attire, tyred and anointed and garlanded as the fashion of the day demanded.

Every day life was doubtless much as at present, though the wretchedness of the modern peasantry is in striking contrast to the condition of the Hebrews at least in the earlier period of their sojourn. Canals led from the Pelusian branch of the Nile and flowed like great arteries over the country, innumerable threads of quickening moisture branching off from them in every direction like life giving veins. Waterwheels slowly turned by oxen, asses or camels, then as now creaked along the edge of the great river; clumps of palms on raised mounds dotted the landscape and marked the sites of villages; the roads from point to point ran along raised dykes from which one looked down on the flat champaign on both sides beneath. Nor were cities wanting. Rameses had been built before Jacob's arrival but owed its splendour to the forced and painful labours of his descendants. Its ruins still help us to realize its greatness in its best days. The remains of its temple enclose a vast space. Twelve obelisks of polished granite from distant Assouan rose before it, and countless pillars, columns and statues adorned it. The houses, indeed, were of poor material. Vast mounds of sun dried bricks still disclose at once their

character and their arrangements. The dwellings of the gods, perhaps alone were built of stone; all other structures only of dried Nile mud, often gaudily plastered and painted.

South of Goshen lay Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. It had been founded ages before, by Menes, the first King. A vast artificial platform raised it above the danger of inundation, and it was further protected by huge dykes. The gigantic masses of the earlier pyramids ere long rose by the forced labour of countless thousands to guard in their central recesses the sacred form of deceased royalty. A hundred thousand men, relieved every three months, were employed for ten years in making the causeway from the quarries on the East side of the river to the great Pyramid, for the transport of the huge blocks of stone required to construct it, and twenty years more were spent with the labour of 360,000 men through the whole period, in building the pyramid itself. From its base, vast cemeteries had been excavated on the limestone rock; the mummy pits of our day, buried for many centuries beneath the ever advancing desert sand. The circumference of the city was at least fifteen miles, but this included many open spaces laid out as gardens, and the wide sites of palaces, temples, barracks and public buildings. A fortress known as the White Castle enclosed almost a town of buildings for various uses, as well as the State prison of the region. Great trees rose in clumps outside the walls; the local vineyards were famous and the soil was a miracle of fertility.

The ruins of Memphis even now cover many hundred acres, but they are all in fragments, for the spot has been used for ages as a quarry by the neighbourhood, for their own structures. But away, beneath the sands to the West, distinct from the human cemeteries of the city, a grand monument has been recently discovered, of the wealth and the religious degradation of the old-world community. Great galleries hewn on the living rock show the magnificent burial places of the sacred ox; a gorgeous black-marble sarcophagus in each compartment, containing the mummy of a deified Apis. Memphis was the centre of the ox worship of Egypt, and these were the tombs of its supreme divinity, "the ox that eateth grass."

Another famous city close to Goshen, was Heliopolis or On—the city of the Sun. Its famous temple, built near a sacred spring was the great University of the Hebrew period. The central building itself stood in the midst of

vast grounds, inclosing a sacred lake, shady cloisters, rows of structures for the dwellings of priests, professors, the various officials attached to the Temple; lecture halls and school rooms, and airy open spaces. It was, indeed, almost a town in itself. A great pavement of stone a hundred feet broad, and lined with sphinxes of yellow marble led to the huge gates of the main-building, adorned with broad-winged emblems of the sun. A forest of lofty obelisks and of flag staffs from which fluttered long red and blue streamers flanked these on both sides. Inside opened the great court of the temple on the altar in the centre of which all offerings were presented to the Sun-god. The temple itself lay beyond; its front covered with brightly painted figures and inscriptions; its inner halls, each smaller than the other as the visitor advanced, a wilderness of gigantic columns sculptured and painted, of walls covered with pictorial representations of the deeds of Kings and Gods and of lofty roofs sown with golden stars on an azure ground. A carved figure of the Sun-God had the place of honour in the farthest recess, but beside this was the gilded cage of the sacred hawk, and the black calf, *Unevis*, couched on his purple bed—the living embodiments, as it was believed, of the Divinity. The worshiper approached amidst the litanies of priests, and the music of the temple players which were disturbed only by the scream or low of the sacred bird or beast. Cut off from the world without, and wrought up to the highest excitement by the spectacle around, it seemed as if he trod the boundaries of another existence.

The influence of such a religion on the Hebrews must have been in many ways hurtful. In theory, indeed, it still cherished some of the great truths of primeval revelation—the unity of God, and the immortality of the soul—but the former had long been corrupted by polytheistic additions and the other was so materialized and separated from morality that it had little power over the life. It might perhaps still be whispered among some priests that there was only One God, but the people knew only the crowds of deities seen in the temples, and acknowledged the sacred animals as their incarnate emblems. The crocodile, the goat, the sheep, the common dung-beetle, the cat, the dog, the ape, the shrew-mouse, the wolf, the lion, the hippopotamus and many other animals were approached with lowly prostrations and honoured as divine. The future of the soul was made dependent on the preservation

of the body. If that perished, there could be no immortality; it must be embalmed at whatever cost. The morals enjoined in the sacred books were admirable, but they seem to have had little hold on the life of the population. No doubt good and bad were found in the Valley of the Nile as everywhere else, but the prevailing tone was gross and sensual. Pride and luxury reigned among the great; oppression and misery were too often the lot of the multitude.

The Hebrew settlers in Egypt must have been affected by a state of things amidst which they lived for four hundred years, but it seems hardly probable that they adopted many of the religious ideas of the Egyptians. Isolated from the past, and ere long violently persecuted, they were much more likely to be influenced by the modes of thought and the practices of the Asiatic races settled among them in the Delta. Among these they were recognized as of kindred blood; among the Egyptians they were regarded as foreign barbarians. Ages before their arrival the sea coast had been colonized from Phenicia, and Asiatic tribes had gradually taken possession of most of the land on the Nile branches, leaving only the belt along the undivided stream to the native population. A race of pastoral Arabs, or Canaanites, known as the Hyksos, had even conquered all Egypt before Joseph's day and had reigned for centuries, introducing Asiatic ideas and worship. The idolatry adopted by the Hebrews may hence be regarded as probably due to Eastern rather than Egyptian sources.

The oppression of the Hebrews in all probability began after the expulsion of the Hyksos, which was effected only after a struggle of one hundred and fifty years. Whether the descendants of Jacob remained neutral in this long conflict or sided with their Asiatic brethren cannot be learned. Perhaps there were parties on both sides, but it may readily be fancied that the sympathies of most would be with those united to them by blood. The shepherds once driven out, however, a vigorous policy toward such Asiatics as still remained in the Delta would seem necessary, to prevent a second overthrow of the native government at their hands. To keep down their numbers; to crush their spirit; to break them up into harmless feebleness, and to utilize their labour for public ends would naturally appear at once wise and imperative. This idea therefore was steadily carried out through generations.

Their independance was taken from them, though they still clung tenaciously to their Arab institution of government by elders, or sheiks. A proscription of all new born males, was enforced for a time, but was soon let die out ; the tribes divided into small sections were moved to isolated spots and broken up into gangs of forced laborers, over whom task masters ruled with the stick. Work in the quarries, on the public works, in the irrigation and working of the royal domains, and on the building of temples, fortresses, and towns embittered their existence. Their fathers had been freemen of the desert : they were degraded bondmen.

But it is only in the night that we see the heavens in their brightness. Trouble brought thoughtfulness to the Israelites, and they learned to look up from the darkness of earth to the spiritual consolations of their ancient faith. They had sadly fallen from it in the centuries of their Egyptian residence. Some households, indeed, still cherished the worship of Jehovah and called their children by His great name, but the multitude had sunk to the moral level of the nations round them. From this centre, however, a reaction set in and the old creed of the tents of their forefathers spread slowly like leaven through the mass of their descendants. In this religious revival the tribe of Levi seems to have played the chief part, and in its families the child was at last born who should crown the work and restore to his race at once their hereditary religion and their freedom. Moses, the future lawgiver and leader, was born of parents faithful to God—Amram, the “kindred of the Lofty one,” and “Jochebed, she whose “glory is Jehovah.” It is a striking corroboration of the narrative of his adoption by the “daughter of Pharaoh” that her name, Thermouthis, as given by Josephus, is still preserved in an ancient list of Egyptian princesses, as that of one of the wives of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression. She was likely his sister as well as his wife, for such marriages were common in Egypt, the Pharaoh her father being also the father of her husband.

The training of Moses for his great mission was in the strictest sense providential. As an adopted son of the king every advantage lay before him. The highest culture was secured in every direction. Familiarity with great affairs became natural to him. The dignity, self control and varied experiences of high position fitted him for his future duties. Nothing was left wanting in his equipment as the

future creator and leader of a nation. Nor were the genius and religious temperament absent which could utilize such advantages to the utmost.

His flight to the peninsula of Sinai was a fitting advance in this preparation for the future. Seclusion and long meditation are essential to the formation of grand resolves and to an elevation of soul fitted to carry them out. That he should have openly espoused the cause of his race, daring even to strike down an Egyptian officer in their defense was itself enough to imperil his life. But he had committed a still greater crime in hiding the body in the desert sand and thus preventing its embalmment. Such an act destroyed the future of the dead man for ever. Fleeing, therefore, to the great frontier wall and hastily escaping through one of its gates, he turned south to Midian where he knew, from reports brought to Egypt by traders and others, that a tribe related to his own people had its home, in which the worship of the God of their common ancestor Abraham was still preserved.

No school could have been more fitted to prepare Moses for his wondrous task than the wild mountain desolation of Sinai. There he was alone with God and nature. In its lonely glens, the silence broken by no sound of bird, or water, or rustling tree, left him to commune with his own soul and his Creator. Man had disappeared. He was face to face with the Eternal and His works. If he climbed the bare granite peaks he looked out over a wilderness of awful clefts, gorges, pinnacles, and depths which overpowered the soul by their sublimity. There was no escape from himself but in God. Slowly but surely every question of highest moment for the soul must have risen in his mind and been pondered to the uttermost. How far was the religion of the Nile valley true? Were there many gods or One? What was the supreme rule of human conduct? What the great aim to be sought in life? From such struggles he emerged with a grand faith in Jehovah which nothing could shake: in Jehovah, not as a mere name, but as the Living God, ever near, ever watchful; Almighty to save the lowly, but also to smite the proud. He had become to him the one great reality in the Universe, and as such his soul was in habitual communion with Him. No mere man before or since ever realized so grandly His constant presence and living power. The thought gradually dominated and filled his whole being. The scene at Horeb was the natural consummation of such a mental and spir-

itual development. He was already the one man on earth above all others fitted to be a prophet or speaker for God; nor was it the least mark of this that he should have had so awful a sense of the honor as to have shrunk from it till cheered by the assurance of heavenly support.

The arrival of Aaron, his brother, in Sinai, after this high commission had been received, indicated that the hour had come for action. The teaching of forty years through the elders of the tribes, had gradually rekindled the religious enthusiasm of the Hebrews. They were ripe for a great religious and political movement. The circumstances of the time also favored it. Instead of the strong Rameses II., his son Menephtah sat on the throne; a man weak and irresolute, from whom no such resistance need be dreaded as would have been natural in his father. The Egyptian Court was at the time enjoying the comparative coolness of Rameses—Tanis on the Delta; Thebes, the southern capital, being left for the hot months. But how to approach the Pharaoh on behalf of a race which he utterly despised was the great question. Himself worshiped as a god, he could not realize that men, as such, had any rights. That they should be left alive was a favor. If they were so it would be only that they might toil for him as his slaves.

The first entreaties on their behalf drew down on them only a harder lot. They had latterly been kept at brick-making, to provide materials for new fortresses, palaces, or public buildings. Straw had been provided them with which to bind together the clay, but henceforth they must scatter themselves over the glowing fields to gather stubble instead, and notwithstanding this the tasks exacted from them remained as before. They were in an evil plight. Then came, in rapid succession, the long series of "Plagues" destined to break the pride of the Pharaoh, and compel him to set them free.

Those plagues were, throughout, directed against the prevailing idolatry, and thus at once humbled the Egyptians, and enforced a salutary lesson of the greatness of Jehovah on the Hebrews. The turning of the rod of Moses into a serpent was a slight on the god Kueph, the creator and sustainer of the world, and of the god of the city of Pilhum in the Hebrew district. The second sign or first "plague"—the turning the waters of Egypt into blood, was a blow at the worship of the river Nile as the great god Osiris. To pollute it was to touch the honor of

the pantheon in its tenderest point, for the great river was worshipped with an enthusiasm quite peculiar as the great benefactor of the land. Whether the water was really changed into blood or something like it has been keenly discussed, the objections being raised to the substitution of actual blood that it would in seven days have, by its corrupting, destroyed all life in Egypt; and that, moreover, water could be had by straining and purifying, else, in the same way, life would have perished universally. The Plague of Frogs was also a direct affront to Egyptian idolatry, for Heki, the "driver away of frogs," had the head of the reptile, and frogs were embalmed and honored with burial in Thebes as sacred animals. No one in temperate countries can realize the severity of the plague of "Lice," or as it should, perhaps, be understood, of insect plagues generally. Fly gods were common in antiquity in warm regions, as we see in the case of Baalzebub, the Fly-god of Palestine. The Fourth plague in the same way, letting loose on Egypt as it did still other forms of insect tormentors—gnats, mosquitoes and much besides—must have been a terrible visitation. The fifth Plague struck even more directly home to the bosoms of the Nile population. The sacred Ram was worshiped at Thebes; the sacred Ox at Memphis and On. A murrain breaking out on all the cattle was a mockery of such divinities. The Sixth Plague in the form of boils and blains breaking out on man and beast on Moses scattering into the air the ashes of a furnace seemed a direct affront to the local religion. Human sacrifices of foreigners were offered yearly and their ashes scattered in the air to avert evil from the land. But now ashes similarly cast abroad carried misery far and near, spreading, it may be, even the leprosy among the population. The destruction of the barley and flax by a terrible storm was still another blow at the national idolatry, for the air was under the charge of a multitude of divinities who were thus proved to be powerless before the God of the Hebrews. The visitation of locusts which formed the Eighth plague, following in the train of the thunder and hail must have filled Egypt with dismay, threatening a famine, with all its terrible results in disease and death. Such a monsoon consuming every thing green and stripping the trees till vegetation seemed extinct must have filled all hearts with a sense of the hopelessness of struggling against a power such as was wielded by Moses and Aaron, but this was intensified by that which followed.

The sun was the supreme god of Egypt but now its face was veiled by intense darkness, such perhaps as is at times produced by the Chamsin wind which blows north from the equator between March and May. In the desert it raises vast whirlwinds of sand, under which whole caravans have been known to be buried. The air is always darkened by it, but occasionally it brings a pall over the land like that of the deepest night. No wonder Pharaoh was at last humbled so far as to attempt a compromise with Moses. But the time for such a proposal was past. Nothing would suffice but an absolute and unconditional permission for Israel to go free, with all its flocks and herds.

The destruction of the first-born at last crushed all resistance. That palace and cottage alike should be filled with lamentation; that even the sacred beasts should be struck down, paralyzed for the moment all thought of pride. The one consideration was to rid the land of a people whose further stay might destroy the whole nation. Preparations had meantime been made for the Exodus. The Hebrews were about to make a grand religious pilgrimage to sacrifice to their gods in the wilderness, and needed festival robes and sacrificial vessels to make the occasion imposing. These were readily given them either from good will or fear. The Passover had been instituted as a permanent memorial of the great deliverance at hand: the blood sprinkled on the door-posts reminding them that it was only by the favor of God that the first-born of the chosen people were spared while those of the heathen perished. The different Hebrew communities everywhere had been put in communication with each other that all might make for a common rendezvous at a given signal.

The historical truth of Scripture in reference to this last plague is strangely corroborated by the preservation of a statue of the eldest son of Menephtah now at Berlin, in which he is said to have died before his father, to the great grief of the country. With his death permission was at last granted by the king for Israel to depart. Therewith runners passed from post to post, and spread the news with incredible swiftness. Every road was presently choked with fugitives from all points of the compass, making for the selected centre at Rameses Tanis. Thence they started in five divisions, ordered as well as the hurry and confusion permitted, taking the road due east for the frontier wall which lay between them and Palestine. But ere long it was felt that so great a blessing as national

freedom could only be bought at a heavy price. The first march into the wilderness brought scarcity of water with all its misery in a hot climate, but this was for the time surmounted. A still harder trial, however, was before the host. As they neared Etham, a fortress on the great wall, the trumpets of the garrison filled all with terror, for how could they stand against the weapons of those before whose sticks they had crouched till yesterday.

Nothing remained but to turn to the South and go round the wall near Suez, instead of trying to go through it. Moses no doubt from the first had seen the necessity of this, but had wisely determined to let it seem the choice of the multitude itself. They were as yet unfit for war, and even if they had burst through the frontier first, how could they have met the armies of Palestine? Their route therefore was changed, and they made for the South where they soon reached Pihaheroth, a spot where sufficient pasture for their cattle and water for themselves invited them to halt for refreshment. Here they could rest in security for a time. The strict religious rules of the Egyptians demanded that nothing should be done by those who had one of their household dead till the body was embalmed—a period of seventy days or ten weeks. Hence neither the king nor his officers could take any steps to pursue the Hebrews for that period, for all lamented their first-born.

At last, however, this respite ended, and with it fierce thoughts of revenge filled all breasts. Menephtah was proud of his chariot force. He would pursue and overtake the fugitives with the best of its squadrons. His spies told him of their position. The wilderness was behind them. The Ataka range closed them in on both sides, and the Red Sea was before them. They seemed an easy prey. It was well on in the day when the dust clouds on the far horizon first told the Hebrews that they were in danger. In a moment the camp was in motion, but whither could they turn! They might advance round the head of the Bay of Suez, but if they did so they would inevitably be overtaken. In this difficulty the order came that they should go forward. A ford stretched at ebb tide across the dry sands of the bay, and this they were to make their route. Meanwhile a strong northeast wind aiding the ebb blew the waters farther than usual to the southwest. Body after body of the fugitives pressed boldly on the strange path, but night fell before the last of them had reached the

other side. The pillar of fire which had gone before them since they left Etham now guided the steps of the last of the host, and meanwhile a terrible storm of wind and rain and lightning helped to protect them. At last their pursuers reached the shore, and in their rash confidence determined to follow them instead of quietly driving round the head of the bay, a distance of only a few miles. Once fairly on the bay, however, the wind suddenly changed. The waters long held back, but now flowing to the full tide swept toward the land in wild fury. The Egyptian chariots were hopelessly lost. Sinking in the wet sands their axles bent, they themselves were overturned, and their drivers and warriors hurled out of them like stones from a sling. Advance or retreat was alike impossible. The lights kindled by the different divisions of the Hebrews helped to bewilder them. Each was in the way of the other, and amidst all the roaring wind, the blinding flashes and the tossing waves combined to destroy them. Morning broke on a smooth sea and a shore strewn with the corpses of the chivalry of Egypt.

With this incident the references to Egypt in Scripture may be said to close.

CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE.

EVOLUTION AND THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FALL.

IN the last forty years very much ingenious and learned thought has been expended upon so-called reconciliations of Scripture and Science. That there should be any antagonism between the teachings of Christianity and the honest conclusions of working physicists is certainly to be deplored. Nevertheless the man of science has too often been contemptuous and the theologian suspicious. Well intended explanations of the cosmogony of Genesis have shocked the devout believer in old interpretations of Scripture, and have not at all satisfied the physical philosopher. Perhaps the materialist and the metaphysician can never be brought to see eye to eye.

Yet there is no necessary antagonism between a Christian theology and a true physical science. The intellect of the thinker and the faith of the Christian man ought to be at one. If not, the fault lies in ignorance, in hasty judgments and intolerant tempers. No doubt much harm has been done by false exegesis on the one hand and wrong induction on the other. Religion itself is a science, with its phenomena and its inductions: it studies and sets forth in all orderliness the knowledge of God and of man's relation to him.

Certainly there is a deep desire on the part of Christian

teachers to face honestly every fact of science, and to illustrate from all departments of knowledge God's way of working. Old notions and long-received interpretations may have to yield and disappear, while the foundation facts of God the Creator and man His creature, of sin and salvation, must abide. Otherwise the religion called Christian, and whose authority we profess to accept, loses its meaning and practically ceases to be.

It may be said that theology has been compelled to yield position after position, as in the cases of the creation of the world in six days, and of the Hebrew chronology: so, in like manner many of the conclusions of the modern biologist, now rejected, if not looked upon with horror, will be calmly accepted, and doctrinal teaching forced to adjust itself to them. For it is impossible to keep separated, in thought or practical interest, the knowledge called theological and that called scientific. The two sides cannot each claim a given territory, and put up a notice of "No trespass." Dr. Tyndall is led irresistibly to surmise and speculations as to the *potency* which distinguishes organic from inorganic matter. The theologian cannot resist the desire to examine and value the discoveries of science from an ethical standpoint. Hence that theory of life, known as evolution, is something more than a scientific question. It cannot be coolly dismissed as a passing fashion of scientific opinion, to be replaced after a while by something more popular. It may not be universally accepted by men of science, yet with all its confessed incompleteness, and in spite of lack of harmony among its advocates, it seems to interpret the method of nature more satisfactorily than any hypothesis yet offered. As a theory of the order of advance of life it does not appear to oppose the most devout theism. Whether God be immanent in matter, so that every new species is a fresh creation, or whether He is acting remotely and mediately, through processes set in motion in some far-off time, is, to the theologian a question of secondary importance. To many minds it will be the grander thought that the originating Wisdom and Will should so have planned in the beginning, that every possible development of life was contained in the germ from the outset.

Evolution, therefore, as a theory of the orderly progression of life, ought to present no difficulty to the faith of a Christian man. He may be willing to apply this theory of advance not only to man physically, but psychically,

and to all the complex conditions of human society. His God is glorified, not belittled, by this unbroken orderliness ; by this freedom from caprice and hasty adjustment. The Christian cannot accept the position of the Atheistic materialist, who finds no need of an originating Wisdom and Will, but is content with a theory of the practical eternity of matter, and of a self-developing force which inheres in matter. Nor can he stand with the Agnostic, and refuse with a needless humility, to consider how things come to be.

For the Christian is a theist, and more than a theist. He not only believes that there is the one God, from whom are all things and by whom are all things, but that this God is present in all the affairs of the Universe. He may not be able, with present knowledge, to adjust the well-established conclusions of science to his simple creed of a God, who is not only Creator, but also Father; of a Divine Presence, redeeming mankind from all evil; of a Holy Spirit present in the lives of men. His Christian theism leads him to regard the Incarnation as the central fact of all human history; the proof of the introduction of a new divine force upon earth. Such, in its last analysis, is the faith of a Christian man. He rests upon the articles set forth in the Apostles' Creed, as upon facts of everlasting meaning and necessity.

Now, is there any just cause why the Christian, submitting himself devoutly to the divine authority of the Creeds, may not accept the conclusions of that class of working physicists, who avow themselves to be theists?

I dismiss from consideration all those interpretations of Scripture, which have from time to time, been largely accepted, but which have taken their color from current philosophies, or are the result of mistranslation.

Also may be passed by the confessional postulates of the theologians of the Reformation period. But for the Christian, giving assent and consent to those ancient Catholic Symbols, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds, is there any greater difficulty in accepting the decisions of the more sober-minded evolutionists, than the difficulty which is always found in abandoning long cherished opinions, and in adjusting one's self to a novelty? With much of the work of the man of science, the student of theology has nothing to do; but there is a ground of common investigation upon which they are compelled to meet, and that is the *nature* of man. You cannot rule out anthropol-

ogy. It is inevitably a debatable ground, and each has a respectable claim. It will not do for the physical student to charge the theologian with clinging to outworn absurdities, partly metaphysical, partly superstitious ; nor will the retort be courteous, after the manner of Carlyle, to speak of the "dirt philosophy." May the Christian frankly accept the main conclusions of material science, and repeat with equal confidence and comfort the Apostles' Creed, and the axioms of modern biology? Is his a blind conservatism, or a narrow suspiciousness, if he hesitates? Are, or are not the Articles of the Apostles' Creed in jeopardy? From one point of view it might at first seem that the average theologian has been needlessly suspicious, that he has scented Atheism and all manner of heresy, where they did not exist, and that with recovered self-control and moderation he drops his weapons, and adjusts his teachings to the discoveries of material science. By way of illustration, it is said that when the nebular hypothesis was first published it was regarded by Christian teachers as altogether atheistic, yet now is accepted as the most probable theory of the formation of suns and systems. So certain judgments of geologists, as to the age of the earth and the periods of heat and moisture and rock formation, once doubted and opposed by the student of Genesis, are now regarded as matters of course. Therefore, it is concluded, the present discussion as to the manner of the beginning of life, and the development of all organisms on earth, man himself included, will result in an acceptance of the scientific decisions, whether the theologians like it or not. The main facts of materialistic biology will be established, and Christian teaching must accommodate itself to them.

Christianity, being a reasonable religion should accept and welcome every department of human knowledge. It ought to be more than a mere sentiment to speak of the twin-volumes of revelation, Scripture and Nature. It would be a pitiful narrowness to contend that our only way of knowledge is through the Testaments, Old and New. Especially should the Christian scholar, having presumably the deepest reverence for truth, respect the patient unselfish search after truth, whatever direction the search take. Mr. John Fiske, in the March number of the *North American Review*, while criticising Mr. Joseph Cook's Boston Lectures, makes the following claim for the spirit and method of modern physical research. "The process of holding

one's judgment in suspense over a complicated problem, of patiently gathering and weighing the evidence on either side, of subjecting one's own first-formed hypothesis to repeated verification, of clearly comprehending and fairly stating opposing views, of setting forth one's conclusions at last, guardedly and with a distinct consciousness of the conditions under which they are tenable—all this sort of thing is absolutely foreign to Mr. Cook's nature." With the demerits of Mr. Cook this paper has nothing to do, but all must delight to pay honor to the man who toils patiently and with candid spirit, to gain knowledge. The student of Scripture should welcome all truth, however gained, and rejoice in every contribution to the world's common stock; and if he find that certain positions, taken by physical science, seem to oppose views and beliefs long held by Christians, these views and beliefs are first of all to be candidly re-examined. What can the man of theology concede on his part? How much of ignorance may he confess, and of prejudice renounce? That the man of science is often too sure of what he calls *facts*, and overestimates their importance, has nothing to do with the duty of the Christian student to harmonize the teachings of the Faith with all those discoveries of science, which have a bearing upon doctrine.

It will not do to dismiss the matter by saying that the Church of Christ has no business with these questions of science, and that physical investigators are not agreed among themselves. Are theologians, even those who stand upon the platform of the Creeds altogether undisturbed by doctrinal differences? And it is evident that a very large majority of sober-minded men of science are to-day upholders of the theory known as evolution. They may differ in certain particulars, but hold to the general truth of the hypothesis.

This hypothesis, as a matter of course, includes in its teachings, the manner of the development of human life, and consequently must come after a while, to that part of the territory of man's nature, which Christian theology undertakes to occupy. For the evolutionist, although often called a materialist, cannot stop with that part of the man, popularly called the body. His task is not, and ought not to be ended, when he has shown how the first pulsing cell of organized matter has developed, through countless periods of time, into the highly differentiated body of man. He follows the search farther, that he may

discover what man has revealed of his being in all these many thousands of years of the experiment of earthly living.

If altogether a materialist, as he is apt to be, he regards this complex something, called human nature, as only a passing phase of the necessary onward movement of organized matter toward greater harmony and completeness. He has to do with organs and their functions ; with phenomena, not with metaphysical affirmations. He is true to his system in undertaking to show that man's rational nature is the result of a higher differentiation and harmony of bodily organization ; and even that ethical capacities are developed from a refinement of the desire for what is pleasant ; is the product of a shrewd and subtle hedonism. Morality has its genesis in seeking pleasure for one's self in giving pleasure to others. The evolution of conscience is thus explained by one ingenious writer : "Conscience is the struggle for existence become aware of itself in the mind of a thinking person." He also defines morality : "Morality consists in transferring to other beings, like ourselves those rights which we feel that we ourselves possess."

Nor can the student of Christian theology protest against the presence of the physical philosopher, even in the sphere of ethics. If science has discovered anything, let it be heard. Let even the working physicist, who forgets his own method, and would insist on the common acceptance of his own hasty conclusions, be listened to with candor and respect.

But suppose, with a humble desire for the truth, at all cost, and with a willingness to concede much to the conclusions of teachers of material science, the theologian finds that the two theories of man's nature are by no means in agreement. As a Christian theist he is not troubled by an hypothesis which demands that organized life be regarded as an endless, upward movement, and that man is but the most advanced of existing forms. Both the physicist and the theist are seeking to know the mystery of life : whether there be anything behind the *seen*, and moving it. Both accept a doctrine of continuity : every life came from something that went before. *Omne ex ovo*.

In the one case it is the eternal atom, monad, gemmule, always material and self-acting. In the other, behind the physical there is the psychical ; mind acting upon matter ; a spiritual intelligence before matter, caus-

ing and ruling it. As between the two, are those devoid of understanding who prefer the spiritual hierarchy, God at its head, man included, to the everlasting atom. If God be confessed to be before all and in all it is enough for the theist. If, when the times were ripe the perfected ape became capable of reason and the knowledge of right and wrong, and by a great law of universal application, without special presence of divine act, man appeared, the theist is yet content. Such a theory may be true, or not true, but no doctrine of the Faith is thereby denied. God is not the less Creator, although He work mediately, through great tracts of time.

Nor is any assault made upon the faith of a Christian by questions as to the amount of intelligence and capacity for civilization there might be in this first generation of men. Speculations, about pre-adamite man, and whether the Adam and Eve of the book of Genesis had reached a fair stage of mental advance, have not been profitable. However low and brutal the primitive man, Genesis being our teacher, the representative man, who dwelt in the Happy Garden, was capable of "dressing and keeping it"; and also of such intellectual effort as to give names to the animals about him.

But passing by this question of the mental status of the first human pair, there is another question of no small importance, and which suggests certain grave difficulties.

This question grows out of the story found in the third chapter of the book of Genesis, and which recounts an act of disobedience on the part of these two dwellers in the Garden, and the punishment visited upon them. On this story is based the Christian teaching of the entrance and development of sin among men.

It may be said with reasonable accuracy that the Fall of man is the first *ethical phenomenon* recounted in the book of Genesis. The man and the woman had an opportunity of choice between good and evil: they chose evil and fell. Now whatever be the views held as to the authorship of the book of Genesis, and the sources of its materials; whether Moses wrote it or not, whether the accounts of the Creation and the Fall are sober prose or elevated poetry; whether the temptation was objective, with a real tree of fruit, and a visible serpent, or wholly subjective and only an ethical struggle in the nature of Adam and Eve, the result must be the same to the man who holds to the Creeds. If there be any theory of Inspi-

ration, or if there be no theory, the Christian accepts the divine presence and authority in these old Hebrew Scriptures ; and under the story of the Fall, be it literal fact, or poetic myth, the substratum of truth must abide, namely, that man had been once in a state of moral equilibrium, and that by a free act he lost that equilibrium. If the story be a parable, underneath the verbal clothing of the truth lives an entrance of evil into the nature of man. And here is the ethical starting point of the story of the Bible. In the fair dawn of human living came the catastrophe, which brought the creature, born with capacity to be a son of God, under the curse and loss of sin. From the Christian stand-point man's necessity was God's opportunity of love. Therefore the promise of divine presence and help ; therefore in the fulness of time the Incarnation, with its assurance of redemption and immortal life to the world of men.

But can the hypothesis of evolution, as applied to the nature of man, accept or permit such a shock and interruption to human development, as the Fall, with its introduction of moral evil ? Is there any sign, or mark of there having been, in some prehistoric past, anything, which may correspond, in its results, to the expulsion from Eden and the new servitude to sin ? In other words, where shall the devout student of the Bible, who has, at the same time, accepted the general conclusions of the evolution theory, place the Fall ? He accepts the inspired authority of Genesis, and devoutly believes that man, at the beginning, however humble his powers, was first of all untouched by evil, and that afterwards by a voluntary act, evil was brought into his life. Surely such a catastrophe must leave its enduring stamp somewhere, in every part of man's nature ; just as convulsions of the earth's crust, countless ages ago, may be seen to-day, in upheaved strata, and by chasms in the rocks. If this enslavement to evil were in any way as important as the Scriptures of the Hebrew and the Christian regard it, then the shock and change must be in some way traceable.

From the standpoint of the materialistic evolutionist, the matter gives rise to no perplexity. He is not concerned with sin, as the Christian defines sin. Evil he knows, with its ignorance, its blunders, and its penalties ; but sin, in its spiritual significance of antagonism of the will of man to the will of God, he knows not.

But the Christian recognizes the perversity and deadli-

ness of sin, and is convinced that whenever and however it entered the nature of man, the result must be serious and lasting. If the story of the Fall were noticed at all by materialistic teachers, it would be simply as an old and rather obscure Hebrew myth, which attempts to tell the first uncertain movements of men in the realm of morals. Men failed to obey some superior power, and suffered for it.

To return to the matter under discussion. Could there ever have been, upon the evolution hypothesis, such a shock and backward movement as that implied in the Fall? The uniformation theory applies in biology as well as in geology. The modern materialism demands an unbroken, onward movement of all life.

Through natural selection, or by whatever method which seems most probable, certain forms of life persist and transmit their peculiarities, others perish. The result is gain and increasing perfectness of type; and, however slow the general advance, it is sure and uninterrupted. The evolutionist does not discover that after man had appeared on earth and had to some extent developed ethical capacity, his whole moral nature, and indirectly all parts of him, yielded to evil, and a new and perverted direction was thereby given to human life.

But are the proofs in our possession which establish this theory of unbroken advance? At present the scientific position would seem to be that all types of life have been steadily advancing. It is confessed that there has been great waste of life, that whole families and species have disappeared, because unable to fight the battle of existence; that in many cases but a single family has survived to represent some special form. For instance, man cannot be said to be descended from the anthropoid apes, but they alike spring from some common ancestry, which, by the dying out of intermediate species, are now far separated. But grant that through ages of quasi-brutishness man advances far enough to be capable of a moral act, and that at some early stage of his moral activity he yields to the evil, and thereby transmits unfavorable ethical conditions to his progeny, has science any record of this shock and loss to humankind? Does not the method of materialistic science ignore, if not deny, the possibility of such loss and injury to the race? If the conditions induced by the Fall were unfavorable, if man exchanged a good environment, the Garden in Eden, for a bad environment, the

world "before him where to choose," then on physical principles he should have died out and disappeared. If he has persisted, and he certainly has continued to live, either the Fall did not take place, or if it did happen and had any ethical significance, that significance has been exaggerated in the old Hebrew myth. Or, if it were an universal disaster, and yet mankind survived, there must have intervened that *exitiabilis superstitio*, a miracle.

Man ought to have perished, for he was unfit to survive. He did not perish, therefore from within some new force must have been evolved; or else, and this is a thought which the materialist cannot entertain, there was an endowment from without, through which man more than regained his lost position.

Now, however complete the theory of the materialist, that all forms of life are moving forward toward perfection, and that the failure to take part in this uniform advance is death, has it been scientifically established as regards man? Do ethical researches, as yet, bring to the light instances of decadence and death, which witness to some great shock given, in some unknown way, to all mankind?

Is there even one notable instance in the case of a particular race, which had made ethical advance, and then ceased to be obedient to the better knowledge possessed? By the rules of evolution they should either perish, or only a fortunate few survive; that is, if this ethical loss were important; and, if important, it must in any case have been felt in the existing civilization. The whole Christian teaching fails, if evil, inherited through Adam, were only of importance to a single branch of the human stock; for then a salvation through Christ, universal in its intent, were useless to the rest of the race. Nor can a theory, which has for its corner-stone unbroken continuity from the beginning, and demands that all ends shall be attained from forces within, working slowly but certainly through long periods of time, admit a force from without, whether for evil or for good: whether a temptation to sin, or a Divine Presence, which shall work for the good of the whole race. The attitude of the evolutionist and of the Christian theist are not only unlike in the matter of evil and its remedy, but also as to what is the essence of evil—its ethical significance. The working physicist finds evil enough everywhere, but to him it is only the blundering of ignorance, from which man slowly frees himself. Sin, as the antagonism of a wrong

will against a right will, is not recognized. He therefore cannot entertain the thought of a general retrograde movement, such as is implied in the Fall. His theory, when the phenomena he has examined are formulated, calls for an exceedingly humble beginning of human kind, and for slow attainment of mental and moral powers. He is patient, content to wait for retarded development and to suffer loss through the death of unfit varieties ; but for the backward movement of mankind he has no place in his scheme. Each family, or race of men is advancing, the Australian, the Hottentot, and the European ; at different velocities, it is true, yet all moving onward and upward. If however the theory of evolution is to be applied to man, not physically only, but mentally and morally, its advocates must show, as they have not yet been able to show, that there have been no notable instances of decline and degeneration. This position of a slow, unbroken advance of mankind, must expect to be challenged. It is just to ask it to account for the universal tradition of a golden age, which mankind has lost ; for the ancient evidences, through literature and upon monuments, of high civilization in the old world and in the new. Civilization always seems to have been brought to barbarism, converting and elevating it. There is, as yet, no credible account of savages evolving a civilization.

History, language and race institutions will have to be more thoroughly studied, before we can rest assured that man has always gone forward and never retrograded. Is the fact of the family being the social starting point yet disproved ; so that departures from it in the way of communal, or tribal marriage may be considered signs of degeneration, and not of primitive rudeness and ignorance ?

This theory of evolution ought also to find a line of proof in the mental and moral quality of the numberless religions in which men have believed. In all races, from the lowest to the highest, religions, however derived, have always existed. There is also an order of advance to be perceived in them: Fetichism, with its use and fear of charms and spells; Nature worship; Polytheism; Theism; each of these seems to mark an ascent in intelligence. Can it be proved that all races have passed, or are passing through these several stages? On the contrary competent philologists find in their study of the most ancient literature yet discovered, signs of the primitive character of the simple worship of *one* God; and that polytheism was the confusion

of this simple conception, and therefore a religious degradation. In one of his works, Prof. Max Müller, in commenting upon the Vedic religion declares. "There is a monotheism that precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocations of the innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the mist of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

However charmed therefore, by the order and completeness of the theory of Evolution, let no christian theist be persuaded that it has answered satisfactorily all the difficulties it has suggested. When it essays to explain the method of human advance, it fails to establish its position in certain important particulars.

The story of the first human pair, their moral innocence and their fall into sin, may after a while be found not to be so wholly unscientific. The way of moral purity may be discovered to be greater than the way of knowledge.

I desire to notice before bringing this paper to a close, one other difficulty in adjusting the method of modern science to the faith of the christian theist, and it has an evident bearing upon the understanding of the story of the Fall. In putting forth to pluck the fruit of the forbidden tree and in eating it there were distinct acts of the *personal will*. If the length of this article permitted, it might be shown that this difference about the will grows out of a radical difference in regard to the whole question of *causation*. In fact, the materialist, if he does not deny, utterly ignores causation. His business is to register and explain phenomena. He accepts as a fact the correlation of certain phenomena; he will speak of antecedent and consequent, but *cause* and *effect* he will not discuss. They do not belong to his philosophy. Above all a *causa fiendi*, —a power which makes an event to happen—he cannot receive. With him it is all *post hoc*, never *propter hoc*.

But if we claim, as all theists do, for every effect there is a cause, we find, through all secondary causes and before them, a thinking and a willing cause, that is, a mind to plan and a will self-determining action. Causation, in its supreme and absolute exercise, is found in God alone; but the christian, with his doctrine of the nature of man, that he is made in the image of God, holds that this supernatural power of causation is found in limited, but perfect exercise, in man. Man can think and will, and this, in spite of the alliance with matter, in being clothed upon,

with a mortal body, lifts him out of the range of matter. God, with the energy of His will creates and moves the world. Man, with his limitations, be they few or many, exercises his *will*. He can choose among many directions of action; in the world of matter, of mind, and of ethical reality he has a limited sovereignty. It may be said with all accuracy, that if there is no causation, there is no will. Any doctrine of a divine will, or of a human will, is an impertinence in that case. Some evolutionists contend for the natural development of the will, but the tendencies of the theory are against giving any great importance to it. In an article which appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, some years ago, the writer thus explains the genesis of the will: "When man first uttered the words, or rather felt the impression to which subsequently language gave definite shape and force, I will live in spite of all the forces that are compassing my destruction, then was free will created upon earth. He was literally *homo contra mundum*, the parent and precursor of that long line of illustrious martyrs who have witnessed for the inherent freedom of the human spirit."

To go back to the story of the Fall. However this old story be interpreted, if it has any meaning at all, it signifies that the human pair had a power of choice, and exercised it. They were not automata, but free agents, and for their action they were held responsible. In this matter of the human will there is to be perceived a wide separation of thought between materialistic biology and biblical biology. The separation may be more in the way of tendencies than of open avowal and antagonism, but it must be seen that in the mind of physical science there is no place for a free act of self-determination, such as that recorded in the story of the Fall. The presence of a something called the will is not denied. It is supposed that at a given stage of development, men consciously prefer one course of conduct and reject another course. In the earlier stages of animal life there is no such thing as conduct. Without consciousness, acted upon by bodily desires and external impressions, the members of all living species are but automata. Supply the conditions, bring to bear the ascertained forces which can influence, and the vital machinery will work with a certainty which may be safely predicted.

Hence it is hinted, with much subtlety, in the higher and more complete development of man, although the working or the determining forces may be much more

difficult of discovery, present they are, and capable of discovery and analysis. It is assumed that the laws which control human conduct are like in kind, only differing in stage of advance, to those which affect the infusorium, floating or vibrating, apparently at random, in its little world. Consequently man, in the loftiest regions of activity yet reached, is only acting as influences within him and without, determine that he shall act. There is no place at all for the loyalty of the christian, in his conscious obedience to the wisdom and will of his Father in heaven, or even for the intelligent submission of the theist to the "Power that makes for righteousness."

Man, as his highest accomplishment, if we may believe such teachers as the author of the "Data of Ethics," is to preserve a *moving equilibrium*, that is, a successful balance between all the forces, hereditary, of environment, social and political, that are perpetually acting upon him. Right and wrong are not found in the category of human relations and conduct, save as they are interchangeable for pleasure and pain. In this aspect human nature is but a very fine and complex piece of vital machinery, full of delicate adjustments and compensation for possible irregularity, but all its movements are pre-determined. In that case, if we only knew enough, without any gift of prophecy we might, as an essay in the line of biography, write out the story of a man's life, somewhat in the form of an equation. So many personal gifts, circumstances, opportunities, antagonisms equal to a given and inevitable result, his actual conduct. Writing from this standpoint, philosophy, in analyzing the forces of human life, whether individual or multitudinous, has nothing to say about the understanding, the affections, or the will. It is busy with the direction and rhythm of motion, with the instability of the homogeneous, with differentiation and equilibration.

The whole question of the Province and Freedom of the Will must needs be brought into any exploration of the debatable land, which lies between the philosophy of the evolutionist, and the foundation beliefs of the Christian theist. For the responsibility of man's conduct is in question! If he is delivered to do these things, then by no power, worthy of the Christian conception of God, can he be held responsible. Whether it be theological fatalism, or materialistic necessism, under either theory the will is enslaved, if not destroyed. Man's choice is pre-determined

for him. His freedom is a delusion ; his will, if he have any will, is so obscure, and feeble in the manner of its exercise, that it is practically an undeveloped or atrophied organ.

No doubt many claims that have been made for the freedom of the will, are extravagant and incapable of proof.

In the face of the abundant evidence now offered us, of the power of forces personal and social, which are acting upon us, the sphere in which the will may act is smaller than it was once supposed to be. Prof. Dana well remarks: "There is an old objection which threatened to undermine the ground on which we infer Divine will from the analogy of human will : namely, that our wills, being a part of the cause of nature, and amenable to its laws, their movements, though seemingly free, are as fixed as physical sequences. Upon this insoluble problem we have nothing practical to say, except to admit that so much of choice is determined by antecedent conditions and the surroundings, by hereditary bias, by what has been made for the individual and inwrought in his nature, that, granting the will has an element of freedom, in may be in effect a small factor. I can only urge that it is not an *insignificant* factor." This last qualification is sufficient. However evolved, man at last comes to have a will. He decides his action, he chooses between two or more lines of conduct. Yet more, he deems himself free in his choice. Is this only an illusion, from which clearer knowledge will deliver him, or is there a residual something, called the freedom of the will, which remains after the fullest examination of physical and psychical forces? After all manner of motives have been brought to bear, through whatever channel they approach, does liberty of willing remain? Is there, or is there not, a spirit in man, as part of whose supernatural furniture there is the categorical imperative of the conscience, which cries, I ought, and the self-determination which declares, I will?

The christian theist holds to the presence and potency of free will in his conduct, and is convinced that it is this which makes him responsible. Otherwise he can no more be called to account for what he does than the rain drops, as in obedience to a law of gravity they fall to the earth. No doubt, since law "dwells in the bosom of God," there can be nothing arbitrary in man's freedom of willing, but he acts by and through laws spiritual, not of cells and correlations of organs.

The evident tendency of the conclusions of materialism

40 EVOLUTION—CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FALL.

is to belittle the will. It is, from the point of view of such philosophy, a superfluous function of human nature, and its action needless. Consequently the importance given to its first recorded exercise, in the story of the Fall of man is out of all just proportion; and, as an account of the evil found in human history, about as reliable and serious as the fables which abound in every folk lore; or as literal as the endless myths of the Sun—God.

F. D. HOSKINS.

CHRISTIANITY PROVED BY THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

VARIOUS theories have been entertained with regard to the evidential value of miracles, and not a few have contended that they have no value as evidence at all for the reason that they are incredible except on the antecedent assumption of a supernatural power in the wonder-worker. Into these speculative questions it is not my purpose now to enter. I may be allowed to point out that for those who accept the divine authority of the Scriptures the question would seem to be foreclosed in as much as they represent the Saviour as appealing to His miracles of beneficence in proof of His divine mission. Moreover it may be safely said that if anyone is convinced that Jesus Christ rose from the dead he will believe that the Christian religion is from God. Nothing need be added to justify this conclusion, although an effort will be made hereafter to show how the inference can be made to apply to all the essential details of Christianity. Nothing however need be said to justify the inference, for it is so spontaneous and universal that its legitimacy hardly admits of question. Spontaneous and universal judgments carry with them their own credentials and the efforts of philosophers to prove that they are irrational seldom avail to discredit them. A truer philosophy accepts them as

having a clearer guarantee of their truth than any other propositions whatever. We may assume, therefore, that whatever theory is entertained with regard to the value of miracles as evidence, if we can prove that Jesus Christ rose from the dead we have well nigh proved the truth of Christianity.

But the converse of the proposition is also true. If the historical fact of Christ's Resurrection is disproved the whole of Christianity as a religious system falls with it. In drawing out what is meant by this statement we can not do better than observe the points made in I. Cor. XV. by the Apostle Paul whose writings will be universally accepted as the earliest and most accredited statement of the Christian belief.

He says: "If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain, your faith is also vain." Here are two main propositions involving several particulars which are next subjoined. First, the preaching of the Apostles was vain. The word employed is *κενον* empty. Christian preaching is the proclamation of a Gospel but the Resurrection of Christ is such an important part of that message that if it is taken out, what remains amounts to nothing. But not only is the preaching vain, the faith excited by it is also vain. Here the Apostle uses two words *κενη* and *ματαια*. The first signifies empty, the second fruitless or in vain. In the supposed case the faith exercised by believers is without any substance, it is a void or empty faith; and moreover it can have no result or fruit, it is in vain. What is meant by these statements will be best understood by examining the specific particulars which are added.

The first of these is that we are yet in our sins. Christianity is the proclamation of a deliverance from sin. This deliverance was accomplished by the sacrificial death of Christ. But that death in order to effect anything must be accepted as a complete propitiation and the Resurrection is the sign of this acceptance. The next consequence mentioned by the Apostle is equally momentous and deplorable. "Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished." The Apostle was no doubt acquainted with the various heathen philosophical arguments for the immortality of the soul and these would remain in full force even though it should be proved that Jesus Christ never rose from the dead. I am not aware that there is any reason for supposing that he under-

valued those arguments, or considered them inadequate to establish the conclusion toward which they pointed. His words rather indicate that he considered them insignificant when compared with the demonstration afforded by Christ's Resurrection. He considers that when this visible evidence is removed we are left not absolutely but relatively without reason to believe in a life beyond the grave.

And what the Apostle stated is no less true under the altered circumstances of the present day. Whatever may be thought of the argument of Butler and others, and certainly we can not venture to think lightly of the reasoning in the Analogy, yet no one would for a moment pretend that it establishes anything with half the certainty that would belong to our future state if we could be assured that Christ rose from the dead. Whereas if the contrary were established we would be left not absolutely but comparatively without assurance that they who have fallen asleep have not perished.

The next point mentioned by S. Paul seems to regard the emotional more than the logical results of a denial of the Resurrection. "If in this life only we have hope in Christ we are of all men most miserable." With whatever form of suffering men are afflicted, whether pain of body or grief of mind, there is no consolation which can for one moment be compared with that which can be derived from a lively sense of the Resurrection. The spectacle of one man who has visibly overcome death and entered into an endless life is a demonstration of the certainty of those Heavenly things the hope of which is the only thing which can afford much comfort in the midst of bitter earthly suffering. Without this we are thrown back upon uncertain conjectures and merely probable conclusions. Even the thought of God's wisdom as ruling all things well and the thought of His love as desiring nothing but our welfare will be found destitute of comfort unless linked to an undoubting faith in a future state of existence.

But some one may say: Does the Christian then merely serve God for hire and in hope of a reward? Does the practice of virtue bring with it no recompense? Does the love of God involve no happiness in itself? Does the contemplation of God's goodness bring no peace and elevation to the soul? The answer to these questions is that the belief in a future existence is inextricably interwoven with these ideas so that although Christians do not serve God in hope of a reward yet the ideas themselves would

perish if the element of a future life were removed from them. A life-long sufferer may believe in God's goodness and praise Him amid the fires as long as he believes that his present state of torment will be succeeded by another in which suffering will be unknown. But what conception can he form of the goodness of God if he believes that his whole conscious existence will be full of pain? We can understand then what S. Paul meant when he said that if Christ be not risen we are of all men most miserable. There may be alleviations of life-long sufferings from which Christians are debarred by the law of God. Many heathen philosophers declared that suicide itself was justifiable as an escape from intolerable and hopeless torments. From all these consolations Christians are debarred and that which is greater and nobler than any or all of them is taken away if it be proved that Christ has never risen. Denied the chief consolation of Christianity and deprived of some of those which belong to philosophy they might well think their lot the most miserable of all.

Finally, S. Paul says that if Christ be not risen the Apostles are found "false witnesses of God." Let us not fail to see in these words all which they contain or imply. They are a statement that if the Apostles' testimony in this respect is false they are necessarily conscious and wilful deceivers. Whatever theories may be advanced at the present day which regard the disciples as the victims of a delusion, S. Paul looked upon such a position as one that was impossible to be maintained. In his mind either that which they delivered was true or they wilfully said that which they knew to be false. The circumstances were such that they could not be mistaken or deceived. And the more we reflect upon the matter the more reason will we see for believing that S. Paul was right and that the supposition of mistake is utterly untenable. In another paper it will be my duty to shew this by examining the various theories which strive to shew how the mistake may have arisen. That it was a delusion is indeed the favorite idea with unbelievers at the present day and it is therefore noteworthy to observe that the Apostle entirely excludes this notion from the list of possibilities.

Therefore such is the importance of the Resurrection that if it is taken out of the Christian system there is nothing left but emptiness, not because there are no other important facts or doctrines but because everything essential is so linked to this one fact that when it is taken away

everything else goes with it and nothing is left behind. I have already stated that its importance is equally great in the other direction so that if this fact is once established all of Christianity will follow from it. The evidence of this proposition must be left for the last paper, but meanwhile I may repeat what has been already said that most people if convinced that Jesus Christ rose from the dead would at once admit that the Christian religion comes from God. This one fact therefore stands in a very peculiar relation to the rest. The whole of Christianity may be said to stand or fall with it. If it is true, Christianity is true; if it is false, Christianity is a delusion. But observe we cannot say that the Christian religion stands or falls with the proof of this fact. There are no doubt many things true in past history which cannot be proved, many things false which cannot be disproved. Christ's Resurrection might be one of these and in that case, as nothing could be proved with regard to it, it could have no practical bearing on the matter of Christian Evidences, although abstractly it would still be true that if that event did take place Christianity is Divine, if it did not Christianity is a human invention. In other words if we cannot prove anything about the fact we cannot use it in argument, but if we can prove either an affirmative or a negative its weight as an argument will be decisive. It will be the object of these articles to shew that if we can be assured of the occurrence of anything in history we can be certain that Our Lord rose from the dead and then to state the momentous consequences that follow. Should the argument appear to any to be sound it may serve to confirm some persons in the faith. Should the argument appear inconclusive no presumption will arise from its failure against the truth of Christianity for the Resurrection of Christ may be one of many historical facts which are undoubted although incapable of being established by ordinary historical evidence. Even if this argument fails, all the ordinary arguments which belong to the Science of Christian Evidences remain untouched and prove the Resurrection by proving the truth of the Religion of which it is a part. Here on the contrary we seek to prove the Religion by first proving the historical fact on which it rests. It cannot be denied that some Christian apologists, and in the present day especially Steinmayer, have held that the attempt cannot succeed. For many reasons I feel compelled to hold the opposite opinion.

It is worth while to notice how boldly from the first the Church staked everything upon this single issue. S. Paul does so in the words which have been quoted from an epistle, the genuineness of which is undoubted. The Acts of the Apostles, another almost undisputed work, says that the Apostles went everywhere preaching the Resurrection. All the Christian remains of Antiquity indicate the same thing. In every Catholic Creed that has been preserved the Resurrection is the central fact announced. In other words the Christian Church has from the first staked her whole existence on the truth of a single statement, and that statement has involved not a matter of opinion but a matter of fact, and that matter of fact has been stated not in a vague way so that its truth could not be tested but in a definite and particular manner such as to challenge investigation and to be easily capable of disproof if false. I am not aware of anything in history which is at all similar to this and its significance can hardly be overestimated.

Before examining the evidence it will be well to ascertain what amount and what kind of proof will be required. Our whole inquiry will be fruitless if Hume's position can be established that no amount of evidence can prove a miracle. It was supposed that the sophism contained in his argument had been so frequently and so completely exposed that all men would be ashamed to reproduce it. But the author of "Supernatural Religion" has had the hardihood to draw forth this rusty weapon from the armories of the past and as might have been expected has met with a speedy and signal overthrow. However the argument is stated its fundamental fallacy lies in the assumption that a universal experience is adverse to the occurrence of miracles, but this so-called universal experience is only ascertained by excluding the testimony of all who think they have witnessed miracles. Whatever such universal experience may be worth, it is clear that it can only be ascertained by taking the testimony of all men. And if we take the testimony of all men we should have thousands of Roman Catholics and Spiritualists testifying that in their experience miracles or supernatural events of the nature of miracles have occurred at the present day. Nay if we extend our researches and call upon the millions of Asia and Africa to bear witness it is doubtful if we shall not find an actual majority of the human race testifying that miracles have occurred within their experience.

Believers are not afraid of their testimony because in their judgment the genuineness of a miracle is a mere matter of evidence and in most cases it is easy to discriminate between that which is true and that which is false. But it is hard to see how in the face of such a fact anyone can assert the existence of a universal experience the other way. It is done of course by excluding all unpleasant testimony. But the only ground on which that testimony could be ruled out is the assertion that it is incredible because it asserts the existence of miracles. In other words unbelievers are obliged to beg the whole question in order to find a basis for their argument.

It is hardly likely however that the fallacy of Hume will often be seriously reproduced although it is to be feared that it may have some secret influence.

The position of John Stuart Mill is of more importance. He avers that miracles are incredible unless the existence of God is first either assumed or proved, because unless we are assured that there is a God it will always be more reasonable to suppose that an apparently supernatural event is due to the working of some undiscovered natural force than to the interposition of a Divine Being. But surely this statement leaves out of view one large class of cases. If persons believe or assume that God does not exist, of course they cannot believe in miracles. On the other hand, if persons believe that God does exist or assume His existence, Mill admits that the probable occurrence of miracles is a reasonable corollary from such a belief or assumption. But suppose men neither believe nor disbelieve in God's existence but hold their judgment in suspense. Such persons would have to admit that the existence of God was possible, and if so then miracles would be possible and their actual occurrence would be a matter to be determined solely by the evidence. By all therefore excepting those who believe the existence of God to be disproved and to be impossible, the occurrence of any particular miracle must be looked upon as possible and its truth must be determined by the evidence. Thus it has come to pass in the words of the Duke of Argyll that "the question of miracles seems now to be admitted on all hands to be simply a question of evidence." It is pleasant also to observe that he is able to quote Prof. Huxley as saying that "denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism," and that

"Atheism is as absurd logically speaking as Polytheism."^{*} These admissions may not be intended to have much practical effect but they at all events justify us in regarding the Resurrection of Christ as an historical incident the reality of which must be determined by the testimony.

The question then arises, how much and what kind of testimony is required? It is obvious that some events are with reason believed on slighter evidence than others. Thus if we read with regard to a certain historical character that he died on a certain day of a particular year we accept the statement readily enough and ordinarily if it is undisputed do not inquire minutely into the nature of the evidence. If we should read on, however, and presently come to a statement that the same man after three days came to life again, we would at once begin to ask what proof can be alleged of this second statement. This however is only a very partial account of the matter and therefore in order to obtain a somewhat fuller view let us imagine some cases and observe certain distinctions. If we are told that a certain man was a prophet we do not accept such a declaration upon testimony because it is a matter of opinion and the judgment of the witnesses may be in fault. We require to know the facts upon which the opinion is based. If a witness testifies that he saw a man crossing a bridge and carrying his head in his hands we would have to ascertain that all possibility of fraud or delusion was excluded before we could believe the story. Our incredulity in this case would arise from the strangeness and grotesqueness of the facts and possibly unless some object was apparent from their aimless and purposeless character. If history relates that a man was crucified we believe the statement if sufficient motive is shown and if crucifixion was a common mode of punishment at the alleged time and place. If the historian relates that the same individual had an interview with his friends a few days before he suffered and said and did certain things, we believe this also unless there is something wildly improbable in the words or deeds. More especially do we yield assent if the historian declares that he himself was present at the interview. If however the historian relates that the crucified person had an interview with his friends a few days after his execution, that he himself was present on the occasion, that the crucified person exhibited all the

^{*}Reign of Law (5th Ed.) p. 90.

signs of life and conversed with those assembled our suspicions are at once excited. But observe whence this incredulity arises. It does not arise because as in the first case the circumstance in question is a matter of opinion. On the contrary it is a plain matter of fact. It does not arise as in the second case from the strangeness and grotesqueness of the fact itself. There is nothing remarkable in one man meeting and conversing with several others in a room. The historian who professes to have been present was just as well able to judge of the facts in the second supposed interview as in the first. In themselves considered the facts occurring at the second interview may be no more remarkable than those which took place at the first. Why is it then that we are so much slower to believe the narrative of the second than of the first conversation? Plainly because of something which had occurred in the meantime, namely the death of the chief actor, and from which the subsequent incident may in thought be entirely disconnected. In other words the incredibility or improbability of the event in question does not arise from anything that took place at the time but from something else that took place at another time and under other circumstances. Plainly therefore we must inquire with unusual care into the honesty and capacity of the witnesses and nothing more can be required.

If now we apply these principles to the narrative of what took place after the Resurrection, we shall obtain an answer to the question how much and what kind of testimony is needed to establish the truth of the story. With the exception of the Lord's sudden appearance and disappearance, a certain change which as we are candidly told prevented in some cases His immediate recognition, and possibly one or two other circumstances, everything that occurred was of such an ordinary and entirely natural character that the witnesses could judge of it just as well as of what occurred at the Trial before Pontius Pilate. The marvelousness of the incident grows almost entirely out of something else that had occurred at another time and place, viz: His Crucifixion. Plainly therefore all we have to inquire is whether any persons can be found to testify that they actually saw Jesus on any one of these occasions, if so how many will so testify, then whether these witnesses may not be parties to a fraud, and finally whether the circumstances were such as to exclude the possibility of their being deceived. If these questions are satisfacto-

rily answered we must accept it as a fact that the incident testified to really occurred and then proceed to inquire how it can be harmonized with the preceding Crucifixion. I do not see that any other mental attitude is at all reasonable or defensible.

It is now time to consider what the direct evidence amounts to, and I think it will be found that the witnesses are both more numerous, and more important than would be imagined by those who have not reflected upon the subject.

Before enumerating them, however some remarks must be made which have a general bearing upon this branch of the subject, and which may serve to correct some misapprehensions.

In the first place the objection may be made among the ignorant that the evidence for the Resurrection is all contained in one volume, the New Testament, and consequently that there is really, but a single witness to the fact. In this gross form it is probable that few would be found willing to allege the argument, but if it is uttered, the obvious reply is, that the New Testament is a volume containing writings by various authors of various dates, that at least eight persons had a share in its composition, and that of these eight, at least six testified to the Resurrection, viz.; the Four Evangelists, or the authors of the books which pass under their names, S. Paul and S. Peter. The author of the Book of Acts may be assumed to be the same as the author of S. Luke's Gospel, and the author of the Book of Revelation may be assumed to be the same as the author of the Fourth Gospel. If the latter assumption is not admitted, the witnesses would have to be reckoned as seven instead of six. They do not all claim to be eye-witnesses. The name is given to them only because they testify, and their number is insisted on merely in answer to the assertion that the evidence consists of the statements of a single volume.

Perhaps an illustration will serve to set the matter in a juster light. The daily newspapers furnish us with detailed reports of remarkable trials. These reports sometimes contain the testimony of many persons to extraordinary and almost incredible occurrences.

And although it frequently comes to us through the pen of a single reporter, nevertheless we justly look upon it, as the testimony of a number of witnesses, and upon the strength of it, are led to believe strange things. I adduce

this merely as a parallel case of evidence which comes to us as a unit, and yet consists of several independent parts, and thus resembles a cord formed of numerous interwoven strands.

Another objection, and one which is at once more popular and more plausible is that those who beheld the appearances are expressly stated to have been "chosen witnesses."* The strength of this objection lies chiefly in its indefiniteness. As soon as the meaning is expressed in clear language, it is seen to have very little force. When the objector says, the witnesses were all expressly chosen for the purpose, it is generally felt that he has alleged something quite important and derogatory, but if we examine what those words must mean the impression will perhaps disappear. They may mean: 1. The witnesses are untrustworthy, because they were expressly chosen as being likely to lend themselves readily to a fraud. 2. The witnesses are untrustworthy because they were expressly chosen as being likely to be easily deceived. 3. The witnesses are all untrustworthy because some of them were chosen as being likely to concur in a deception, the others as likely to fall easy victims to it. Whichever of these meanings is adopted, the objector would have to say by whom he supposes the witnesses to have been chosen. The believer is willing to accept what would appear to be the evident intent of the narrative, and supposes them to have been chosen by God as being for various reasons best fitted to carry out His wise purposes, but the unbelieving objector in order to discredit their testimony would have to mean that they were chosen by some fraudulent individuals who were engaged in promoting a deceit and who selected these persons as being likely to be useful in one of the ways mentioned above. But everyone known to us was of the number of the "chosen" and therefore could not be one of the choosers. Who they were therefore who arranged the fraud is a question impossible to answer. On this theory they were the real authors of Christianity and yet their very names have perished from the earth. This inability to say who chose the witnesses is a great difficulty in the way of accepting either of the theories that have been mentioned. But there are also other reasons for saying that they are all untenable. The first supposes that the witnesses were chosen for their dishonesty as

* Acts x, 41.

being likely to lend themselves readily to a deceit. But here we are brought face to face with an inexplicable absence of motive, with the great improbability that men would not only die, but be willing to live lives of hardship, self-denial and purity in attestation of a conscious lie, and with the moral miracle of the purest system of morality being introduced and propagated by fraud and chicanery. Such incredibilities can be believed only by those who are determined to believe anything rather than the truth of the Gospel, and as a matter of fact unbelievers generally show a desire to accept any other sceptical hypothesis rather than encounter the difficulties which encompass this one.

The second theory supposes that the witnesses were chosen as being likely to be easily deceived. But this certainly was not the case for they were of all persons the ones whom it would be most difficult to impose upon. The list embraces all those who were sufficiently well acquainted with the person of Jesus to make their testimony of any value. Some have expressed a wish for the evidence of the High Priest or of Pontius Pilate, but the latter so far as we know never saw Jesus except on the single occasion on which He was brought before him, and the High Priest did not know His person well enough to be able even to arrest Him without the treachery of Judas, so that their testimony would be nearly worthless. The records of some famous modern trials show how easily mistakes of identity may arise where there is comparatively slight acquaintance. If any persons were arranging a fraud the constant daily companions and disciples of Jesus were precisely those who would be thought most difficult to deceive and therefore it is absurd to imagine that they were chosen as being likely to possess just the opposite qualification.

But if these two theories are untenable, the third which is a compound of both must likewise fall to the ground.

It must be admitted however that there is a legitimate feeling with regard to the character of the witnesses which craves a degree of recognition such as it has rarely, if ever received. It is quite true that the Apostles can not be regarded as deceivers. It is also quite true that they were not likely to be deceived on such a point as this. It must be confessed however that they had a veneration for their Master so exalted as to lead us to suspect that they might too readily believe anything that tended to His glorifica-

tion. This predisposition therefore must be admitted as tending in some slight degree to expose them to deception. It does not avail so far as to throw any real doubt upon the definite facts to which they testify nor does it still cease to be true that they were of all persons those whose evidence is of the most value, but there are perhaps some who crave the additional satisfaction which might be derived from the testimony of some one who was thoroughly acquainted with the person of Jesus, was an unbeliever before his Crucifixion, and yet was convinced of His Resurrection. Such a craving seems natural, and such witnesses I believe to exist although I am not aware that attention has ever been directed to the point. Their evidence will be given in its proper place.

One other point of a general character remains to be noticed. Testimony may be given by deeds as well as by words. This truth is confessed and acted upon in ordinary life and has even become embodied in a popular proverb, but it is sometimes lost sight of in recounting the list of those who testify to the Resurrection. Such an omission however is very prejudicial to the truth, for if men's actions plainly indicated that they believed Christ to have risen, and to have been seen by them, then such testimony must be taken into account in weighing the evidence. The only possible defect in it arises from its being general rather than specific in its character. It constitutes valid evidence for a general fact, but not for the details connected with it, but as far as it goes, it may be as good as any other.

We are now prepared to consider who the witnesses are. I do not propose to quote the testimony of S. Paul, although it is customary to mention him among the first, and although he is the only one to whom Strauss seems willing to accord the distinction of being an original witness whose testimony has come down to us. His language will be used later on as showing who the other testifiers were, but his individual testimony will not be appealed to. This omission, however is not due to any undervaluing of his narrative. Taken in connection with the undoubted facts of his life it forms an independent argument of some force for the truth of the Christian Religion. Nor is the omission due to any uncertainty as to that which Saul saw on the road to Damascus. That is believed without doubt to have been not a subjective impression, but an objective vision of Christ and therefore S. Paul leaves us his repeated declaration that he saw the Crucified One restored to life.

But that testimony is not readily available for the purpose of this argument, because the vision did not occur during the Forty Days, because Saul was not as far as we know previously acquainted with the person of Christ, and because whatever view we take of the vision, whether we suppose Christ to have visited the earth or Saul's powers to have been miraculously exalted, so as to see him in Heaven, in either case the incident belongs to a different category from the interviews which Our Lord granted to His disciples during the interval between His Resurrection and Ascension.

The first witness to be mentioned is S. Peter whose testimony is recorded in his first Epistle and in the Book of Acts.* Critics have assailed the genuineness of these Books, but their attacks must be considered a failure, and writers very indisposed to accept traditional views and altogether hostile to anything supernatural agree that they must be accepted as the authentic productions of the authors whose names they bear. In Germany this is confessed by such men as Credner and Bleek, and in France by Renan.† Even Strauss does not deny that S. Peter must have preached some such discourse as is recorded in the second chapter of the Book of Acts, although he imagines the date of it to be falsified, and discovers what he calls a dogmatic purpose in putting the delivery of it on the anniversary of the giving of the Law. The sole reason for his doubt lies in its being spoken on the day of Pentecost and the sole extent of his scepticism has reference merely to the precise date of the occurrence. It must be set down therefore as an undeniable fact that S. Peter not very long after the Crucifixion of Christ publicly and repeatedly announced His Resurrection. But before leaving this topic attention must again be called to a point which has already been mentioned. That which S. Peter testified to was no doubt a miracle, but the particular incidents related were not in themselves miraculous. He says that on certain occasions he and others ate and drank with Jesus Christ.‡ The fact that Jesus Christ had previously been crucified, dead and buried makes his statement a very startling one, and should lead us to receive it with extreme caution, but the incidents are in themselves

* Acts I, 22 ; II, 24-32 ; III, 15 ; IV, 10 ; X, 40-41 ; I, S. Peter, I, 3, 21 ; III, 21.

† Speaker's Commentary ; Introduction to Acts. See Renan's *Apostles*. Chapter I.

‡ Acts X, 41.

so plain and commonplace that anyone would say it is almost inconceivable that the Apostle could have been deceived. The alternative stated by S. Paul must be held to apply to this case in all its force. Either Christ did rise from the dead or S. Peter was a deliberate and intentional false witness.

The next persons to whom I shall appeal are S. Matthew and S. John. The Second and Third Gospels are not here quoted in this connection because their authors do not profess to have been eye-witnesses of the events. But the writers of the First and Fourth Gospels do, and if the constant belief of the Church concerning the authorship of those works is correct, they must have been present at the scenes which they relate.

They describe numerous interviews which took place after the Resurrection, and the latter repeats discourses of some length which were delivered by the risen Christ. It has therefore been felt to be necessary to assail the authenticity of these works, and that course has been perseveringly followed. The Fourth Gospel in particular has been attacked with the utmost energy and pertinacity. But the assault has signally failed. It is safe to say that there is hardly any book of ancient or modern times which can show as strong proofs of authenticity as these. I am not now contending for their inspiration. I am not contending for their entire truthfulness, nor even for their accuracy in the point at present under consideration. However necessary these characteristics are as a basis for the establishment of doctrine, they are not essential to the present argument. I am only contending that after all the discussion that has been devoted to the subject there is no good reason to doubt that the First and Fourth Gospels are really the productions of the men whose names they bear, and therefore in them we have the declarations of two other men that they saw and conversed with Jesus Christ on several occasions after His Resurrection, and that He uttered words, and discourses which they record.

The next witness to be summoned is Mary Magdalene.* The delivery of her testimony is related in a much disputed portion of S. Mark's Gospel, and if the fact depended upon that passage alone we might not be allowed to rest much weight upon it. But it is recorded also by S. John, the authenticity of whose Gospel has already been suffi-

* S. Mark XVI, 10; S. John XX, 18.

ciently asserted, and the existence of her belief however it may be accounted for, is confessed by those who deny pretty nearly everything else. Strauss attributes what he calls her hallucination to a disordered nervous system, and Renan ascribes to the loving imagination of her woman's heart, the birth of the creative dogma of Christianity. But both confess what indeed seems impossible to deny that she thought she had seen and conversed with the risen Jesus. Nor does there appear to be any reason to doubt that she repeated to the disciples certain things which He had told her. She must therefore be set down as another witness whether we are disposed to attach much or little weight to her testimony.

The next to be mentioned are the two disciples, one of whom was named Cleopas who met and conversed with the Lord on their way to Emmaus. The incident is recorded in the Gospel of S. Luke XXIV, 13-35, and in that of S. Mark XVI, 12-13. The two accounts are not only independent but present certain discrepancies which are not at all irreconcilable, but nevertheless make some demand upon the skill of the harmonizer. The testimony of these two disciples is important and interesting in various ways.

The circumstances which they relate have far more of the supernatural about them than most of those which are recorded by S. Matthew and S. John. The want of recognition at first, the sudden revelation of identity in the act of breaking bread, the mysterious vanishing out of their sight, all these incidents have in them something so much out of the common order that they cannot be placed in the same category as the simple and trivial events related in the First and Fourth Gospels. On the other hand any suspicion that might attach to the interview from its supernatural and mysterious character is perhaps fully counterbalanced by the credit which accrues to it from other features, such as the length of time during which the conversation lasted, the connection of the recognition with the solemn act of breaking of bread, and the reasoned discourse based upon the Scriptures, all of which would seem to be securities against the possibility of deception. There seems to be no doubt that such an interview actually did take place, and that the two disciples walked and talked with some one whom they believed to be the risen Lord. Strauss would appear to say that he was an "unknown person who met them under enigmatical circumstances,

and made a special impression upon them,"* while Renan says that their "unknown companion" was "a pious man well versed in the Scriptures quoting Moses and the prophets."† I do not argue as yet that he with whom the two disciples walked and conversed was really Jesus Christ risen from the dead, but only that they thought he was and that they had substantially such opportunities of forming a correct opinion as are recorded in the Second and Third Gospels. They are therefore to be set down as two more witnesses in the case.

The next one to be summoned is the Apostle Thomas. The incident is related in S. John XX, 24-30, and even if we are not allowed to regard the narrative as a true account of what took place, we may be justified in assuming that it represents the traditional belief as to what occurred, and that S. Thomas unquestionably first expressed doubt, and subsequently became convinced by evidence which appealed to the sense of touch as well as that of sight. Renan admits the circumstance, and says that a mild stain always rested upon the Apostle's memory in consequence of it. S. Thomas must therefore certainly be set down as another witness, and one whose faith was gained only by stronger evidence than that which sufficed to convince some of the others.

Of the eleven Apostles, four have now been quoted as giving their testimony but the other seven also must be regarded as men who profess to have seen the risen Christ, and therefore must be counted as witnesses in the case.

Our reason for so considering them is found in the chapters of the four Gospels and Book of Acts which record the occurrences, and also in the passages in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which refer to the interviews without describing them.‡ It is not essential to the argument to prove that the Gospels and the Book of Acts are genuine and authentic documents, though this has been abundantly and repeatedly done. It is admitted that the narratives represent what was generally believed to have taken place, and most scholars, however indisposed to do so, are willing to confess that this belief could not have arisen unless the Eleven professed to have seen Christ,

* *Leben Jesu*, p. 308, quoted by Christlieb, p. 465

† Renan's *Apostles*, pp. 65 to 68.

‡ S. Matthew XXVII. 16-20; S. Mark XVI. 14-18; S. Luke XXIV, 36-49; S. John XX. 19-29; Acts I. 4-8; I Cor. XV. 5. 7.

They are therefore to be set down as additional witnesses, and there seems no reason to doubt that they believed they saw their risen Master on several occasions, and that that which they saw was tested by the senses of hearing and touch, and by the reasoning judgment as well as by the sense of sight. Here then are several additional witnesses.

If I had undertaken to mention everyone who had borne testimony in this matter I would here count Nathaniel * of Cana in Gallilee, and S. Mathias.† But I prefer to pass over these and some other names, and to come to a large and important group of persons whose evidence is before us.

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians we meet with this statement. "After that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present but some are fallen asleep."‡ The importance of the passage may be inferred from the following words of Strauss. "On this authority we must believe that many members of the primitive Church who were yet living at the time when this Epistle was written [i. e. A. D. 59.] especially the Apostles were convinced that they had witnessed appearances of the risen Christ." But since this statement is to be accepted as true, there is no reason for doubting the number mentioned and therefore we are to believe that about three hundred persons, which is the greater part of five hundred, were living when this Epistle was written who believed that they had seen Christ after He rose from the dead. Of course their belief could only be known by their declarations and therefore we must hold that about three hundred persons testified that they had seen the risen Christ.¶ This being the case it may be well to observe certain circumstances connected with the manner in which their testimony was given. The student of Paley's Evidences will remember the proposition which he proves with so much fulness and elaboration. "There is satisfactory evidence that many professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles passed their lives in labors, dangers and sufferings voluntarily undergone, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered,

* S. John XXI. 2.

† Acts I. 22.

‡ I Cor. XV. 6.

¶ Life of Christ II. 832.

and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts, and that they also submitted from the same motives to new rules of conduct."* It is probable that this statement would not now be disputed but it would be said that being true, it no more proves the truth of Christianity than similar constancy on the part of Mohammedans proves the truth of the religion of the False Prophet. Be it so. I am not concerned to deny the assertion. All I wish is that the truth of the proposition should be admitted. Its import and significance may be considered hereafter. If its truth is admitted, as indeed it must be, then I would wish to place alongside of it the other truth with which we are at present dealing, viz. that about three hundred persons were living in the year of our Lord 59 who believed and averred that they had seen Christ after He had risen from the dead. This juxtaposition being effected it will be seen that the conclusion which Paley delivered in such general terms might be stated in a more specific manner. If the early Christians as a body lived lives of hardship and purity or died the death of martyrs, there is no reason to doubt that the same is true of those who thought that they had beheld the risen Christ. If such lives were led and such deaths endured by most in attestation of the Christian miracles in general, there is no reason to doubt that the supposed witnesses of the Resurrection acted in a similar manner chiefly in attestation of that one miracle which has always been the corner-stone of the Christian system. Paley's conclusion therefore might be expressed in the following more definite language: There is satisfactory evidence that about three hundred persons professing to be original witnesses of the Resurrection of Christ passed their lives in labors, dangers and sufferings voluntarily undergone in attestation of that marvel, and solely in consequence of their belief in it, and that they also submitted from the same motive to new rules of conduct. They must be counted therefore as so many additional witnesses whose testimony was given in the impressive manner described.

There are but two other persons to be cited. It has already been said that many would feel better satisfied if any individuals could be quoted who being unbelievers before the Crucifixion had no pre-disposition to believe marvellous stories about Christ, but were convinced by His

* Paley's Evidences *passim*.

Resurrection of the justice of his claims, and it was added that two such persons could be produced. It now remains for me to justify this statement.

In S. John's Gospel VII, 5. it is written "neither did his brethren believe on him." There are other passages which speak of the brethren and sisters of Christ, and there is a noted place in the Epistle to the Galatians which mentions James the Lord's brother. Who these persons were is a question that has been much debated from an early period, and it is worthy of note that the tendency of modern scholars is, to return to that opinion which would appear to have been most generally entertained in the earliest ages of the Church. Three theories have been advanced. One of these is known as the Hieronymian from its first inventor S. Jerome. According to this the word brethren is used in the loose way not uncommon among the Ancients as equivalent to cousins, and the Lord's brethren were really identical with James the son of Alphaeus and Jude the brother of James, who belonged to the number of the Twelve Apostles. The words already quoted that his brethren did not believe on him are sufficient to show that this theory is utterly untenable, and other convincing reasons against it are mentioned by Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on Galatians. Although it has been held by vast numbers of scholars, and is the theory entertained in the Church of Rome at the present day, it may be dismissed from our consideration. The other two theories are that they were the children of Joseph and Mary born subsequent to the birth of Christ, and that they were the children of Joseph by a former marriage and therefore naturally called brothers and sisters of Christ, although not actually related to Him. For the purpose of the present argument, it makes no difference which of these theories is adopted, although the last named has much the strongest evidence in its favor from internal probability, ecclesiastical tradition, and Christian sentiment. One of these two theories must however be true and in either case we have in the brethren of Christ precisely the kind of witnesses which the most exacting and sceptical enquirer would most desire. Being members of the same household, they were thoroughly acquainted with His person and therefore not likely to be deceived or mistaken. And being unbelievers before His Crucifixion, they manifestly had no pre-disposition to accept wonderful stories con-

cerning Him. If therefore we can find that they or any of them, were believers after His Resurrection, we have in them the most valuable witnesses that could possibly be produced. Such was actually the case, the names of the brethren were James, and Joses, Simon and Judas.*

Immediately after the Resurrection we find the brethren of Jesus assembled with the disciples the women and Mary His Mother in the upper chamber in Jerusalem.† This alone would indicate that their incredulity had been vanquished by the stupendous miracle of the Resurrection. But more definite evidence is forth-coming. James, the Lord's brother, became known in history as James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem. He presided over the Council which is reported in the 15th chapter of the Book of Acts and died a martyr's death leaving the General Epistle of S. James as part of the Canon of the New Testament for the instruction of all future ages of the Church. Jude, the brother of James wrote the Epistle which bears his name. In these two men therefore, we have two of the most valuable witnesses to the Resurrection of Christ.

Without stopping to search for others who may have left their testimony on record, the review that has been taken gives us the following list :

1. S. Peter.
2. S. Matthew, and S. John.
3. Mary Magdalene.
4. The Two Disciples.
5. S. Thomas.
6. The rest of the Eleven Apostles.
7. The Three Hundred.
8. S. James and S. Jude.

Whether their testimony is believed or disbelieved, it can not be denied even by the most resolute sceptic that all these persons declared that they saw Jesus Christ after He was risen from the dead. Some of them saw Him, apparently only on one occasion, some had several interviews with Him, some heard from His lips long discourses which they record, some ate and drank with Him. Their testimony to this effect is left in such a way, as to afford the most convincing proof, that they sincerely believed in the truth of what they uttered. Nor is there any room for deception or mistake. It is foolish to say that the occur-

* S. Matthew XIII. 55,

† Acts I. 14.

rence ought to have been tested by some skilful scientist. Incidents of such a plain and commonplace nature can be judged of as well by simple fishermen as by the most learned scholars. It is idle to assert that other events have been witnessed to by similar testimony and yet after all have proved delusions and that this will sooner or later share the same fate. It is hard to think of any event in history which can produce in its favor anything like an equal amount of direct evidence. It has been compared with the assassination of Julius Cæsar, and it has been said that the latter occurrence can not produce a tenth of the evidence which exists for the former. But the statement strong as it seems probably falls short of the truth. No delusion can, for a moment be compared with this in point of testimony. How then can the evidence be resisted? I know of but one way, and that is mere wilful incredulity. One may assert that the thing is simply incredible, and refuse to believe no matter what the testimony may be. But such a course involves the greater difficulty of explaining how all these witnesses came to be so fatally mistaken. The miracle of the Resurrection, or the still greater marvel of an Apostolic belief in it with nothing to rest upon, must be believed. If we are allowed to do what we are so often told we should do and judge of this occurrence as we would of any other, then we must confess that no other historical event is testified to by an equal number of direct and unimpeachable witnesses. We must believe it to be true, or abandon all reliance upon human testimony.

HENRY A. YARDLEY.

THE REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE work of the Committee of Revision of the New Testament has been now for several months before the public. Either accidentally or intentionally, everything connected with its first appearance in America was as well managed with a view to an effective impression, as if the prince of showmen, or the most accomplished of advertisers had had it in hand. Suggestions, citations, contradictions, glimpses and withdrawals, notices and criticisms, a sensational bit of telegraphy worthy of Chicago, stories of a printing press set up on an ocean steamer, and so forth, and so forth, quickened the public appetite. And an apparent benefit arose at once, in that thousands of people were reading the *new* New Testament on the first Sunday of its issue. Sober second thought made men realize, that this kind of reading was much like the listening to sermons in the Summer resorts, where a different preacher is engaged for every Sunday, and the result is the cultivation of a taste for the comparative anatomy of sermons, and the conversion of congregations, into classes of critics. One absolute resultant benefit ought to be recognized. The wide-spread interest, even counting it at only critical curiosity, is proof, that no blasphemer can ignore, of the hold the Scriptures have upon the world. Let us

thank God for that, even while acknowledging that the very large number of needless changes made, puts into the hands of unbelievers, a weapon of attack upon revealed truth; and the disparaging condemnation of the old translation, the severe judgments of motives on the part of transcribers, and the constant disregard for the very important testimony of early Christian writers—who quote from earlier and consequently more authentic MSS. than any extant now—leave a savour of uncertainty about the true text of the S.S. which is, to say the least of it, unfortunate in effect, as it is unreal in fact. The Revisers, it is true, proclaim that no doctrine and no moral precept are affected by any discovered changes of text. But the value of this proclamation is greatly weakened by the fact, that, although under the instructions which created them, they were “to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness,” they have introduced, and state it with a sort of boast, between eight and nine changes in every two verses of the Gospels, and about fifteen, in every four verses of the Epistles. Bishop Ellicott honestly calls this “a numerically high standard of correction.” We should prefer “large,” to “high” in the statement. But as, at this rate, there must be at least thirty thousand changes in the New Testament Scriptures, it is plain to see that on this point as in every other, the Revisers have exceeded the intentions and the instructions of their Convocation. It looks as if, bitten with the love of change and desiring to magnify the necessity and value of their work, they had purposely multiplied alterations.

The relation of the Church of England or of the Episcopal Church in America to the Holy Scriptures as compared with the relation of other Christian bodies is very peculiar in three points.

We hold, in connection with the Catholic Church, that the Church is the Witness and Keeper of the Word, and the pillar and ground of the Truth. Not giving any authority to Holy Scripture, yet she authenticates Scriptures, having guarded and defined the Canon. Besides this she has in her Creeds, *the Faith*. She held it and delivered it before and apart from the Bible. And as of old, so now, the living voice goes *first*; and “the Bereans” who are accounted as noble, “search the Scriptures whether the things taught are so;” “Theophilus” knows, out of the written word, “the certainty of the things in which he had

been previously catechized." So that, if that inconceivable misery had happened, or could happen, that the MS. Scriptures had been lost, or hopelessly corrupted, the Church would still witness to, and keep, the Faith. And lastly, while our Liturgical use of the Gloria in Excelsis and the Lord's Prayer will always save us from the depravations in them, which the Revisers have commended ; and while our use of different translations, as in the Psalter, habituates us to the idea of the value of various renderings, as helping, each, not to change, but to open out and develop the wealth of meanings in, the Original ; while both these things are true, and while we are protected besides by prescribed authority from the individual wilfulness, which may choose one version in one parish and another in another ; yet, no body of Christians in the world, are so concerned as we are, about the text of the Bible, simply because no body of Christians in the world, uses the Bible as fully, as largely, and as frequently as we do, in our public Service. Hence, in this country for instance, this Church, taking no part in the work, has watched, with a perfectly uncommitted patience, the result of the ten years' labour of an able body of scholars. I say uncommitted, because out of the large number of American Revisers, only three were Clergymen of this Church.

In reviewing the work of the Committee for "the Revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures," it is important as far as possible, to avoid too much discussion of preliminary and perhaps irrelevant questions, which nevertheless, press upon the mind of any one undertaking the task. And yet it is really necessary at the start, to state certain facts. The undertaking of this most important and solemn duty was originated by a body of great weight and character, but representing only a portion of the National Church of England, so that the Northern Convocation, the Colonial Churches of Great Britain and the American Church in communion with the Church of England, were entirely excluded from any consultation upon the first question, whether a Revision was desirable, and if so, how, and by whom, it should be conducted. Considering the stewardship of the whole Church for the Word of God, and the untold responsibility of the trust, this is a very serious matter, and must enter largely into the consideration of the final action of these unconsulted Bodies, upon the acceptance, or rejection of the Revisers' work. Next must come the question, what is Revision?

As carried on by the Committee, it has consisted in the *construction* of a Greek Text—a work to which an Œcumenical Council would address itself with some reluctance—and in an aggregate of changes so enormous as to amount, in the words of an American Reviser, “to improvements on every page and almost in every verse” which “may be compared to the one hundred and fifty thousand variations of the Greek Testament.” This seems, certainly, much more like a *new translation of a new text*, than like a Revision of the Authorized English Version. It is difficult, too, to reconcile, the statements of the Revisers, as to the value and importance of these changes. They are such, we are told, in one statement, that “the majority of readers and hearers will scarcely observe them and few of them alter the sense very materially. They do not change a single article of Faith, nor a single precept of duty.” And yet they have been considered of sufficient consequence, to warrant a conduct of the Revision, in which changes of text over-balance a thousand fold the additions to the marginal readings. Again, the very serious question must arise, as to the evident theory of many of these changes. The object of course, in both versions, the old and the new, is to convey to the English reader, the meaning of the Inspired Word. Is this better done by an exact re-production of Greek into English in the order of words and the idiom; or by a version and translation, a turning and transference, into English idiom and English order, of the meaning of the Greek?

And still again, is the Sinaitic Manuscript really of so much higher authority than all the rest, that it is to be the idol of all students of the Sacred Text; and are questions of authenticity to be settled by reference to manuscripts of a later, with almost no regard paid to quotations in the Fathers of an earlier, date?

These two questions, certainly moot points, and, in the judgment of many scholars settled the other way, the Revisers, have apparently decided, to the detriment of independent idiom and to the discomfiture of all manuscripts in favor of the Sinaitic, and of all quotations in favor of varying and more recent Manuscripts. Before any authoritative action is taken upon the work of the Committee, principles like these and preliminary points like these, must be carefully considered and weighed.

Passing to the judgment of the work of the Revisers, the writer simply states his own opinion, which it will be the

object of this article to sustain, that the Revisers have deteriorated the doctrine and enervated the language of the New Testament,* that they have vindicated the vast superiority of the Authorized Version; that they have supplied a useful compilation of suggestions, from which men unacquainted with the original may get side lights thrown upon the old Translation; that the result of their work can only be the increase in the number of the marginal readings of some future Authorized Version, into which a few of the needed changes must unquestionably pass; that they have suggested doubts which will tend towards lessening men's confidence in the certainty of the Sacred Text, with no corresponding advantage of clearer conveyance of truth; and that they have begun a work whose end no man can foresee, but which must largely destroy the great value to the English speaking world of a common text, to which, excepting Roman Catholics (to whom since the Development doctrine, History and Holy Scriptures are alike unauthoritative) all English speaking Christians could refer.

These are serious charges. Of course no such intentions were in the minds of the Revisers. But "two thirds' votes" and "majority votes" lessen and distribute individual responsibility; and the work would probably have been better done if the two first and most distinguished names in the matter of a Revision had done it all, the Arch-bishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Durham, (the Bishop of Lincoln the golden Commentator being added to them) in whose suggestions published in 1859, and in 1871, will be found almost every important alteration and every sound argument, which the Committee of Revision have made and employed. And serious as the charges are, the facts are more serious still. And the facts in part and in brief are to be stated now.

In proof of the last of the enumerated charges, I prefer to use the language of the Arch-bishop himself.

"Neither can I count it an indifferent matter that a chief bond, indeed the chiefest, that binds the English Dissenters to us, and us to them, should thus be snapped asunder. Out of the fact that Non-conformity had not, for the most part, fixed itself into actual and formal separation from the Church till some time after our Authorized Version was made, it has followed that when the Non-conformists parted from us, they carried with them this translation and continued to use and to cherish it, regard-

* Except the great truth of our Lord's Deity. The Revisers have usually brought this out more distinctly; only failing to do so in Philip. II, 5, 7, and in I S. Tim. III, 16.

ing it as much their own* as ours. The Roman Catholics are, I believe, the only body in the country who employ a version of their own. With their exception the Authorized Version is common ground for all, in England, who call themselves Christians and is alike the heritage of all. But even if English Dissenters acknowledge the necessity of a Revision, which I conclude, from many indications that they do, it is idle to expect that they will accept such at our hands. Two things might happen. Either that they would adhere to the old Authorized Version which is not indeed very probable, or they would carry out a Revision, it might be two or three, of their own. In either case, the ground of Common Scripture of an English Bible, which they and we hold equally sacred, would be taken from us; the separation and division which are now the sorrow and perplexity and shame of England, would become more marked and more deeply fixed than ever."

"Another most serious consideration presents itself. Is it likely that one Revision will satisfy? If conducted with moderation, it will probably leave much untouched about which it will still be possible to raise a question. It cannot be but there will be some who will think the Revision ought to have been carried much farther—who will refuse to accept the compromise which a Revision in any case must prove.* Is it not inevitable that after a longer or shorter period another Revision and on that another will be called for? Will not, in this way, all sense of stability pass away from our English Scriptures?

To which if it be replied, that the Arch-bishop in the face of these difficulties advocated a Revision in 1859 and assisted in it in 1871, I venture to quote his own individual conviction expressed twelve years ago, with the earnest wish that it might have been followed, and that it may shape the final action to be taken now.

"In respect of the actual steps which it would then be advisable to take, I cannot think that even when the matter is seriously undertaken, there should for a considerable time, be any interference with the English text. Let us come together, and if possible, not of self-will, but with some authorization, royal or ecclesiastical or both, such a body of scholars and divines, as would deserve and would

* These prophetic words already find fulfilment. We are threatened with an "American Revised edition;" and a wealthy Baptist has employed Dr. Conant on another revision still.

obtain the confidence of the whole Church. And of such immense importance would it be to carry with us, in whatever might be done, the whole Christian people of England, that it would be desirable to unite all scholars, all who represented any important portion of the Biblical Scholarship in the land to assist with their suggestions here, even though they might not belong to the Church. Of course they would be asked as scholars not as Dissenters.

"Let then such a body as this, inspiring confidence at once by their piety, their learning and their prudence, draw out such a list of emendations as are lifted beyond all doubt, in the eye of every one whose voice has any right to be heard in the matter—eschewing all luxury of emendation, abstaining from all which is not of primary necessity, from much in which they might have fitly allowed themselves if they had not been building on foundations already laid and which could not, without great inconvenience be disturbed—using the same moderation and even the same self-denial here, which Jerome used in his revision of the Latin. Let them very briefly, but with just as much learned explanation as should be needful, justify these emendations where they were not self-evident. Let them, if this should be their conviction, express the sense of the desirableness that these should, at some future day, be introduced into the received text, as bringing it into more perfect accord and harmony with the original Scriptures. Having done this, let them leave these emendations to ripen in the public mind, gradually to commend themselves to all students of God's Holy Word. Supposing the emendations such as ought to and would do this, there would, probably, before very long, be a general desire for their admission into the text and, in due time, this admission might follow. All abrupt change would thus be avoided—all forcing of alterations on those not, as yet, prepared to receive them. That which, at length, came in, would excite no surprise, no perplexity, no offence, or, at most, a very small amount of these, having already, in the minds of many, displaced that of which it now, at length, took openly, the room."

In maintaining the other positions of this article, I prefer to follow the points made by the authors of "the Companion to the Revised New Testament with supplement." For, in the first place, as men are judged by their company, so this translation must be judged, somewhat by "its com-

panion:" and, in the second place, it seems more fair to criticise the points which have been selected as favorable specimens of the work, than to pick out, as one might, worse instances than these.

I. The Revisers have vindicated the vast superiority of the Authorized Version, as a fair and true re-production into idiomatic English of the meaning of the Greek.

No little confusion is introduced into the discussion in the "Companion to Revision" by inserting mistakes in printing of certain editions; by quoting verses which the translation of 1611, either correctly inserted, as in S. Matthew XII. 47 or put in italics, as in I. S. John II. 23; by suggesting mistakes, which *might have been* made, and *were not*, as in S. Matt. V. 8. 9; and by alluding to changes in Greek text which do not alter English translation, as in S. Mark V. 14. The specimen texts as they stand may be summarized in this way. S. Timothy I. 4; "rather than a dispensation of God" is put for "Godly edifying" *οικοδομια* is undoubtedly correct, but the translation is cloudy and questionable. It certainly should be *the* dispensation. And the Revisers have inserted "so do I now" instead of "so do," which the translators put in; each without any Greek original to guide them; and the translators with more point, than the Revisers.

S. John V. 4. The Revisers have omitted here, the statement of the Angel troubling the water, on two grounds, first "that the explanation is unwarranted;" by which, they probably, mean, that its insertion is unwarranted; although it is found in a majority of the MSS., in the copy of Gospels used in Tertullian's time and is quoted by S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril and S. Augustine: and second, that it relieves the passage of an obvious difficulty" that is, it removes annoyance from the Sadducee, ancient or modern, who denies Angelic ministrations; *but*, it leaves a difficulty, for, with this verse out, no one can know what the meaning is in verse 7—"when the water is troubled," S. Matt. VI. 13; the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer is correctly omitted, having no ancient MS. authority. The omission is of slight loss to Churchmen, since they have the prayer and use it in the Liturgical way—by which this ascription crept into the text; or to the unliturgical bodies, since they never "pray after this manner (i. e. in pre-composed forms), and seldom say "Our Father" when they pray. Acts VIII. 37., "and Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest," certainly should have

been left in, in brackets at least, since it was, undoubtedly, in the early MSS. as it is quoted by Irenæus and Cyprian. S. Matt. XVIII. 28. Certainly the omission or the insertion of *me* "Pay that thou owest," or "Pay *me* that thou owest," is of microscopic importance; as is the omission in S. Luke XXI. 4, 23. "praising (*and blessing*) God." And since the words are in not a few MSS. and the other MSS. omit, some, "praising," and some, "blessing;" they were better left in, except by those wishing change for change's sake. The same may be said of the restoration of the word "for" in S. Matt. XXIV. 28, to which it is absurd to apply the excuse of more faithful reproduction of the original. "As it is written in the *Prophets*" might have been left in S. Mark I. 2. on the authority of A. In S. Mark I. 11. "in whom I am well pleased" has warrant enough to stand. The added words in I. Cor. V. 20. and Romans VIII. 1. and Col. I. 14. are, of course, rightly omitted. "Let us make three Tabernacles" in S. Matt. XVII. 4. has authority enough from C, Delta and, so to have been left. In S. Luke VIII. 24. "they fled *and went* and told it," a point is made which is utterly pointless, of omitting the words "and went;" while the change, which marks out the separate personality of each of the "Legion of Devils," *εισηλθον* rather than *εισηλθεν* although supported by at least, ten MSS., including A, is ignored. The reference to Acts XX. 8. is needlessly thrown in, since the Revisers have wisely followed the Authorized Version, "the Church of *God*." The changes in S. Luke II. 33, 41. are chiefly objectionable, because of the imputation of motives to the transcribers of the MSS. singularly gratuitous here, since the same scribes left "his parents" in verse 41, who write "Joseph and his Mother" in verses 33, and 43. The passage in S. John, of the three heavenly witnesses must be dealt with by itself.

In I. S. Peter III. 8. "Be pitiful, be courteous" we might better have had *humble*, or lowly minded. There is abundant authority (A. and D. for the one, and A2. C3. and D. for the other) for the retention of the words "white *as snow*" and "said *with tears*" which the Revisers so regret to lose. Most people will feel that the so-called vividness introduced into S. Mark XXVII. "what is this, a new teaching?" deteriorates from the simple dignity of the passage; and will be, perhaps, surprised to know that our own Version has the authority of A. and C.; while the Revisers have made a selection out of other MSS. and Com-

mentators, not following any one exactly. In changing the translation of II. Cor. I. 20. "The promises of God ; in Him is the Yea wherefore also through Him is the Amen," the Revisers, unconsciously perhaps, have carried Dr. Lightfoot's commentary into the translation, which would be simpler and, perhaps, more accurate, without making so marked a separation between the two clauses ; in order to convey the thought, that as the confirmation of the promises is *in*, so the verification is *through*, Him. Similarly, in getting rid of what they call a clumsy and absurd repetition, they give us a clumsier and more absurd reproduction of the Greek *order* of words, in I. S. John V. 13. which would naturally read in English "I have written unto you that believe in the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have Eternal Life." In S. Matt. V. 22. "whosoever is angry with his brother *without a cause*," what is called internal evidence, (query the judgment of the Committee) avowedly, over-rules; for the authorities are about balanced between retaining and omitting the words "without a cause." In S. Matt. XIX. 17. the change which rests on the evidence of MSS. is clearly right, but the argument for the internal evidence is hardly conclusive. May it not contain the thought "Why dost *thou* not believing in me the one that is good" (that is God), ask me concerning the good." If the evidence is over-whelming for the omission of the word "cometh" from S. Matt. XXV. 6, "Behold the Bridegroom *cometh*" the change is, certainly, not over-whelmingly important. In S. Mark VI. 20. "Herod feared John and was much perplexed" the "cannot conceive" of the Committee changes a reading, which they own to be undoubtedly supported by many of the best authorities. The explanation of the change of S. Mark IX. 23. "If thou can'st," for "if thou can'st believe" is, surely, a puerile piece of melo-drama, very unlike the dignity of Evangelical writing. The omission has strong authority, but the addition of "believe" seems much less likely, than its omission in Aleph and the rest, in spite of Dr. Roberts considering it a "beautiful emendation." In S. Luke XVI. 9. we may be compelled to submit to the "it fails" ("make to yourself friends, etc., that when *it* fails,") instead of "ye fail." Although, certainly, *internal evidence*, that it is the Scriptural use of the word *ενδεδεικται*, might be allowed here to out-weigh the MS. authorities. The intrusion of the words "and they stood still" into the exquisite Emmaus story, in S. Matt. XXIV. 17, has not

weight enough of warrant to make it necessary to spoil the verse, as it stands. The 46th verse is changed on sufficient grounds omitting "and thus it behooved;" and without loss. The change in S. John VI. 11, "He distributed to them that were set down," is not made necessary by the MS. authorities; and, surely, is not in accordance with the probable facts. In weighing the evidence for, and against, the change of S. John XIII. 24. "Simon Peter saith unto Him, tell us who it is," the characteristic self-withdrawal of S. John weighs against "the characteristic utterance of S. Peter," which is not forced on us by sufficient MS. authority; while the "leaning back as he was," instead of the simple and beautiful "lying on Jesus' bosom," seems to have absolutely, no higher warrant, than Alford, McLellan and Westcott; the "as he was" being Westcott's addition. The whole change must, certainly, be repudiated. The introduction of the words "In the Hebrew tongue" in S. John XX. 16, must, of course, be allowed. The change in Acts XV. 23. "the Apostles and the elder brethren" is a marvellous example of self-evident mistranslation. One cannot conceive its having been allowed by the Church of England members of the Committee. The passage has been under close consideration and controversy, for at least three centuries, in connection with the proper composition of an Ecclesiastical Council. Some MSS. omit only the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and some the $\kappa\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon$. But, it waited for the peculiar insight of the recent Revisers, to translate verse fifteen, into a contradiction of verse six, into an antagonism with the centuries of Christendom, and into mitigated unmeaningness. "The Apostles and elder brethren" decide what "the Apostles and elders came together to consider." It is absurd on the face. The dignity of greeting, the truth of oneness in brotherhood through all distinctions of order, and the facts of the case, are met, when the salutation runs, in English as in Greek, "the Apostles and elders, brethren send greeting." In Acts XVI. 7. as in XVIII. 5. a correct change is made on the authority of the MSS. but a poor reason given for it. Longer or shorter readings, surely, are not arguments for, or against change. Encountering a really valuable correction, in all the best MSS. the Revisers have introduced a new and enfeebling idea, into their rendering of Romans IV. 20, and lowered the English of the whole passage, by the phrases, "without being weakened," "as good as dead," "waxed strong," "wavered not;" when, really, the only change

need have been "he considered his own body and also the deadness." There need not have been long hesitation over Romans V. 1. to give us the *ἐχομεν*, instead of *ἐχομεν*, "being justified by faith *let us* have peace;" which doctrinal accuracy requires, and earlier * MSS. sustain. Romans VII. 6. "having died to that wherein we were holden" is plainly altered in deference to the best authority; but, we fail to see why objectors to archaisms should put "holden," where the Authorized Version read "held." The changes in I. Cor. XI. 24, 26, 29. are to be approached carefully. The only change really required is the omission of the words "take, eat." MS. authority allows the retention of the words "which is broken." Valuable truth requires it; and the omission is one that must be felt, more and more deeply, as one hears and weighs the words. And the same is true of the "unworthily;" and "judgment" is, certainly, a word too feeble and too variable in meaning to express the word *κρίμα*. Condemnation, surely, would be more exact. The whole of the beautiful thirteenth chapter of this Epistle is so marred and mutilated by the loss of the word "charity;" by the "clanging" for the "tinkling" cymbal; by the weaker "if" instead of "though;" by the "*know*" all knowledge; by the change of "*her*" into "*its*," when the truer similarity to the Greek and the better carrying out of the personification would have changed "*itself*" into "herself;" that we wonder the Revisers had not completed the mutilation, by putting their marginal reading (which has no meaning), "*that I may glory*" instead of "my body to be burned." The only valuable changes in the whole chapter, are the "rejoiceth *with*" instead of "*in*" the truth;" (and even so, the utter impossibility of reproducing the fulness of the original in any mere rendering of its words, becomes apparent): and the change of "*in* a mirror" for "through a glass" while here the matter still remains, to the unlearned reader, of a true rendering of *ἐσόπτρου*.

Strong reasonings, of MSS., grammar and meaning, are against the change in II. Cor. XII. 19. "Ye think all this time that we are excusing ourselves," where *πάλεν* has, on the whole, more authority than *πάλαι*. In Gal. IV. 14. and Phil. I. 16. 17. the correction is undoubtedly right.

* This is one of the results of the revision which makes one forgive much to the English revisers, because, here, as in Acts II, 47, they overruled the American committee.

But the omission of "his flesh and of his bones" in Eph. V. 30. is not sustained, either, by versions, MSS. or quotations, the weight of which, added to the unimportance of the change and the undesirableness of all change, would retain the words. In Col. II. 18. "intruding into those things which he had (not) seen;" Westcott's suspected corruption in the omitted "*not*" is a wise suspicion, with so much authority and meaning in favour of its retention. The changes of designation, in the name of our Lord, are not of much consequence either way. Considering the almost even balance of the authorities and the fact of the almost inter-changeableness of Apphia and ἀδελφή, most men will incline to leave the word "beloved" as it stands in the third verse of Philemon. The three changes in the Epistle to the Hebrews, noticed by Dr. Roberts are based upon strong authority,

Passing to what Dr. Roberts calls more important changes, due to a change of text, the following are specially to be noted: A. The Lord's Prayer. The omission of the Doxology is the only change alluded to "in the Companion." It is the only tolerable change. It will be retained—where it undoubtedly originated—in the Church's Liturgical use; and surrendered, where other religious bodies only use it, in the read Scriptures. The heart of Catholic Christendom, will reject, we believe, with unanimous impulse, four of the other alterations which have been introduced; *on earth or in earth*, especially to us in America, is unimportant. *Bring us* not into temptation is uncalled for. *Thy will be done, as in Heaven, so, in Earth* is an awkward and needless foisting of Greek order, into English words. *Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors*, is one, of many attempts, to define the a-oristic, the horizon-less, the indefinite, time* of this peculiar Greek tense. "Forgive" in this use, is far nearer the thought, in the Greek. It is not present time. It is the time of habit. It means that forgivingness is necessary to forgiveness. And the narrowing of the great petition for deliverance from evil to be delivered "from the *Evil one*" is against patristic teaching, Rabbinical authorities, and the demands of the human heart, That six such alter-

* There is a curious inconsistency in the rendering of the Aorist in the Revised Version: The word ἰδοῦν being rendered *is given*, in S. Luke, XII, 48; *was given*, in Eph. III, 8; and *hath been given*, in S. Matt., XXVII, 18.

ations should have been introduced into the sweet and sacred phrases of the Lord's Prayer, and that in S. Luke, XI, 2; they should have omitted the words, "Thy will be done, &c.," when the Sinaitic and Alexandrine, and the Codices Ephraemi and Bezae all retain it, is a condemnation of the Revision in a very crucial point. S. Mark, XVI, 9, 20. These verses are left with a sort of reluctant hesitation, marked off and branded with suspicion. Dean Burgon's exhaustive and unanswerable argument makes needless the discussion of this point. Quoted by Irenæus, and found in both the elder Syriac translations in the second century, they have, against their genuineness, only the Sinaitic MS. and the Vatican (copies, probably, one of the other); while the long empty column left in the Vatican MS. where these verses occur, throws the weight of *its* authority almost in favor of its retention. S. John, VII, 53, VII, 8, 11. This passage is left in the same attitude, with the closing verses of S. Mark's Gospel, bracketed but retained, and, in this instance, we believe, wisely, because the weight of evidence is so nearly balanced, as to make a definite decision almost impossible. Col II, 2. The mystery "of God in Christ," is substituted for "of God and of the Father and of Christ." The Revisers seem to have taken the text of B. *Τοῦ θεοῦ χριστου*. Why have they not given it the nervous English rendering, *the God Christ*, which is literal, and strong and clear. In I Tim., III, 16, the question between *δε* and *θεος* is not, really, the question at issue, so far as translation goes. The weight of authority is, undoubtedly in favour of the former. But *δε* is, of course *θεός*. In the Greek, no one would imagine otherwise. And in order to convey this fact, which is the important fact to sight or sound, the authorized Version takes the truth to be revealed, and conveys it, far more clearly, than can be done, even by printing the *He* with the capital H. Faithfulness of rendering the truth from the original, is better sustained, by leaving the translation as it stands. "He, who was manifested in the Flesh," with no verb to which *He* belongs, is neither good English, nor a good rendering of the Greek. Of course in doctrine, there is no suggestion of change.

I S. Peter III, 15. The change of the Greek text here is a gain alike to accuracy and to the witness of the Holy Scriptures, to the Divinity of Christ. But, as if to weaken the full force of the words, the Revisers distort and dilute

the English, and make a useless and unmeaning break of the familiar rhythm of the words, "Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts," is more natural, as well as nearer the Greek, than "Sanctify, in your hearts, Christ as Lord.

I S. John, V, 7, 8. This famous passage is dealt with with summary severity, reaching even to the prophetic statement, that no future defender of its genuineness ever will arise. And it disappears, no trace being found, from the Revised Version. This is not a fair representation of ancient or modern authorities, upon this passage. The unlearned reader of the new Bible will be surprised to know what weighty authorities, in quantity and quality, maintain the authenticity of the passage. Foster, in his book, "The three Heavenly witnesses," has collated a mass of testimony, that surely might have wrought a little hesitation in the minds of the Committee, and a little modesty in Dr. Roberts' statement. It has the authority of S. Jerome and S. Cyprian, and of four hundred Bishops assembled at Carthage in 484, and of such scholars as Griesbach and Porson, Wake, Secker, Bull, Pearson, Beveridge, Horsley, Middleton, Bengel. And the curious expression *ἐς τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν* in verse 8 (which cannot fairly be translated "*agree in one*") seems to require for its explanation, the previous *τρεῖς ἐν ἑσσι*. The final decision, we think will leave the disputed words *bracketed* in the text. The treatment by the Revisers of S. Matt., XVII, 21, which they have omitted entirely, and of the parallel passage, S. Mark, IX, 29, which they have mutilated, is extraordinary. "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," is erased in S. Matthew, and the word "fasting" is omitted in S. Mark. The facts of the case are that the authorized version retains them, on the authority of A. C. D., and one of the Sinaitic copies in S. Mark; and the twenty-first verse is retained in S. Matthew, on the authority of C. D. L., the old Latin translation, the Vulgate, the Peshito Syriac Version, and others.

Giving up the attempt, because space will not allow, to follow further the selected specimens of change in detail, it will suffice to mention some further changes, made in passages so familiar as to arrest the instant attention of the ear. The Crucifixion of our Lord between "two robbers;" the wilfulness of choice that puts the narrow word "love," for "charity," in the XIII chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the substitution of "bowls,"

for "vials" in Revelation V. 8, and elsewhere ; the "clanging," for the "tinkling cymbal ;" the change from "Lord, is it I," to "Is it I, Lord," in S. Matt. XXVI. 23 ; "the great millstone," in S. Matthew XVIII. 6 ; "wise men from the East, came," instead of, "there came wise men from the East ;" "where is that gratulation of yourselves," instead of "where is that blessedness," in Col. IV. 15 ; "overthrow not for meats' sake the work of God," instead of, "for meat destroy not the work of God," Rom. XIV. 20 ; "ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire," instead of, "ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward : " "the place of toll," for, "the receipt of custom ;" "birds of the heaven," for, "fowls of the air ;" "casting," for "driving," the money changers out of the Temple ; "Under myself, soldiers," for, "soldiers under me ;" these, and innumerable others, are gratuitous and intolerable indignities to good English and to accuracy, which can hardly be thought of, with patience or respect. And they are evidences, to which a few others only need be added, of the deterioration and enervation of language in the Revisers' version. "Father, that which thou hast given me, I will that where I am they also may be with me." "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son." The opening verses of the 2nd chapter of the 2nd Epistle to S. Timothy furnish a fair field for the *Revisers English* which will be a *tertium quid* after the "Queen's" and the "Dean's." *Τέκνον μου* must be "my child," as if S. Timothy *were* an infant, or *could* be a daughter. Adopting the correct reading in verse 3. of *συγκακοπάθησον*, they have spoiled the "endure hardness," into, "suffer hardship ;" and in verse 4, "soldier on service," takes the place of "man that warreth ;" and having here again defined the timeless tense, they have enfeebled, "if a man also strive for masteries (*ἀθλῆ*) yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully," into, "if also a man contend in the games he is not crowned except he have contended lawfully." Surely ear and heart and mind resent such mangling.

There is a certain *ex cathedra* wilfulness, which it is absurd to call faithfulness, in such a version as is given us of S. Luke, VI, 49.

"I must be about my Father's business," the Authorized Version renders it, perhaps inadequately, for the word *ἐν*, implies an absorption and occupation hardly represented

by "about." But who gave the Revisers authority to interpolate the word "*House?*" Surely the definite plural article, without a noun, in the Greek, means much more likely, the things, the affairs, the business of my Father, than the tame commonplace of *House*.

So in the story of S. Paul's famous argument with Agrippa, one may grant, perhaps, that the reply is meant to be satirical. But why* *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, an adjective without a noun, should mean "with but little persuasion," when "*χρόνῳ*" is the more natural substantive to supply, "in a short time," passes ordinary comprehension.

There are some stranger omissions of alteration in the translation too, depending not on texts but on faithful translation of the Greek. Why is *ταῖς* still translated, a "man" in S. John III. 4.? Why have the Revisers inserted in S. Matt. XX. 24. the words, "it is for them?" Why, when the article was restored in Acts II. 42. before "prayers," did they not translate "the breaking of the bread," &c.? Why, when the change was made for *beasts* in Revelation IV. 6. *et seq.*, did they give the word *creatures*, which is an added and an unauthorized idea instead of "*living things?*" Why should we have, "yielded up," and "gave up His Spirit" in S. Matt. and S. John, retaining in S. Mark and S. Luke the old phrase "gave up the ghost?" Why, in S. John XVI. 23. have they left the confusion of the word *ask*, when the Greek gives the clear distinction between the asking of enquiry and the asking in Prayer! And so we might go on.

But this criticism must hasten to its close. There remains the single charge of deteriorated † doctrine. Let me quote here in rather triumphant proof of the statement, the language, almost the latest spoken, of one of the most distinguished of the Revisers; indeed of one of the most distinguished English men of our times, who won the personal love of men who utterly disliked his theological opinions. Dean Stanley writes in the *London Times*, as follows:

"The question will arise in many minds, is there any change produced in the doctrine presented by the New Version? To this question the answer is No and Yes.

* See Rev. XVII. 10.

† The Revisers were afraid of this word and translated the word *διδάχη*, teaching, as in Acts II. 42; the Apostles teaching, for *τῇ διδασκῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων* which should be "*the doctrine of the Apostles.*"

There is no change in any of the great doctrines which all Christians alike hold ; the importance of charity, of mercy, of judgment, the transcendent and divine beauty of the Character in the Gospels, and the force of the incidents and arguments in the Acts and in the Epistles are beyond any possibility of alteration from a new reading or a new collocation of phrases. But if it be asked whether some of what are commonly called doctrines are placed in a new light, then the answer must be in the affirmative. For example, the very word "doctrine," perhaps not from the fault of the translators, but from the change of meaning which has taken place in the lapse of time, has undergone a transformation which converted a perfectly general expression into one synonymous with dogmatic teaching. This error, if so we may call it, has been removed almost uniformly in the present Revision, which renders the original word, not by "doctrine," but by "teaching." "Heresies" and "heretical," which in ecclesiastical parlance for many centuries have come to mean "error in opinion," have now the mask taken from off them, and they appear in their true light, as "factions" or "party spirit."

"All the modern fancies which have congregated round the words "hell," "everlasting," and "damnation" have from different causes been exploded in this version. The words which have been hitherto translated "hell" are now, either in the text or the margin, reduced to their original meanings of "Gehenna," "Hades," or "Tartarus," each with a very different signification the one from the other, and all from the meaning which they had acquired in modern popular language. The word "everlasting," at least in the margin, is always accompanied by an indication that its real meaning is "for the age" "or for the ages," or else the far more sublime and ethereal word of "eternal." "Damnation," which had acquired so harsh a signification in later English, is now entirely banished from the Sacred volume, and appears only either as "condemnation" or "judgment." "Inspiration," although it might fairly have been interpreted in a less technical sense, yet now in the one text which was employed for vindicating the verbal authority of the Sacred Scriptures has been transformed from "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable," into "Every scripture inspired of God is profitable." Some of the great scholastic doctrines have lost their chief supports, and that sometimes by variation of interpretation, more often by variation of reading."

Three instances will suffice to give the grounds of this charge.

Nothing can be gained by drawing the line of absolute demarcation among the words *τεράς*, *σημεῖον* and *δυνάμις* wonder and sign and power, but to pander to the popular notion that miracles were not of the essence of our Lord's life. To set "signs of the divine presence" in opposition to "thaumaturgic acts;" to prefer "mighty work" to "miracle" generally (only two places being in terms excepted by the author of the comparison to the Revised Version), is simply to throw the weight of the new translation against the superhuman element of Christianity, to cast a question upon the miracles which our Lord wrought, which must grow into a doubt of the miracle, that our Lord *was*, till by and by, it will be claimed that the Incarnation and the Resurrection are symbols and not scriptural facts. It is far nearer the truth of the original, because a *miracle* is a sign wrought by divine *power*, to call all those signs miracles, which the mighty power of God in Christ wrought to assure men of His deity.

In like manner while the distinction is true between Hades and Gehenna, and valuable, and while our English word, hell, a covered place of safety, belongs where the Creed puts it—to the place of departed spirits—what could have been the effect if, in the nine places where it means the place of punishment, Gehenna or Tartarus had taken the place of hell, as the American Revisers seemed to have desired? Simply to get out of the Bible what they call "the fearful word hell," and so to get rid of the fearful thought of hell, from the language and the thoughts of men; to play into the hands of the maudlin modernness of "eternal hope," which seeks to be kinder than the merciful God, and to remove from the minds, not of scholars but of readers of the Bible, the fear of everlasting punishment.

Just the same tendency occurs in the softening of the words that teach the awfulness of the eternal judgment. What is the value of the exchange of "judgment of hell" for "damnation of hell," or of he that believeth not shall "be condemned," for "he that believeth not shall be damned." Is there any real difference of meaning? The revisers hardly will claim that the judgment of hell is not damnation. But the appearance of the change implies another meaning, a softer word to convey a gentler theory. And so, by a strange admission of the involved danger,

the author of the companion to the revision says that damned, which occurs in S. Mark xvi. 16, is *now* (why now !) " too strong an expression, and has been amended in the revised version."

The deliberate remanding to the margin of the text of the authorized version of 2 S. Tim., III. 16, is a serious instance of the same sort. The weight of authority is certainly against the new reading, which destroys the definiteness of S. Paul's description of *the Holy Scriptures, as recognised in his time*, and leaves to any one to say, "*this* Scripture is not inspired of God, and so is not profitable." It is a dangerous and apparently wilful weakening of the inspired statement, which means not "every Scripture *that is* inspired of God is profitable," but "every Scripture *is* inspired of God, and profitable."

There is of course much valuable light thrown upon the interpretation of passages in Holy Scripture by very many of the suggested substitutes. If they can be taken as side lights, as new shades and tints of meaning, as bringing out the wonderful wealth of teaching which the words of the inspired Scripture contain, they will make this volume a valuable commentary upon the text, and there are many instances undoubtedly familiar to exegetical students, through Ellicott and Alford, through Lightfoot and Trench and the great Bishop of Lincoln, which will be adopted one day, out of the margin into the body of the text. But the great mass of changes is either unimportant, valueless, unmeaning, or unjust. The microscope has been used too much and the telescope too little. The better and truer effect of a rendering of one language into another has been sacrificed, for the small paltriness of an exact reproduction of words. And, so far as one can gather from results, the Revisers seem to have elevated manuscripts altogether too much above the authority of versions and quotations of earlier date than any manuscript we have ; and to have allowed the Sinaitic MS. (claimed by Simonides to be a MS. in his own handwriting) to assume a towering authority above all other manuscripts ; to which it is not entitled.

With such a failure, after years of labour, on the part of very able and scholarly men, we shall probably be permitted to enjoy the glorious English of the old Version, for many a year to come with, what Trench calls " the constant solemnity and seriousness which by some nameless skill is made to rest upon it all." One cannot quote too often, in an age of change and love of novelty, Faber's tribute to

the work of the forty seven men of whom Dr. Scrivener says, (what never will be said of the recent Revisers) "never was a great enterprise carried on with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working." "Who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of Church bells, which the convert hardly knows how to forego. Its facilities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. Nay, it is worshipped with a positive idolatry, in extenuation of whose grotesque fanaticism its intrinsic beauty pleads availingly with the man of letters and the scholar. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. It has been to him all along as the silent, but oh! how intelligible voice of his guardian angel; and in the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant, with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

It will be seen that this article is from the standpoint of positive opposition to any adoption at all, *yet, of any* change suggested by the Revisers. The writer hopes and believes that in the comparatively few cases where a purer text (i.e. a mass of combined authority in MS. Versions and quotations) demands it, the change may be put at once into the margin of the authorized Version, to pass in time, from the margin into the body of the page. He has been at no pains to point out these desirable changes, which will at once suggest themselves to any ordinary student of the Greek New Testament, under the guidance of the Commentators most in the hands of Students for the last twenty years, Wordsworth, Lightfoot, Alford, Ellicott, and still more Griesbach, Wetstein, Bengel and Bloomfield. The work as a whole is so blemished by the needless number of paltry changes, and the cruel excision of phrases sacred alike by their faithfulness and their familiarity,

that as a whole it must be condemned ; and the final revision of the old version, while it will contain many of the changes suggested in this, will have to be made without much regard to it. It will be easier to find out anew, the necessary changes, than to weed out of this, the unnecessary changes.

And yet, the writer trusts that he has examined the work without the prejudice of fear or of dislike. Recognizing the piety and scholarship of the men who have been engaged in it, he has not meant to count them traditori, who are really traduttori ; nor, to accuse them of *surrendering* and not *rendering* the meaning.* The impossibility of any general improvement, is the chief reason for the failure. What is beyond that is the fatal folly of attempting by uninspired selection, to find a word or an idiom that will *represent*, the unfathomable fulness of inspired language. What volumes of commentaries and centuries of sermons have failed to do, to exhaust the meaning of a Greek word, no translation can possibly attain.

Nor has there been any prejudice of fear, as to the result of the most searching study of varying versions. For the writer accepts, unhesitatingly, Scrivner's quotation of Bentley's strong and vigorous words ; "at once the profoundest and most daring of English critics" : "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any MS. or Edition, but is dispersed in them all. 'Tis competently exact indeed in the worst MSS. now extant—nor, is one article of faith, or moral precept either perverted or lost in them—choose as awkwardly as you will : choose the worst, by design, out of the whole lump of readings." Again : Make your thirty thousand variations as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum, all the better to a knowing and a serious reader, who is, thereby, more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But, now, put them into the hands of a knave or fool ; and yet, with the most sinister and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter ; nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same."

* Vid. Trench Introduction.

THE DEBT TO AFRICA—THE HOPE OF LIBERIA.

WHEN our forefathers adopted the American soil as their own, they cut all kindred with the gradations of rank and social inequalities which had burthened, and still burthens the peasantry of Europe. Their pioneers the Spaniards, had in vain tried the policy of Roman conquerors, in spite of the proofs of history for centuries, that no nation is capable of freedom under the political yoke of Romanism.

The altar and the throne can only flourish by an equality in the contest for the supremacy of energy in the best means for the government of themselves severally, while they are alike ruinous to each other when either one takes it upon itself to govern both.

The cruelty of the Spaniards in trying to subjugate a conquered nation to slavery, as applied to the Indians, and their subsequent cruelties to the Negro slaves, has no example except in the spread of the Roman Empire, and this was as much to be shunned as their policy of government.

The new wants for the full developement of American resources, required both new laws and new manners.

The history of nations in every age, shows the different relations of master and servant ; and when in the progress

of commerce the Negro had become the accepted slave and an article of commerce, his future relation was not considered.

The Spaniards had proven to their own satisfaction that the natives of the West Indies were not able to withstand the cruel bondage to which they had subjected them, and the Portuguese merchants were at hand with African slaves to sell, instead. Hence as early as 1502, Negroes were deemed indispensable for working the mines of Hispaniola.

In 1511, Ferdinand V., of Spain permitted a large number of Negroes to be imported for the benefit of his colonies. After Ferdinand's death, under the regency of Cardinal Ximenes, Bartholomew Las Casas, a missionary, obtained permission to institute a regular trade with Africa for the importation of slaves. This he did, however, we are told, with the benevolent purpose of lessening the cruelties practiced in the effort to subjugate the native Indians to slavery. Soon after, Charles V ascended the throne; and he granted an exclusive patent for the supply of 4000 negroes annually to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. The patent was subsequently assigned to some Genoese merchants who continued it.

Louis XIII. of France, issued an edict that all Africans coming into his dominions should be made slaves of, for the good of their souls and the glory of God.

In the year 1561, during the reign of Elizabeth, John Hawkins, having become acquainted with the advantages of the African slave trade, fitted out three ships with which he sailed to Sierra Leone, and there obtained 300 Negro slaves. Proceeding with them to Hispaniola, he realised such profits as to enable him during the next year to more than double his fleet. He was soon thereafter knighted in honor of his success.

At this period, the Portuguese and French both maintained contracts with native African Kings for the regular supply of slaves.

In 1618 a company of merchants in London obtained an exclusive patent for the slave trade, but there were so many others engaged in it, as to render the profits so scanty as to induce them to abandon their patent.

But Charles I. granted an exclusive patent to another company who entered into the trade with such energy as to reap large profits, insomuch as to attract the attention of others, and such competition as to occasion an abandonment of the monopoly until 1662. But only ten years after-

wards, the sum of one hundred and eleven thousand pounds sterling was raised by new subscribers, in the short period of nine months to constitute a new company. One-third of this sum was appropriated to building "factories" on the African Coast.

Under William and Mary, monopolies were abolished, and it was declared lawful for any of his Majesty's liege subjects to trade from Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope to the Plantations of America, upon condition of paying ten per cent. *ad valorem* for export *goods* at the time of entry. It was stipulated by the same act, that any person by the payment of an additional duty of ten per cent, for the *goods* imported, should have the still more extensive privilege of trading between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount. The product of these duties was destined for the good of the company, but the law was unsatisfactory, and there were many petitions against it. Under it the company had so declined in 1739, that Parliament voted it £10,000 annually for the period of nine years, and in 1744, an additional grant of £20,000: making £110,000 granted by Parliament for the support of the slave trade.

In 1750, a new act was passed for its encouragement and improvement, and it continued to flourish.

Taking the figures for a little more than a century, from 1680 to 1786, the British colonies in America, including the West Indies, were supplied, chiefly by the parent country, with 2,130,000 negro slaves; and from 1700 to 1786, 610,000 were carried to Jamaica alone. Under a treaty with Spain covering the later portion of this period from 1702 to the date of the British Emancipation Act 1807, abolishing the slave trade after 1808, the Island of Jamaica was made the great American slave depot, and received the enormous number of 3,225,466 slaves from Africa. From this place large numbers were resold, by barter and otherwise to other colonies. The population of Jamaica, at the end of the period was 37,152, white, and 373,405 colored.

In 1719, a duty of 5s. per head was laid on all slaves imported into Jamaica. In 1720, the duty was raised to 10s., and a duty of 20s. was imposed on exportation. In 1774, the number of negroes had so alarmingly increased that the duty on importation was raised, first to £2. 10s., and subsequently to £5.

This action of the colonists, greatly excited the oppo-

sition of the English slave-traders, and on their appeal to Parliament the duty was abrogated.

This appeal and action, however, had the effect of attracting the attention of Parliament to the extent of the slave trade, and to the *previous* acts, as will presently be shown, of the American colonies, and Congress. The movement rapidly gathered strength, and resulted in the act of Parliament prohibiting the slave trade after 1808. This ended the traffic under the protection of the British law, begun in 1561.

During the colonial relations of America to Great Britain, the slave trade reached its highest pitch. England especially pursued it with an avaricious eagerness surpassing all other nations, and had it not been for the inadaptability of negroes to cold climates, which led to the speedy abandonment of Negro slavery in the northern section of the country, they would doubtless have been much more extensively introduced. African slavery was the prevailing public sentiment of the most highly cultivated nations of the time. And under this sentiment, the English who came to America were by no means of a class to renounce their inbred rights. But it has been sufficiently shown that Negro slavery did not begin with them. It was already an acknowledged and legitimate commerce, and when in 1620, a *Dutch* vessel brought the first negroes to Jamestown, their use was well known. They were taken there to sell, in accordance with an acknowledged right by the then whole commercial world, and there was no question as to either the moral or legal right of the colonists to buy them. They had been introduced into the West Indies more than a century before, and their adaptation fully demonstrated. There was here in America an abundant use for laborers, and the legitimate commerce in African slaves which became so lucrative in planting them over so wide an extent of country, could only be limited by the wants for their use, and their climatic adaptation. The whole face of this mighty country lay open before the colonists. One great mountain range with its parallel streams through the same country, with soils suited to the most varied productions, requiring labor only for their development, all seemed to indicate a country for one government only, and everything indicated its adaptation to a united administration of laws. And while in the one section slave labor was unprofitable from natural causes, there was nevertheless, at the first, a hearty co-oper-

ation in the promotion of slavery. New England's commerce in fish and lumber, with the West Indies in exchange for sugar, molasses and slaves; and conveying tobacco from Virginia to England, thence to Africa for a cargo of slaves and home, were the chief means of employing the shipping, nearly all of which belonged to New England. The Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt, who travelled in the United States in 1795, remarked, at that time:

"Nearly twenty vessels from the harbours of the Northern States are employed in the importation of Negroes to Georgia and the West Indian Isles. The merchants of Rhode Island are the conductors of this accursed traffic, which they are determined to persevere in until the year 1808, the period fixed for its final termination. They ship one negro for every ten tons burden."

But all commercial nations,—England, France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and Holland,—were then engaged in the slave trade as a state policy. That England took the lead in it, is no reproach, for her commerce took the lead of all other nations.

The discovery of this continent by Europeans at the time of recognised rights to subjugate the heathen to a state of slavery; the declining condition of the American aborigines, and the adaptation of the African to the development of resources which have contributed to the well-being of millions who found an asylum here, are, in the ways of Providence beyond the comprehension of human ken, and only within the scope of Him who giveth "the heathen for an inheritance" in order to work out in his own good time an ultimate salvation to a whole race groping in darkness.

In this light was the Negro in America considered up to the time of Independence, and for many years subsequently. But long before the Declaration of Independence, the Colonists urged the suppression of the slave trade, and earnestly engaged in discussing plans for returning the civilized and Christianized Negroes to Africa as a means of evangelizing the savages of that continent. The Colonial Assembly of Virginia voted a prohibitory duty to suppress the importation of slaves into that colony in 1761. South Carolina also about the same time, took active measures against the continued importation. In 1773, the Rev. Drs. Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles of Rhode Island, proposed educating two negro youths and sending them to Africa as missionaries, and sent out circulars inviting contribu-

tions for this object. But ere the purpose was accomplished, the war of the revolution suspended it ; and as already shown, the rapacity of British commerce in the slave trade hitherto, had been such as to frustrate every effort on the part of the American colonists to get rid of it.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted all of the thirteen original States, save one, were slave States. Massachusetts abolished slavery by law, four years before the adoption of the Constitution : but there were still, over 5,000 slaves in that State, and in the struggle in the Convention on the prohibition of the slave trade after 1808, or at an earlier period, Massachusetts favoured her commercial interest in the trade, by voting for its continuance to the later period.

The war of Independence being over, and the abrogation of the slave trade provided for in the Constitution, the abolition of slavery with means for the removal of emancipated slaves from the country became a leading subject of discussion throughout the country. In 1787, Dr. Hopkins, in conjunction with Dr. William Thornton of Virginia, renewed his efforts, and with more elaborate plans. They endeavored to induce merchants to send out a vessel to Africa with a few emigrants for colonization, and goods for trade with the natives to diminish expenses and procure lands. But they failed in their enterprise for lack of sufficient funds to carry it out.

Simultaneously with this effort of Drs. Hopkins and Thornton, William Craighead, Esq., of Lunenburg county, Virginia, devised a plan for the gradual emancipation and colonization of the negroes after an educational course of preparation. His plan had special reference to the slaves of Virginia, but was equally applicable to those of other States. Meanwhile, an Emancipation Society was formed in Connecticut, and Dr. Hopkins endeavored to incorporate its efforts with the suggestions of Mr. Craighead's plan.

In those States which were most thickly peopled by whites, and the number of slaves was small, it seemed to be an easy matter to provide for prospective freedom, independent of colonization. But in those where the number of white inhabitants was relatively small, to emancipate the slaves with the privilege of remaining among them, appeared to involve the necessity of giving up the country to the Negroes. Hence, in the Southern States, no scheme of emancipation was indulged which did not comprehend a plan for their removal from the country. Practical ex-

perience had abundantly demonstrated that the freedom of Negroes in the Southern States, at least, was detrimental to both whites and blacks. Indeed, so universal was the sentiment that free Negroes were a burthen to the community, that some of the new Western States enacted laws prohibiting them. Had the result been otherwise, had experience shown a sufficient capacity in the Negroes for self reliance, the slave owners in the Southern States would have been from the outset foremost in the work of emancipation, as they were in opposition to the slave trade.

Mr. Jefferson, it is well known, devoted his whole life to means calculated to do away with slavery in the United States, always, however, considering the well-being of the Negro, and finally died leaving his Negroes in slavery. The slaves of General Washington who were left free, became pensioners of his descendents. Indeed, the manumission of slaves in the United States, whether in small or large numbers, almost uniformly resulted in rendering their condition worse. Idleness, vice and misery followed the free Negro in every part of the United States and British America.

During the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and while Mr. Monroe was Governor of Virginia, the emancipation of slavery, and subsequent provision for the Negroes occupied the attention of all southern statesmen, but especially of Virginia. And the various means discussed, all had in view the eventual provision for the removal of the negroes from the country. Among those who published plans to this end was St. George Tucker, Esq., one of the judges of the Court of Appeals, and editor of "Blackstone's Commentaries." The subject was freely discussed throughout the southern states, and the Assembly of Virginia, in December, 1800, passed a secret resolution requesting the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States with the object of procuring a colony to which the Negroes could be sent. Mr. Jefferson favored this resolution, and on being inaugurated President a few months after its passage, he appears to have at once commenced the correspondence asked for. But no satisfactory information having been elicited, the Legislature of Virginia continued to manifest its earnestness by requesting a continuance of the correspondence "for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the United States, to which free Negroes or Mulattoes and such Negroes

or Mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent, or choose to remove as a place of asylum." Requesting further, the President "to prefer Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America." Again in 1805, the Legislature of Virginia passed a resolution instructing the members of Congress from that State to endeavor to procure suitable territory in Louisiana. But of this legislative action and correspondence there was no practical outcome.

Meanwhile the friends of colonization "without the limit of the United States," were by no means idle, and their efforts acquired additional strength by a missionary spirit which about this time first began to show itself. This began at Williams College, Massachusetts, in 1808, by the foundation of a society of undergraduates whose object was "to effect, in the persons of its members, a mission or missions to the heathen." From this beginning, the society was two years afterwards transferred to the Theological Seminary at Andover, and there elaborated into a "Society of Inquiry respecting Missions." The proposal of four of the members of this society to go on a mission to the heathen in foreign lands, led to the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and out of, or in connection with this, also sprang the American Bible Society. A leading spirit of this missionary enterprise was Samuel J. Mills, who subsequently became a clergyman. And that he might be the better fitted for it, he made a journey of inquiry through a portion of the Southern and Southwestern States, where there was a large preponderance of the slave population. He thoughtfully expressed his conclusions on their relations to the white population by remarking that "we must save the Negroes or the Negroes will ruin us." And with equal significance, Ebenezer Burgess, the companion of Mills in his journey, and who also subsequently became a clergyman, in reply to a request for his opinion on a project which was at that time mooted, for the establishment of a Negro colony somewhere in the then great wilderness between the Ohio river and the great lakes, said: "Whether any of us live to see it or not, the time will come when white men will want all that region and will have it, and our colony will be overwhelmed by them."

In 1811, correspondence was renewed with Mr. Jefferson on the subject, which showed his continued devotion to it. In reply to a letter from Ann Mifflin, requesting his opin-

ion on measures for procuring an establishment on the coast of Africa, he wrote that "Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa."

February 15, 1815, Dr. Robert Finley, of Princeton, N. J., wrote to John O. Mumford, Esq., New York, as follows :—
"DEAR SIR : The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who desire, and with patience labor to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the free blacks has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness it appears to me. Everything connected with their condition, including their color is against them ; nor is there much prospect that their state can be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to that of Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and protection and support until they are established? Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise : we should be clear of them, we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and Christianized for its benefit, and our own blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much on this subject and then write me when you have leisure."—New Jersey at that time held about 10,000 slaves. During the same year, an African missionary society was organized in Richmond Virginia, with which the Rev. Lot Cary was identified, and the subject of African colonization was of increasing interest throughout the State.

In February, 1816, General C. F. Mercer, a member of the Virginia legislature, first gained knowledge of the secret resolutions of that body, 1800-1805, before referred to. Being under no obligations of secrecy himself, and in thorough sympathy with the objects of those resolutions, he at once declared his purpose of making them public, and of again bringing them before the legislature, which he did, and they were for the third time openly adopted, and almost unanimously : in the House of Delegates, by a vote of 132 to 14, and in the Senate with but one dissenting vote. General Mercer's earnestness secured the co-operation of many friends to colonization without the limits

of the United States, among them one of his college classmates, Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, of Princeton, N. J., and Mr. Francis S. Key, of Maryland, who, with Dr. Finley, heartily entered into the project, and brought about a convention of persons willing to become its active promoters. This first meeting for the purpose convened in Washington, December 21, 1816. It was attended by "a very respectable number" of persons, who organized by the appointing of Henry Clay chairman. The object of the meeting was explained by Mr. Caldwell, who spoke of the general public interest in the subject throughout the country, particularizing Virginia, New York, Indiana, Tennessee and Maryland. John Randolph, of Virginia, and Robert Wright, of Maryland, also addressed the meeting, and endorsed its objects. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution, and the meeting was adjourned to the week following, December 28, 1816, when the American Colonization Society was organized and adopted a constitution. Fifty gentlemen enrolled their names as members, among whom were Dr. William Thornton, Rev. Samuel J. Mills and Dr. Robert Finley, and the leading statesmen of Congress.

January 1, 1817, the day fixed by the Constitution, the Society met for the election of officers. Hon. Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, was chosen President, and twelve Vice-presidents were chosen representing nine States, including Georgia, Kentucky and Massachusetts, and one from the District of Columbia, thus showing a concurrent movement of the friends of the African in America, independent of all sectional considerations. This was the first and remains the *only* society ever organized for the explicit purpose of giving the Negro perfect freedom; of promoting his education for his own good; of making him independent; of giving him a country he can call his own, and of elevating his race to the standard of a Christian nation. Lest these postulates be thought too sweeping, the reader perhaps may need reminding that Sierra Leone was founded (in 1787) as, and continues to be an *English* colony *in* Africa. So far from that Colony being a forerunner and example for American colonizationists, it was from the first deceptive and disappointing to those who undertook to follow it. And in the progress of Liberia, instead of being a helpmate, Sierra Leone has been a hindrance.

When in November, 1817, Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer

Burgess the first agents of the American Colonization Society proceeded to Africa by the way of England for the purpose of securing territory, they assayed the assistance of the officers of the English Colony in London, by whom they were politely received, and given letters to their agents and authorities in Sierra Leone. But on arrival there, March 22, 1818, while they were kindly received by the governor and officials, and the leading merchants of the place, they were nevertheless given to distinctly understand that an American colony would not be desirable as a new neighbor. Fortunately, they found true friends in the "Friendly Society": a small society recently formed under the auspices of the pioneer of practical American Colonizationists, PAUL CUFFEE, and his companion John Kizell, an ex-slave from South Carolina.

Paul Cuffee was a half-breed African and Indian, born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1759. He was identified with the colored people of his own native place, but possessed a vigorous mind guided by much practical good sense, and rose to eminent respectability. He became a mariner, and not long after, the owner of a vessel, of which he was his own master. Presumably he had heard of the efforts of Drs. Hopkins, Stiles and Thornton nearly thirty years before, and he now had at his own disposal the means which they so much desired, with which to begin the work. He had been to Sierra Leone, and there in conjunction with his friend Kizell he founded a co-operative and benevolent association, which they called the "Friendly Society." Thus having prepared the way, in 1815 he fitted out his vessel at his own cost, and took forty colored people, only eight of whom were able to pay for passage, from Boston to Sierra Leone, and placed them in charge of the Society which he had been instrumental in forming on a previous voyage.—"Moved," he said, "by a desire to raise his brethren in the United States to civil and religious liberty in the land of their fathers." Paul Cuffee died in 1816—the same year in which the American Colonization Society was organized.

Mr. Mills, who was suffering from "pulmonary disease," when he left home, found himself unable to proceed further. He therefore took passage for return home, but died on the voyage. Mr. Burgess, aided by John Kizell and other associates of the Friendly Society, pursued the search for a settlement, and first halted at Sherbro, one hundred and twenty miles distant from Sierre Leone, at which place

they entered into negotiations with the natives for territory
Meanwhile the Society at home had not been idle.

The law of Congress making the importation of slaves penal after 1808, was found to be defective, in that while it punished the importer, the slave so imported became subject, like all other persons to the laws of the State in which he was found. Slave traders there still were who were willing to take the risk of detection, and purchasers who were ready to profit by the temerity.

The first legislative action against this venal collusion for the perpetuation of the slave trade, despite the law, was by the Legislature of Georgia, which enacted, December 19, 1817, that the Governor should take all such imported slaves out of the hands of private speculators into his own custody, and sell them at auction for the benefit of the State Treasury ; provided, however, that if the Colonization Society would undertake to transport them to Africa, and would pay all expenses incurred by the State,,the Governor was requested to aid the Society as he might deem expedient.—This was also the first official action in the United States for the return of recaptured slaves to Africa. It was quickly followed by act of Congress. First in 1818, by increasing the penalty which made the importation of slaves penal after 1808 ; and second, through the influence of General Mercer, March 3, 1819, which provided that all slaves illegally imported, or taken at sea, should be held in the custody of the United States until removed from the country ; the President was authorized to appoint an agent to take care of them, and the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to meet the expense. About six weeks after the passage of this act, the Hon. W. H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, discovered in a Georgia newspaper an advertisement for the sale of illegally imported slaves, under the State law of 1817.

He immediately informed the Society ; and the Rev. William Meade of Virginia, was sent to Georgia as its agent, to receive them. Litigation with Spanish claimants for a time prevented success ; but after about two years, the Society succeeded in gaining possession of them, and they were returned to Africa.

President Monroe, who had from the first been one of the promoters of the colonization scheme, construed the law of March 3, 1819, to mean that a suitable situation on the coast of Africa should be provided for the agents

and those who should be intrusted to their care. For this purpose he determined to send a vessel to the coast, with two agents, and the necessary men and means to secure a suitable place and make it habitable. He appointed the Rev. Samuel Bacon and Mr. Jno. P. Bankson, agents, and authorized the charter of the ship *Elisabeth*. The ship was advertised to receive on board and provide for such free blacks recommended by the Colonization Society, as might be required to effect a permanent settlement, under the joint auspices of the United States and the American Colonization Society. Thus provided the *Elisabeth* sailed from New York, February 6, 1820, with eighty-eight emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York. She followed the wake of Paul Cuffee, proceeded first to Sierra Leone, thence to Campelar, Kizell's place, Sherbro Island. But here they were soon interrupted by influential agents from Sierra Leone, who while they "wished the American colonists all success," as others of the English Colony did Mills and Burgess two years before, wished them further off, and succeeded by their interference in breaking up the negotiations which Kizell had instituted with the natives for Sherbro. Thence for a short time the emigrants moved to, and dwelt at Fourah; some returned to Sierra Leone.

In November, 1820, the President dispatched the U. S. Schooner *Aligator*, Captain R. F. Stockton, on a voyage of exploration of, and instructions to negotiate for suitable territory. Proceeding to Sherbro and Fourah Bay, Capt. Stockton took on board with him Dr. Eli Ayres, an agent of the Colonization Society, who had preceded him to the Coast, and proceeded with the difficult work, which by the aid of Elijah Johnson, one of the *Elisabeth's* emigrants was successfully accomplished in the following year by the purchase of Cape Mesurado, and its occupation January 7, 1822—250 miles south of Sierra Leone, but still not far enough off." For scarcely had the negotiations for its occupancy ended, and the place left temporarily in charge of Elijah Johnson, than the interference of the English again cropped out by the threats of some of the native kings with whom they had been dealing, and from whom the purchase had been made, at the prospective loss of their slave trade privileges; and an offer to Johnson of a force of marines from a British man-of-war to quiet the disturbance *if he would only cede a few feet of ground on which to erect a British flag*. "No," said Johnson, "we

want no flagstaff put up here, that will cost more to get it down again than it will to whip the natives. I have been two years searching for a home in Africa, and I have found it; and I shall stay here."

The fact is, the English slave trade as compared with American, bears the same relation to the continuance of African slavery, as it does to its origin; the British were among the earliest to engage in it, and the last to quit it. The Act of Parliament abolishing the slave trade after 1808, was to say the least, quite as little regarded by Englishmen, as was the Act of Congress of corresponding date by Americans. And whatever stood in the way of British commerce on the coast of Africa, without regard to the particulars of that commerce, found protection under the British flag. Indeed so long had this been the case that the representatives of the British Government seemed to claim inherent rights there, and treated the settlement of immigrants from America as an encroachment upon their exclusive privileges. And it is even so to this day, England continues to dispute the boundaries of Liberia.

Liberia was from the first, however, in its possessions an independent colony acquired by "certain persons, citizens of the United States . . . desirous to establish *themselves*," . . . and not by the United States other than by friendly assistance. But it was by the tacit protection which this friendly act seemed to imply, that Liberia was enabled to secure a footing in the first place, and which subsequently saved her from annihilation by the interests protected by the British flag.

In 1843—the next year after the treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the purpose of putting a stop to the slave trade—and all along up to that period the English continued to treat this infant colony with contempt, respecting only the friendly relations of the United States. Liberia at that time had taken upon herself the exercise of certain national rights, and among them, the universally acknowledged commercial right of collecting port charges. For its maintenance she employed a little schooner, called the *John Seyes*. On assaying to collect port dues at Edina, one of Liberia's ports of entry, the British not only protested the right, but seized the *John Seyes*, and took her before the Court of Admiralty at Sierra Leone.—There happened to be for the time no American man o'war on the Coast.—Liberia appealed to the friendly intermediation of the United States. Mr. Everett,

the American Minister wrote to Lord Aberdeen under date of December 30, 1843 :

"The undersigned greatly fears that if the right of the settlement to act as an independent political community, and as such to enforce the laws necessary to its existence and property, be denied by Her Majesty's Government, and if the naval force of Great Britain be employed in protecting individual trades in violation of her laws, the effort will be to aim a fatal blow at its very existence." To this Mr. Fox wrote to Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, that—

"The Liberians showed a disposition to enlarge very considerably the limits of their territory ; assuming to all appearances quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free ; and thus ignorantly interfering with the commerce, interest and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter." . . . In reply Mr. Upshur stated that—

. . . "It is not perceived that any nation can have just reason to complain that this settlement does not confine itself to the limits of its original territory. Its very existence requires that it should extend those limits. Heretofore this has never been done by arms so far as I am informed, but always by fair purchase from the natives. In like manner their treaties with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise ought to be respected. It is quite certain that their influence in civilizing and Christianizing Africa, in suppressing the slave trade, and in ameliorating the condition of African slaves, will be worth very little if they should be restrained at this time, in any one of these particulars. Full justice, it is hoped may be done to England, without denying to Liberia powers so necessary to the safety, prosperity, and the utility of that settlement as a philanthropic establishment. . . . They are themselves nearly powerless, they must rely, for the protection of their own rights, on the justice and sympathy of other powers. That this Government will be at all times, prepared to interpose its good offices to prevent any encroachment by the colony upon any just right of any nation, and that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory, rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement."

After several month's litigation, the *John Seys* was cleared, and the Liberian authorities notified they could

have her on paying the costs of adjudication, amounting to \$1200 ! considerably more than she was worth. One of the items in the bill of costs to the British Government was ninety-nine days hire of an anchor at \$1.50 per diem, notwithstanding that when the schooner was seized, she had on board two good anchors with chain cables.—The conditions were refused, the British Government retained the *John Seys*, denied the right of the Liberians to acquire territory by treaty with the natives of the country, or to govern that which they had already acquired ; instructed her subjects not to pay duties, and gave the Liberians to understand that the British navy would enforce this decision.

Thus, were the Liberians, after twenty years' tutelage on the coast of Africa under the direction of the Colonization Society, at the very outset of their first effort to shape their own destinies, estopped by the British government.—The Colonization Society was like its offspring—devoid of sovereign power to make treaties. But together the Society and the Colony were equal to the occasion. After mature deliberation and thorough study of the import of the terms on which the settlement had been acquired, the Society amended its constitution by striking out everything relating to the government as a colony, and declared the time had arrived for the people of Liberia to take into their own hands the work of self-government, including the management of all their foreign relations; and recommended to them to publish to the world a declaration of their true character as a sovereign and independent State. The propriety of this action was submitted to the vote of the people, and being decided in the affirmative, a convention was called in conformity therewith, which the twenty-sixth day of July, 1847, adopted a new constitution and made a formal Declaration of Independence. In the course of the following year, her independence was acknowledged by England and France. But even this was at first equally disregarded by the British *free* traders. Even as late as 1853, President Roberts had to contend with the British Government against the prosecution of the coolie trade, which was but another name only, for the slave trade, within the legal jurisdiction of the Republic. And still later, President Benson had to contend with France against the same infamous traffic under the French flag. But both finally, more out of respect to the growing universal sentiment against the slave trade, than sensibility to

their own wrong doings, doubtless, yielded to the progress of civilization on that portion of the Coast of Africa, occupied by Liberia ; whatever they may have done, or continue to do, in other parts.

Liberia's flag is now honored by all Christian nations, and none more deserves honor, for the cause over which it floats is the grandest and holiest which ever gave birth to a nation—the redemption of a whole race of mankind from heathenism and slavery.

What, let us now inquire are the obligations of Christian nations to sustain Liberia ?

Our effort to answer this question will be mainly directed to England and the United States, and on the statistics of the last census year of slavery in the United States. It has already been shown that during the Eighteenth century, comprehending the period when Great Britain was most intent on developing the resources of her American Colonies, she imported 3,225,466 slaves.—During the one hundred and forty years previous to that period, she imported 610,000 : aggregating at the time she ceased to find the slave trade profitable as conducted under the ægis of her flag 3,835,466. About the same number as were emancipated in the United States by the war of the rebellion.

The average value at which slaves were estimated by British traders at the time of importation was £30 per capita, making for the whole number £105,063,980. In addition to this, however, it was estimated that each one was actually worth, on a general average of valuation, eight times as much as his first cost in the value of his labor : aggregating the enormous amount of *Eight hundred and forty millions, five hundred and eleven thousand eight hundred and forty pounds sterling*, as an approximate primary estimate of England's pecuniary obligation to Africa for the developement of the resources of her American Colonies.

The value of African slavery in America to England subsequent to American Independence is suggested, and might be approximately estimated by the enormous developement of her cotton looms, and the profits arising therefrom ; by the value of the cotton, grain, flour, bacon, sugar, naval stores and tobacco exported to her as the product of slave labor in the Southern States.

These exportations from 1807 to 1860, amounted to upwards of *two thousand millions of dollars!* But to this averment the over nice critic from an English standpoint

may reply: This portion of the debt, the value of slave labor to England since American Independence, belongs to the United States, we have paid for our importations. Be it so, and the inquiry follows: What would England have done, and what would have been the degree of her material prosperity and the comfort of her people without those products of African slavery? By the same means it is indeed true, other nations have also greatly profited, and the wealth of the United States in particular, was established, in the North and the West, equally with the South. For, during the same interval of time the amount of raw material and other produce supplied by slave labor to New England to build up and sustain her manufactures, and to feed and clothe her people exceeded an average of one hundred millions of dollars annually. The value of the raw cotton alone sent to the northern mills for the last ten years of the period amounted to over thirty millions of dollars annually. Boston alone received from the Slave States in 1859, cotton valued at \$22,000,000; wool \$1,000,000; hides, \$1,000,000; lumber, \$1,000,000; flour, \$1,500,000; corn, \$1,200,000; rice, \$500,000; tobacco, \$2,000,000; —\$31,200,000. Providence, New Haven, Hartford, Portland, and other Northern cities, as much more. New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and other great manufacturing cities of the non-slaveholding States swell the sum to the aggregate of over *two hundred millions of dollars annually*.

And of the commerce of the country, chiefly owned and conducted by the non-slave-holding States, but built up and sustained by the product of slave labor—who can venture to estimate its value to the country for the period under consideration? In 1860, the accumulated tonnage in the United States was estimated at 4,000,000 sail, and valued at \$160,000,000. Of this the Slave States owned less than one-seventh, while they furnished more than six-sevenths of the freight which sustained it. The cotton crop of that year was estimated at two thousand and seventy million pounds. The freight on it alone at one cent per pound for first removal was nearly \$21,000,000. The value of other articles of southern produce exported, held the same relations to the ownership of the tonnage. The return, or import freights were also in a great measure on Southern account. At the same rates as export freight, the earnings by importations were \$35,000,000; of which amount \$12,000,000 was paid by Southern consumers; making about \$36,000,000, or

more than double the amount of the value of Southern ownership paid *per annum*, as measured by 1860, from slave labor in support of commerce, without taking into account the value of coasting freights.

To proceed with the detail and summing up of the values derived from slave labor and due Africa, from Great Britain and the United States, would in the aggregates severally, greatly exceed the amount of their respective national debts—would show that they owe more to Africa than to all the world besides!

Shall the debt be paid?

These two Anglo Saxon countries having acquired through the instrumentality of African slavery as their most important means, that degree of wealth and progress in the development of resources which give them the first rank among nations, have set their slaves "free," to shirk for themselves in the battle of life amidst difficulties and hardships unknown to any other people on the face of the earth. After seventeen years trial in the United States, and a portion of them for more than twice that period under English laws, the "free" negroes in both countries, can, with as much truth now as did the Liberians in their Declaration of Independence in 1847, declare that "we were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours were preferred before us."

How markedly true is this declaration, at the very day of this writing, at our doors. The *really* free working people of all other nationalities, no longer fearing humiliation from working side by side with Negro slaves, are rushing in unprecedented numbers to fill the places of those "free" colored laborers, in all the avocations to which they were deemed to be especially suited.

There is no need here to discuss the equality of political rights, and the fact that the Negro in America is endowed by law, so far as it is possible for the law to endow him, with all the immunities and privileges which belong to the Anglo-Saxon, but the fact is none the less true that "Strangers from all lands are preferred before him." No legislation, no amount of legislative privileges ever has, or ever can overcome the impassable social bar to preferment which everywhere faces the Negro except in his own native country—Africa. In the North where slavery has been abolished for several generations, and in the new

West where it has never existed, equally with the South, the social distinctions of color are as keenly observed as they ever were, and all the more painfully to the liberated slave, because of his conscious rights under the law, and the repeated humiliations to which he is constantly subjected, by the use that is made of him by politicians.

It is a gratifying sign of the times to observe the growing restlessness of the Africans in America under the disappointed hopes which their pseudo friends have inspired. That some—and the most intelligent—among them, see more and more clearly year by year that their importance in the political strife of parties ceases with every election; that they are valued and used for their votes to serve the ends of others only, and not themselves; that they have exchanged servile labor for servile politics; that they are made footballs of, and insulted at every turn by the pittance patronage of the very persons who assume to be their special advocates; that, in short, they must sink their individuality, or retain it at the cost of every characteristic of freedom except compulsory labor.

In brilliant contrast with hopeless freedom for the colored man in America, Liberia looms up as his land of promise, where the highest posts of honor are accessible to him and his children; where no apology is required of him for the impertinence of having been born; where he requires no white man's permission to vote, or how; where he is a *freeman* in its fullest and best sense, in the land of his fathers, and where he can rule instead of being ruled.

Modern discovery has shown that all our previously conceived ideas of barren wastes in the interior of Africa were erroneous; that the hitherto unknown regions are luxuriant forests, with diversified scenery of mountains and valleys, hills and dales, studded with great lakes, numerous and magnificent river courses, fruitful in agricultural resources, and teeming with population.

Lamentably true, indeed, it is, that a very large proportion of the inhabitants of that great continent is still in the depths of heathen superstition, divided into contending tribes preying upon and devouring one another, as they were three hundred years ago, still making merchandise of their children or sacrificing them to their heathen gods. It is a custom as old as any knowledge we have of heathen Africa, and still obtains, on the evidence of the most credible observers, that all who are captured in war, including women and children are made

slaves of; and that the barbarous treatment with which even the wives and children of a native prince are treated during his lifetime reaches its climax by a sacrifice of their lives at his death. That the native princes celebrate their feast days by feeding thousands of their captured slaves to idolized crocodiles, or otherwise destroy them; that the native slave to his native master in Africa is, indeed, now as of yore, subjected to the most inconceivable tyranny of savage torture from infancy to old age, even into the very throes of death, insomuch that, inured to hardships and tortures that shock the instinct of brutes, they learn to look upon cruelty till its power of impression is lost upon them; they know no such thing as human sympathy, and welcome death as the only relief. This picture of slavery in Africa is no less true of the present than of the past. It was well understood at the time the Negro was first made a slave of in America, and it was from this state of servitude that he was transferred to the controlling influence of civilization and Christianity. Slavery was not thereby increased but on the contrary, greatly mitigated. Whatever our contemplations therefore, when we reflect upon the evils of slavery as it has existed in America, we should not fail to comprehend the benefits conferred upon the African slave by a change of masters; and that the humane conduct of Las Casas in transferring Negro slaves from their heathen masters in Africa to America, with the benevolent purpose of mitigating the sufferings of the Indians, was not devoid of beneficent results to the Negroes. Transferred from the most horrid and revolting cruelties of barbarian masters, the Negro became a willing slave to humane treatment and civilization. That such a change should render him contented and happy, reconcile him to his new position, cause him to love and obey his new master was a natural impulse.

Such was the attitude in which Negro slavery was presented to our fathers. They spurned the idea that they introduced it. Actuated by the purest principles of independence and Christianity, they recognized the evil of slavery *per se* no matter what its necessity or whence its origin, and lamented its existence among them. But in order to remove it, they could apply none of the principles which had governed other nations, for in no other nation where such a change had been effected were the slaves of inferior race and incapable of advancement to citizenship. The univer-

sally conceded inferiority of the Negro, at that time, at least, admitted of no discussion in regard to his social equality or any future provision for it. Liberia, as already shown, was the outcome of this spirit. Heathen Africa still lies outspread before us—we have inherited the means of civilizing it.

About fourteen thousand free colored people, civilized by American tutelage have been returned to Africa, since the foundation, and under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. To this number, there have been added six thousand rescued Africans from the slave traders, and three hundred and forty six have emigrated thither from Barbadoes. The total number of civilized inhabitants in Liberia, at the present time is estimated at a little upwards of 30,000. But besides these, in an area of territory measuring one thousand miles of Sea Coast and two hundred miles into the interior, over 1,000,000 native inhabitants, have been brought under the influence of the Liberian government to such a degree, as to have completely extinguished the slave trade both domestic and foreign, and to have already paved the way for progressive civilization to the one hundred and fifty millions of native heathen.

Never before since the foundation of Christianity has there ever presented a more favorable concurrence of means for civilizing a heathen people, than that which now obtains in the relations of the colored people of this country to Africa.

LIBERIA—as a beacon light upon a mountain—now stands out to view a self-governed community of *free* colored people on the threshold of African civilization; proclaiming to the whole Christian world the Providential guidance of our fathers in founding the American Colonization Society, by means of which the way has been opened, and a substantial free government for the liberated slaves of America, provided at the time of all others the most propitious for the fulfilment of its destinies.

The emancipated slaves of America have had a bitter experience in the effort to become freemen in this country, and few there are now so blind as not to perceive its utter hopelessness. Their present greatest need, is sound information on the status of Liberia as a government, its geography, climate and productions—information fully in the possession of the American Colonization Society, and now more than ever before, full of promise for the future of Africa.

Of the climate of Liberia, and of liability to acclimating fevers, the writer can aver from actual observation that, as compared with the same latitude on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast of America, the advantages are decidedly in favor of Liberia. Moreover, that the liability to fevers and risks to health in general are quite as great in any equally extensive line of Coast from North Carolina to Texas, as on the section of African Coast occupied by Liberia. And all accounts agree that on, and after proceeding into the interior about forty miles, the climate is in a high degree salubrious.

To William Coppinger, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, Washington, D.C., and to Edward S. Morris, Esq., Philadelphia, the writer is under obligations for a published letter of Commodore Shufeldt, U. S. Navy, since his fruitless effort to settle the boundary between Liberia and Sierra Leone; * for recent numbers of the *African Repository*, recent Presidential messages of Liberia and other papers from which the following is condensed, of the present status and internal prospects of Liberia, and of her relations with other nations in the promotion of her trade and commerce.

Coffee, sugar, cotton, rice and all the different kinds of vegetables, fruits, spices and die plants peculiar to tropi-

* WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1881,

William Coppinger, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society:

DEAR SIR: I regret that other engagements prevent my participation in your public meeting to be held in New York in behalf of the interests of the republic of Liberia.

In view of the many failures which have been recorded in every age of the world, that colony may be regarded as a success; yet to those familiar with the present condition of Liberia it is evident that a crisis in her existence has been reached in which she requires the active and persistent efforts of her friends. With all due consideration, not only for the patient efforts of the society of which you have so long been the esteemed secretary, but for the exertions of Christians and philanthropists throughout England and America, I think there has been too much "waiting upon Providence" for advancing the interest and strengthening the position of the colonists in Africa. Added to the disadvantages of a decreasing revenue, a growing debt and an entire absence of foreign capital (the investment of which is discouraged by Liberian laws) there seems to be languor in place of decided action among the men who believe in the capabilities of the African race for self-government, and an utter indifference on the part of the United States towards a colony planted by ourselves in behalf of a race subject for many years to our oppressive laws, and barred by our statutes from taking its place among the nations.

cal and semi-tropical climates thrive well in Liberia. To coffee in particular the climate and soil seem to be peculiarly well adapted ; the quality produced being equal to the best Java, and the yield abundant.

Ibrahim Sissi, sovereign ruler and commander of the faithful of the Kingdom of Medina has recently requested the Liberian Government to assist in opening the roads for trade from that wealthy emporium to Monrovia. That city

It has been stated and generally believed that the climate of Liberia is fatal to its prosperity. This in a measure perhaps is true, but true only in the same degree as in all tropical countries in either hemisphere. Malarial fevers prevail, but not of a fatal type, and certainly not more aggravated than on our Southern seaboard or throughout Central America. Even if the climate *is* injurious, it is an evil which disappears from day to day and year to year in proportion as the country is cleared and population increased. If many of the colonists suffer from climatic ills, it is due partly to the hardships incident to emigration, but in my opinion more particularly to the fact that many if not most of the emigrants are of a mixed blood, and consequently inherit the delicacy of constitution common to mulattoes in this country.

Of all the checks to the progress of Liberia, climate, in my opinion, is the least. Its great bars to advancement are : First, the rivalry of the colony of the British crown at Sierra Leone ; second, the great flood of Mohammedanism coming from the north and east of the republic, with apparently irresistible force ; third, the want of steam communication and the consequent steady flow of emigration from this country ; and lastly, the indifference of the United States government and the people to the republic, not only in a Christian and philanthropic point of view, but perhaps more tangibly in its commercial aspect as the objective point for American trade on the west coast.

It may readily be understood that Sierra Leone, under the protection of the powerful government of Great Britain, possessed of ample means, and always sustained by military forces, urged on by the persistent efforts of British traders to monopolize more and more the valuable trade of interior Africa, is constantly encroaching on Liberian territory, both upon its sea shore and upon its rather indefinable internal limits. This aggression, although not countenanced, nor perhaps understood by the people of Great Britain, is nevertheless going on until at last Liberia, losing not only her territory, but, consequently, her revenue will dwindle into a mere trading post or missionary station. It is a well-known fact that British steamers stop regularly for the purpose of landing and receiving cargoes on at least two points within the Liberian limits, as understood in this country, without regarding the customs laws of the republic. The goods thus landed and received are taken to and from the interior of Liberia, thus not only defrauding her revenue, but encouraging the natives to disobey and hold in contempt all her laws. The Liberian government made its first grave mistake in appealing to the British crown for protection from this injustice. Its appeal should have been to the United States, which, under treaty, is required to protect the colony from the natives within its borders. I do not wish to underrate the many

is said to contain about 20,000 population, and the country round about, to be thickly settled, and abounding in cattle, hides, goats, sheep, horses, asses, rice, peas, corn, ground-nuts, cotton country cloths, butter, rock-salt and gold in great abundance. All he wants is free and uninterrupted intercourse between Medina and Monrovia, in order that the wealth of that interior region may pour down into the markets of Liberia. The request has been readily acceded to and negotiations are now in progress for accomplishing the purpose.

Several steamship lines are now in process of being

kindnesses of the British government, and particularly of the British people, extended in earlier times towards this struggling colony. In the great effort made by England for the abolition of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa, Liberia was her *moral* ally at least, but times and conditions are changed, and although the foreign slave trade has been abolished, yet it is a well-established fact that domestic slavery exists, not only among the tribes within Liberian territory, but throughout Africa, and to-day contributes by its labor to the commerce on that continent from which England derives such immense profits. The English philanthropist takes no note of this fact, while the colonial governments and the British merchant take advantage of its results.

However lamentable, it is nevertheless true that Mohammedanism is carrying all before it in a religious point of view. It has already reached to within 150 miles of Sierra Leone and Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, establishing everywhere its fundamental dogmas of polygamy and slavery. To those who believe in a higher and purer religion this forebodes a struggle prolonged into the centuries, for it is safe to predict that within the next half century the native tribes of Liberia itself will be converted to that faith unless the Christian friends of the African race in this country and in Europe rouse themselves and determine to resist its encroachments.

Third.—The want of communication with this country, by which alone a constant relation, as vital to an infant colony as life-blood to the body, it by the constantly increasing wealth and (country), accounts for the poverty and slow growth. Steam communication not only fosters this immunity, but creates a trade to supply the ever-increasing wants of the country, who in turn barter the products of their new country for our manufactures. It is the merest folly to suppose that in the near future the native African will become a voluntary and persistent tiller of the soil for the sake of the gain arising from commerce. He cultivates the earth to the extent of his necessities, and while the colonist can utilize him in a desultory way, Liberia must look to her imported citizens for a steady development of her agricultural wealth. I fear very much that the Liberian himself does not quite appreciate this fact. A steam line from New York to Baltimore via Madeira, the Canary Islands, the Cape de Verde, Sierra Leone and Monrovia, would not only prove remunerative at this time, but would rivet that country to this in such a way as not only to insure to

established from Germany and France to the West Coast of Africa. M. Verminck & Co., long engaged in the trade, intend to put on several steamers between Marseilles and Western Africa. The first one to be named the *Djolibak*, in commemoration of the discovery of the sources of the Niger by Messrs. Zweisel and Moustier, about 100 miles back of Liberia. A third line of steamers—the West African Steam Navigation Company—has been commenced between Liverpool and the West Coast, for freight and passenger accommodation. This line, and the African Steamship Company jointly dispatched a steamer direct monthly from Hamburg to Western Africa; and weekly from Liverpool and Glasgow. Increased communication has been provided between Algeria and Marseilles. A royal mail steamer

our commercial good, but insure the progress and prosperity of Liberia. One thing is certain, unless American capitalists can be found to build American ships for this purpose, but a few years, or perhaps months, will elapse before the English merchant will embrace the opportunity, and we shall have the mortification of seeing the English flag doing the work between America and her colony, thus depriving us of the benefits of opening a trade with Africa, the last and richest field left to the progressive merchant as well as to the missionary. Livingstone has said that commerce and Christianity must go hand in hand in the proselyting of Africa. The people of the United States, therefore, whether actuated by the desire of gain or the desire of good, are interested in the establishment of steam communication between these two countries. Immediate and energetic attention to this fact will obviate that last and greatest bar to Liberian progress—the indifference of the people and government of the United States to Liberian interests.

The press—the great motor of public opinion in this country—rarely writes an encouraging word, or urges its readers to an intelligent consideration of the great problem now working itself out in Liberia. The ill-timed and ill-digested effort of the negroes themselves in this country, which ended in the first and only voyage of the bark *Azor*, was ridiculed throughout the land, and quoted as evidence of the incapacity of the race to do anything for itself. No consideration whatever seems to have been given to the considerations of poverty and ignorance which checked and hindered these poor people in their first effort to reach a land free from the moral oppression of a superior race. Letters about Liberia speak frequently with quiet self-conceit of the amusing characteristics of society there, overlooking the fact that those people, emerging from a state of ignorance and quasi-slavery, are struggling by the lights they have towards a higher plane, leaving which struggle they must necessarily endeavor to imitate the manners and customs of their superiors in the land which they have beyond. That these imitations are sometimes grotesque there can be no made but from the thinking men such efforts merit sympathy rather than censure. At all events, if in the destiny of mankind it is written that the struggle of the inferior to the plane of the superior is to go the native

leaves Lisbon monthly, touching at various places on the way for Angola and Benguela, makes the passage in about thirty-five days.

An English railway company has recently been granted a charter by Liberia, for a railroad extending two hundred miles back from Monrovia, and designed ultimately to connect that port with the head-waters of the Niger. This is a shorter route, and deemed to be more feasible than one contemplated by the French by the way of Senegal. The West Africa Light Railway Company of London, have in contemplation four short roads in the Yoruba country, viz: From Salt Pond to Mackessim, twenty miles; Accra to the Volta river, fifty miles; Chamah to the Wassaw gold mines, fifty miles; and from Gaiin, opposite to Lagos, to Abbeokuta, reputed to have a population of 125,000, forty miles. Five gold mining companies are now operating in the Wassaw country, all said to be obtaining lucrative yields. According to an official report upon the Free

of the Orange River, immense beds of coal and iron
The yield of the South African diamond fields in
left. as \$18,000,000.

doubt,

than der about the centuries to come, then this, the first effort of the
that the spe to establish a free government upon its own soil, merits

receive the sympathy and encouragement of every man,
child in America. But the apparent indifference of the
vernment to the permanency and prosperity of Liberia
e, less excuse. Our statesmen, in the study of our inter-
guidance of our policy, should long ago have seen that

Liberia they would not only afford an outlet to a dis-
of our citizens, and an offset to the predominance of
upon the continent of Africa, and gain a standpoint

not enough as a Christian nation, but would create and foster a market for
manufactures which are not only each year demanding foreign marts,
but are already eagerly sought after by the 200,000,000 of people who
dwell upon that portion of the earth's surface. I do not expect, nor
indeed is it necessary, that the government of the United States should
take any aggressive position towards other countries on the African
question. A friendly note to a friendly power, simply indicating that
we take an active interest in Liberia, and would not be willing to see
her territory curtailed, or her trade restricted and the occasional visit
of an American man-of-war to indicate to the tribes within Liberian
boundaries that the laws of Liberia must be respected, would suffice,
at least at present, to insure the existence of the republic.

Much more on this interesting subject occurs to me, but I have said
perhaps all that you will care to read, and some things in which per-
haps you do not quite concur; but at all events you will permit me to
subscribe myself a friend to Liberia. Very truly, yours,

R. W. SHUFELDT.

The Niger Valley, which lies East of Liberia has a population of fifty millions. These people are Mahomedans, but from recent developments, like the people of Medina, they are ready to receive Christian instruction—which has already been carried to them from Liberia—a section of territory containing 500,000 having applied to be taken under the Liberian Government.

The significant unrest of the colored people throughout the United States is known to all observers. The Colonization Society estimates the number now considering the question of removal to Liberia at 500,000. Behind these are 4,000,000 more, only awaiting needful authentic information on the true status of Liberia—this it is the first duty of the American Colonization Society to give—and than it surely, there is no subject which would be more likely to receive the substantial support of all true friends of genuine freedom to the African in America, and the civilization of Africa. *Needful information, directly to the colored people* by intelligent agents, qualified by actual knowledge of Liberia; in conjunction with cheap, regular and rapid passage thither, are the present and the most important desiderata for the fulfillment of Africa's destiny.

A. N. BELL.

REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

IT is assumed that the object sought in inviting different persons to contribute papers to a discussion of this subject, (introduced by the Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington's Essay in the April number of this *Review*) is not only to elicit the opinions of differing schools of thought (as the phrase is), but, which may be more valuable, to gather suggestions from churchmen of varying experience, lay and clerical, of parochial or missionary, city or country ministry. That the question of a possible improvement of the Prayer Book should be made an occasion for stirring up party strife would be an issue far from the design of its proposers. Any such treatment of the subject, whether by writers or readers, is to be earnestly deprecated. At the same time a frank statement of views and wishes may be of service not only as a direct contribution to the settlement of the matter, but also in disabusing some minds of suspicions as to the ends really sought by brother churchmen of whom they may know little but possibly hear and fear much.

The Committee to whom the consideration of the subject was referred by the General Convention determined at the outset, we are told, that their powers were limited and that it was not within their province to entertain any suggestions which would involve an alteration of the doctrinal

standards of the Church. The Revision proposed is to be simply in the way of Enrichment of the Prayer Book, and of increased Flexibility in its use. The present writer desires to confine his suggestions as far as possible within these same limits. But it is obvious that points of doctrine cannot altogether be avoided, since the *lex orandi* must ever be the *lex credendi*.

The fact that the Prayer Book bears evident marks of what some would call compromise (amounting in some cases to a *suppressio veri*), while others would term it comprehensiveness ; should be borne in mind, and may lead to a favorable, or at least liberal, consideration of some suggestions concerning which a difference of opinion may arise as to the received doctrine of the Church on certain subordinate but not unimportant points.

I. Few readers can fail to have noticed the scanty reference to the Eucharistic Service made by previous writers on this subject. Dr. Huntington proposed to provide different forms for Sunday, Holy Day, and Week Day Morning and Evening Prayer ; but neither he nor Judge Emott offered any but the most meagre suggestions with regard to the Service for Holy Communion, whether in the direction of enrichment or elasticity. We may understand and appreciate the motive which in part, no doubt, led to this reserve ; but surely it cannot be necessary to pass by the one Service of Divine appointment, the "Liturgy" *par excellence*, when we consider the subject of Liturgical enrichment or flexibility. The scant attendance in so many of our Churches at this Sacred Rite, may without doubt be attributed in part to its being thrown into a position of comparative obscurity, and its administration shorn of some even of the Liturgical accessories, such as music, which had been gathered round the Morning Prayer or preliminary service. The days we may trust are passing away when the Holy Eucharist was regarded as one of the Occasional Services. Certainly if we wish to fill our Churches with *worshippers*, as distinct from mere *hearers*, we must give them an opportunity of worshipping in the appointed Covenant manner, of drawing near with the Pure Offering of the New Dispensation.

The first place then shall be given to some suggestions with regard to the Service for Holy Communion, which it is thought may fairly come under these heads of Enrichment and Elasticity.

1.—First as regards Elasticity. We may look for the dis-

tinct and unquestioned permission to omit the longer Exhortation ("Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye whomind to come") at early and week-day Communions. Such a permission (accorded by the general consent and practice of all parties in England) would be in harmony with the like provision in the Baptismal Service, and might fairly be considered a "timely" improvement, justifiable by a consideration both of the intention and the origin of the Exhortations. What was fitting when rare administrations were the rule is felt to be less appropriate with frequent celebrations. Persons who come to receive the Holy Communion at an early hour or on a week-day may be presumed to have endeavored to prepare themselves beforehand. This and other Exhortations in our Service, which from their unvarying repetition we feel to be burdensome, at the compilation of the English Prayer Book were most timely introductions, both as regards the Clergy and the people. To the People the Services were for the most part new, and needed explanation since hitherto they had been accustomed only to assist at their celebrations in an unknown tongue; while the Clergy of that time were many of them but little used to preaching or the giving of public instruction, a plea that could hardly be urged for the Clergy of our day and Communion, few of whom will at any rate consider themselves unequal to the task of explaining the nature of the Sacraments and Rites which it is their function to administer.*

2.—A second alteration or permission likewise in the interests of elasticity would be the allowance to omit the Ten Commandments on similar occasions (of week-day and early Communions), or a return to the rubric of the Scottish Liturgy, which gives our Lord's Summary of the Law as an allowed *substitute* for the Decalogue instead of as in our Book a permitted addition thereto.

One feels that the freedom which these permissions would give is not much to ask in the way of authorized flexibility, when not a few Clergymen, with an utter disregard alike of rubrical law and of liturgical propriety, are accustomed at other than the mid-day Service to begin the Celebration at the Offertory, thereby omitting an integral

* In the Prayer Book of 1549 the Exhortation is only to be read if in the Sermon the people had not been exhorted to the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament; and "in parish churches upon the week-days it may be left unsaid."

part of the Liturgy, including the Collect and Eucharistic Scriptures for the Day.

3.—A matter of great practical convenience with undoubted primitive precedent would be the permission to Reserve the Holy Sacrament (as ordered in the Book of 1549*), not for the sake of Benediction or for kindred purposes (to which the writer has a strong objection), but that the Consecrated Elements might be carried from the church to the Sick. What a privilege this would be in a large parish on the occasion of great Festivals when there may be several sick or disabled persons who would be thankful to share the Feast along with those who are allowed to be in church! How such a practice would conduce not only to convenience but to reverence, those will know who have found it difficult in the crowded ward of a Hospital, or in a squalid attic, to comply with the English rubric, which prescribes for the Celebration in the sick man's house "a convenient place, with all things necessary so prepared that the curate may reverently minister."

4.—In the direction both of elasticity and enrichment we might ask for special Collects, Epistles and Gospels for use on certain occasions, such as when, according to early Christian usage, a celebration of the Holy Communion accompanies a Marriage (not then performed in the evening, or with the company in drawing room attire, and the women *without* "power on their heads,") or at a Burial, at meetings of Convention or Convocation, when the service for the week may or may not be particularly appropriate, and for such festivals as the anniversaries of a Church Dedication.

With regard to the two first mentioned occasions it may be well to make one or two observations. It can hardly be necessary to remind any (though Judge Emott's objection might lead to such a confusion) that the provision of an appropriate Service for Holy Communion at a Marriage would in no sense create an *obligation* to celebrate the Sacrament at such a time. The mere suggestion of the fitness of an accompanying Eucharist might however tend to raise our people's thoughts to a conception of Christian Marriage more akin to its dignity in Holy Scripture and to the mind of the early Church as represented by the

*This practice was provided for also in the Latin Prayer Book put forth during Queen Elizabeth's reign for use in Colleges, and is allowed according to the present use of our sister church in Scotland.

exclamation of Tertullian, "How can we find words to express the happiness of that marriage which the church joineth together, *the Oblation confirmeth*, and the Blessing sealeth, the angels report, and the Father ratifieth!"*

To turn from the joyous to the sad, early precedent and high sanction for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament in connection with Burial Rites is afforded by the words of another and greater divine of the African and whole Catholic Church. S. Augustine in his *Confessions* tells us that on the death of his mother, "the Sacrifice of our Ransom was offered for her, as the manner is," previous to the corpse being laid in the grave. † Monica's own directions in view of her death in a foreign land had been "Lay this body anywhere; this only I request, that you would remember me at the altar of the Lord, wherever you be." ‡

The celebration of the Holy Sacrament at a Funeral is without doubt valued by many as an opportunity of pleading in His own appointed way the merits of our Lord's Death and Passion, as the Prayer of Consecration says, "for His *whole Church*," at rest in Paradise as well as still militant on earth, "for the remission of our sins and for all other benefits of His Passion." But apart from this Sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist, it is in a special sense a bond of *communion* between all who are "in Christ," both the living and the departed members of His mystical Body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people.

The authorized provision of appropriate Scriptures for Epistle and Gospel when the Sacrament is celebrated on such occasions would seem a modest request.

5.—The restoration to the Kalendar of the Festival of the Transfiguration, of course with the provision of a Collect and appropriate Lessons and Eucharistic Scriptures, has already been proposed.

The like restoration of the festival of S. Mary Magdalene is desired by many, and need not be prevented by the acknowledged difficulty of selecting Scriptures which should not seem to determine the vexed question as to the identity of the Magdalene (who we may presume was in any case a Penitent) with the "woman who was a sinner," or with Mary of Bethany. This difficulty is believed to have been the only cause of the omission of a Special Service for S.

*Tert. *Ad axorem* II. viii.

† S. Aug. *Conf.* IX. xii. 32.

‡ *Conf.* IX, XI. 27.

Mary Magdalene in the later English Prayer Books, which still retain her name in the Kalendar, among the Black Letter Days.

It may seem idle to express a wish for the restoration of other also of the Black Letter Holy Days dropped in our Book from the English Kalendar. But their loss is real. To limit our commemorations to Scripture Saints is to lose an important witness to the historical continuity of the Church throughout the ages, and to encourage the mischievous idea that a Saintliness which was once possible is not to be looked for in later or present times. The All Saints' Collect, Epistle (or the latter part of it), and Gospel might be made a Common Office for such minor festivals, with the insertion in the Collect of a clause "especially Thy servant" [e.g. Ignatius, Cyprian, or Ambrose].

One other very practical suggestion, following on these references to the Kalendar, may be made, which will commend itself to many—the addition of Octaves to certain other festivals beside those for which they are retained in our present use. Or (if the term "Octave" seem too roman-*esque*, we need not contend for a word) the permission to use the service for the Holy Day on the following Sunday, when a larger congregation would be present which would be edified by joining in the service say for Michaelmas or All Saints. The writer remembers to have seen some time ago that some such arrangement was made (or perhaps only suggested) by the Old Catholic body in Germany, although with them it amounted to a transferring altogether of the observance of the festival when it fell on a week-day to the following Sunday.

II.—Turning from the Communion Service to the other Offices, the restoration of the Gospel Canticles, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, to their proper places in the Evening Prayer seems taken for granted by all. And we may hope likewise for the greater part of the *Benedictus* to be restored. The judicious Hooker's vindication of these Evangelical Canticles from the objections of the Puritans of his day may serve in ours. "They are Songs" he says "which concern us so much more than the Songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old. They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at His entrance into the world by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced Him."*

* *Ecclesiastical Polity* Bk. V. XL.

As a matter of taste the writer would plead for the last verse of the *Benedicite*, and for the healing of all mangled Psalms and the release of all that are unequally yoked together, as the American *Venite* and the Burial Psalms.

1.—A good deal has been said about the inappropriateness of the *Venite* in Penitential Seasons. This is in part due to the omission by former revisers of the verses of warning with which the Psalm properly concludes; an omission which to a considerable extent deprives the Hymn of its value as an introduction to the Psalms which relate so much of Israel's history, as well as of God's dealings with individuals, for our example and admonition.

It has been pointed out to the writer by one more versed in the Eastern Liturgies* that Anthems for the great Festivals of the Christian year, corresponding with our Easter Anthem, might easily be taken from such sources.

In the Liturgy of S. Basil (to which by the by our "Prayer of S. Chrysostom" really belongs, being adopted therefrom by the great Archbishop of Constantinople) are some exquisitely beautiful and striking Antiphons (so they are styled) for all the Greater Festivals, arranged in sets of three anthems for each Festival, each part consisting of four verses, with an invocation to our Lord having reference to the Day (such as at Christmas, "O Son of God, the Virgin Born, save us, singing to Thee Alleluia") after each verse. We need some such outburst of devotion to begin our praises with on all the high days of Holy Church.

Such anthems might be well adopted as an enrichment from ancient sources, and as a substitute for the "Portions" (taken mostly, and that clumsily, from the proper Psalms) provided in our present book for certain days, but seldom, if ever, used.

2. Dr. Huntington has remarked on the neglect as regards any special use in the American Prayer Book, of the greatest of the Penitential Psalms, the Fifty-First. A practical suggestion may be made for the removal of this flaw. Why should not the latter part of the English Communion Service, consisting of Psalm 51, the Lord's Prayer, a few Versicles, and our three Ash-Wednesday prayers, be taken as a special Penitential service for use during Lent or at other times, either after Morning or Evening Prayer, or the Litany, or by itself, at the discretion of the Minister?

* *The Rev. N. Hoppin, D.D., of Cambridge, Mass.*

3. Others have pointed to the need of some alteration in the introductory portion of the Confirmation Service, arising from the fact that a large proportion of the persons presented in our churches for Confirmation come from other religious bodies, and neither made any explicit vows at their Baptism nor had any sponsors. The writer cannot pass by the Order of Confirmation without referring to the late Dr. Neale's pointed distinction between the *Primitive doctrine* concerning confirmation as a rite wherein a special gift of the Holy Ghost is bestowed upon the Baptized for their Confirmation in grace; the *Anglican development* (which finds however, no trace of authority in our formulas concerning the ordinance) as a confirming of their vows by the Baptized as well as a being confirmed; and the *Protestant heresy*, which denies or ignores any sacramental character in the Rite, regarding it only as a solemn renewal of Baptismal Vows.* The idea of the Rite common among us as a "joining the church" may serve as a warning of the danger of "developments," whether Papal or other.

In connection with this "sacramental complement of Baptism," as Hooker styles Confirmation,† an oversight (it can be nothing more) may be pointed out for amendment in the office for the Baptism of those of riper years. Our devotional resources cannot be so meagre that we are obliged to offer the same prayer, the tense only being changed, as a supplication before and a thanksgiving after the Baptism of an adult.

4. If the endeavor were to make our Prayer Book more conformable to Scriptural and Primitive standards, the restoration of the permissive form for Anointing the Sick would naturally occur to the mind. This was provided for such as desired its use in the first reformed Prayer Book. It is a matter of some difficulty to maintain among simple folk the *Scripturalness* of our system while this rite, prescribed by an Apostle, is (for whatever cause and with whatever justification) altogether omitted from our Service Book.

An illustrative anecdote may be allowed from the

*See *Lectures on Church Principles*, by Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D., on "Confirmation."

† *Eccl. Pol.* V. xvi, Hooker's chapter on Confirmation is worthy of attentive study. Nothing is said about the renewal of vows as even a subordinate design of the rite.

writer's own experience. An aged man who had found his consolation during a prolonged sickness in the study of the Bible, wished to be anointed, and suggested that a Roman Catholic Priest should be called for the purpose, as he had never heard that his own Pastor (an Episcopal clergyman) administered the rite. "Oh," said his wife, "I know Mr. A. (the Episcopal clergyman) can do it, *for I heard him read all about it in the lesson last Sunday.*"

5. A special Order for the Burial of Children is certainly needed.

With regard to our Burial Service in general Judge Emott has surmised that "many churchmen would make no complaint if we had a service that said more for the departed spirit, and perhaps less for the perishing body." More thought for the departed and less for the survivors would perhaps better express what many desiderate in a Burial Service.

Primitive and Catholic practice would require more explicit prayers for the Faithful Departed, for their present rest and peace and growth toward perfection, for a merciful judgment, and a joyful resurrection at the Last Great Day, as well as for the speedy consummation of their bliss, which we do now ask. The addition of such prayers (for optional use, if that be thought well) would be considered by many a "timely" enrichment of our Book, seeing that in the century of the Church's organized life in this country (with the conclusion of which period the proposed Revision has been associated) three generations of her sons and daughters have passed into the unseen world; and considering also the changed sentiment, so marked in our day, and the revolt of thought from the old Calvinistic regard of the hour of Death as closing all possibility of the spirit being aided in its God-ward course. The attraction to our Communion felt, as it is said, by many among the Universalist body would seem to require not (God forbid!) that we should connive at any denial of the Church's constant teaching, based on our Lord's own words, concerning the endless doom of the finally impenitent, but a *more explicit* and devotional acknowledgement on our part of the intermediate state with its possibilities of spiritual advance.*

With regard to the question of Shortened Daily Services, and the various proposals for providing them, it ought to be

* On this subject see "After Death," by Rev. H. M. Luckock, D.D.

taken into consideration that the demand for a newly fashioned service comes mostly from those, whether clergy or congregations, who for whatever reason have not regularly used the old fashioned service. Clergymen who, according to the traditional rule of the Church Catholic, embodied in the rubric of the existing English Book,* have been accustomed perhaps for many years to say day by day in public or in private the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church, will be loath to part with the office which they have learned so highly to prize as an offering of worship in union with the Church at large, and as a solemn intercession on behalf of their people, as well as for the constant use of the Psalter and the systematic reading of the other Scriptures which it insures. Nor where the daily service is duly said in church, (and if possible in part sung,) at an hour convenient to the people, and its value explained, is the attendance so contemptible as is sometimes implied.

Some *abridgment* of the service for daily public use may well be desired. But those who can speak with experience on this point would probably be content with the arrangement that was proposed at the last General Convention,—permitting the clergyman to begin at the confession or at the Lord's Prayer and to end with the Third Collect ("for grace," or "for aid against Perils,") omitting where it seems desirable one Lesson with its Canticle.

Something has been already said about the inappropriateness of the Exhortations with which our Offices are so plentifully interspersed and, it must be said, weighted. It certainly cannot be necessary to explain to those who frequent a daily service, in an elaborate exhortation to the confession of their sins, the objects for which they should

Principal of the Ely Theological College. Also the Appendix II to Dr. Neale's "Translation of the Primitive Liturgies," in which a large number of quotations are cited, from which, Dr. Neale says, it will appear: "1. That prayers for the dead, and more especially the oblation of the blessed Eucharist for them, have been from the beginning the practice of the Universal Church. 2. And this without any idea of a purgatory of pain, or of any state from which the departed soul has to be delivered as from one of misery."

*"All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause." For the history of this rubric as well as for a consideration of the spiritual advantage of the rule, the reader is referred to the valuable paper by Rev. Dr. Liddon on *The Priest in his Inner Life*, lately reprinted in this country by Mr. Jas. Pott.

come to church. Rather it is to be feared that the continual repetition of this exhortation, to which persons can hardly be expected day by day very seriously to listen, must have the effect of impairing attention and leading to distraction at the very opening of the service. We may hope that these exhortations will be authoritatively omitted as eminently inappropriate to a form of *Daily Morning and Evening Prayer*.

Perhaps in this connection it may be suggested that a simpler and shorter form of Confession (corresponding for instance *mutatis mutandis* with the form in the old Prime and Compline Offices* might be substituted at least at daily Morning Prayer for the touching and solemn Confession in our present service, which all must value for its pathos and tender penitence, but which we feel sometimes almost too intense, and therefor in danger of unreality, for double daily use.

It will be observed that both the Confession and Exhortation, to which exception has been made, belong to the Introductory part of the service, which was prefixed in 1552, when (as is shown by the relaxation of the rubric enjoining its use) the custom of daily service was dying out, and the offices of Daily Prayer were coming to be regarded as Sunday or occasional spiritual exercises.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the treatment which they now receive may not stereotype, but may rather correct, this erroneous notion, far too common among our people. The Daily Prayers of the Church may well be said with greater fulness on Sundays and Holy Days; but nothing should be allowed to interfere with or take the place of the Lord's Service (The Breaking of the Bread) as the distinctive service of the Lord's Day.

This may be a fitting opportunity to point out the utter fallacy of one at any rate of the reasons urged for the alteration of the existing services—the supposed repetition in the Morning and Evening Prayer. Take from the Lord's Prayer (with which formerly the service commenced) to the Third Collect (with which it ended), and beyond the Collect for the Day, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, *Gloria*,

* As given in *the Day Hours of the Church of England*. "We confess to Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the sight of the whole company of Heaven, that we have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, of our fault, our own great fault: therefore we pray God to have mercy upon us. Almighty God have mercy upon us, and bring us to everlasting life, Amen."

and a few Versicles, there is nothing identical in the two offices for morning and evening. Psalms, Lessons, Canticles, Second and Third Collects, all are different. The structure is indeed the same. But if it embodies the right order of praise, instruction, and supplication, this would naturally be the case. We do not propose sometimes to begin at one end and sometimes at the other of the Lord's Prayer for the sake of variety.

The restoration of the remaining Versicles and Responses before the Collect for the Day, omitted in ours from the English Book, would provide in a shortened but more congregational form for the intercessions which would be lost by the omission of the Prayer for the President and those which follow.* The difficulty of finding a suitable substitute for the Versicle, "O Lord save the Queen," need not, as Dr. Huntington seems to fear, be insufferable. "O Lord save our Rulers," which has the advantage of a wider than a personal reference, has been commonly adopted as a substitute for the old petition by religious communities in the States in the corresponding prayers in the *Day Hours*.

Additions to the "Prayers for Special Occasions" have been suggested. And doubtless several might with advantage be made, e.g. a prayer for the Missionary Work of the Church at home and abroad, and one perhaps for use on occasions of Presidential and other Elections. But it may be doubted whether as much may not be done in the way of elasticity, if not of enrichment, by the more sparing use at ordinary times of these Special Prayers. It surely is unnecessary at the end of the Litany in which we have offered our supplications "for all who travel by land or by water," for "all sick persons," and for "all who are in danger, necessity, and tribulation," to add a Special Prayer (as if the general prayer were only a form and did not really mean much) for certain persons who have gone to sea or who

* Not a few still more minute suggestions might be made as to blemishes for which, as Dr. Huntington says, it would not be worth while to revise a Prayer Book, but which the revisers in their work may remove. The sorry mutilation of the Collect for S. John the Evangelist's Day (arising from the strange fear of "light" which in so many places seems to have possessed the Revisers of 1879) may be mentioned as an instance. The omission of the Nicene Creed from its proper place in the order for Holy Communion is a practical inconvenience when the services are said separately. Books of "Altar Offices" contain no Creed!

are visited with sickness or affliction. A pause, and the insertion after the general petition (as in the English Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men) of the words "especially those for whom our prayers are desired," with the corresponding words in the General Thanksgiving, would seem preferable, both as more flexible, and as teaching people to join in the prayers with a definite intention and individual application. This might still further be secured by a revival of the old custom of announcing the persons who ask the special prayer of the congregation. At present it is to be feared the attention of many is distracted from the prayer by surmises as to *who* may be sick or bereaved or on a voyage.

III. A criticism may not unnaturally be passed upon many of the suggestions in this paper, that they are minute.* There are doubtless some who would wish for a more wholesale amendment, whether in the direction of a closer return to earlier Office Books and a larger use of the treasures of Eastern or Latin Liturgies, or in a still further departure from ancient customs. The writer has had in mind the conservative temper of the Church, which would probably make any startling alterations fatal to the success of the whole scheme. Moreover another consideration should be borne in mind, which seems often in danger of being overlooked. We shall not popularize Services by first authorizing them. Popular Services (in a legitimate sense of the term) will not be created by the genius or erudition of a Committee, nor by the vote of the General Convention. They will grow out of the devotional needs and instincts of the Christian people. Then they may receive the formal sanction of the Church through authoritative channels, and in time be adopted, if need be, into her Prayer Book. The most popular congregational services in the modern Roman Catholic Church, beside of course the Mass (if that celebrated in a dead language can be strictly called congregational), are Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the Stations of the Cross. Both of these devotions sprang up so to speak from below; certainly they were not imposed upon the people; they met and provided for felt needs, and accordingly they spread from local use and gained a wider acceptance until they were gradually adopted by authority, although to this day neither of them finds a place in the formally authorized Office Books of the Roman Church.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri. A similar liberty may well be left to Clergy and Congregations of our Church. A

revision which should curtail present liberty, as for instance in the use of Metrical Litanies, or tie us to some one authorized form of Children's Service, would be a very questionable gain in the direction of elasticity. We do not want Rubrical Curtailment under the name of Liturgical Enrichment. We do not want to lose the freedom now generally acknowledged, to use as an addition to the regular offices, when they have been duly performed, any service made up of materials from the Bible and Prayer Book ; or in Mission Stations to substitute such an informal service for the set Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church, which admirable as these services are, regarded as the ordinary approach to God of His covenant people, may be found altogether inappropriate to the needs and beyond the spiritual or mental appreciation of a Mission congregation.

We do not wish to be forbidden on certain occasions, as at a "Mission," from preaching without first praying, because our object at such times is rather to win people who do not pray, and who would not pray first, to do so afterwards.

It would be most unwise to attempt to provide three or four molds outside of which no public devotions must flow, whatever may be the special needs or circumstances of a congregation. To suppose that an exhaustive provision could be made to meet all legitimate needs* would change the proposal for increased flexibility into a cramping and narrowing legislation.

Stiff "Prayer Book Churchmen" have been heard to object as "unauthorized" to the Three Hours' Service on Good Friday, the most popular service in the whole year in many churches where it has been introduced. Yet there is absolutely nothing to authorize in such a devotion (unless it be piety), since it consists simply of addresses on the Seven Words of our Lord from the Cross, with appropriate hymns and prayers selected generally from the Prayer Book and Hymnal, and pauses for silent meditation. It would be as wise to set forth an authorized Form for a Missionary Meeting as to lay down an undeviating plan for such free services as these, which, if wisely conducted, will vary considerably according to the character of the congrega-

* Some of the Offices proposed both by Dr. Dix (*Lectures on the Prayer Book*, p. 99) and by Dr. Muhlenburg belong not to the contents of a Book of Common Prayer, but to the more private Manual of a Community or a Parish.

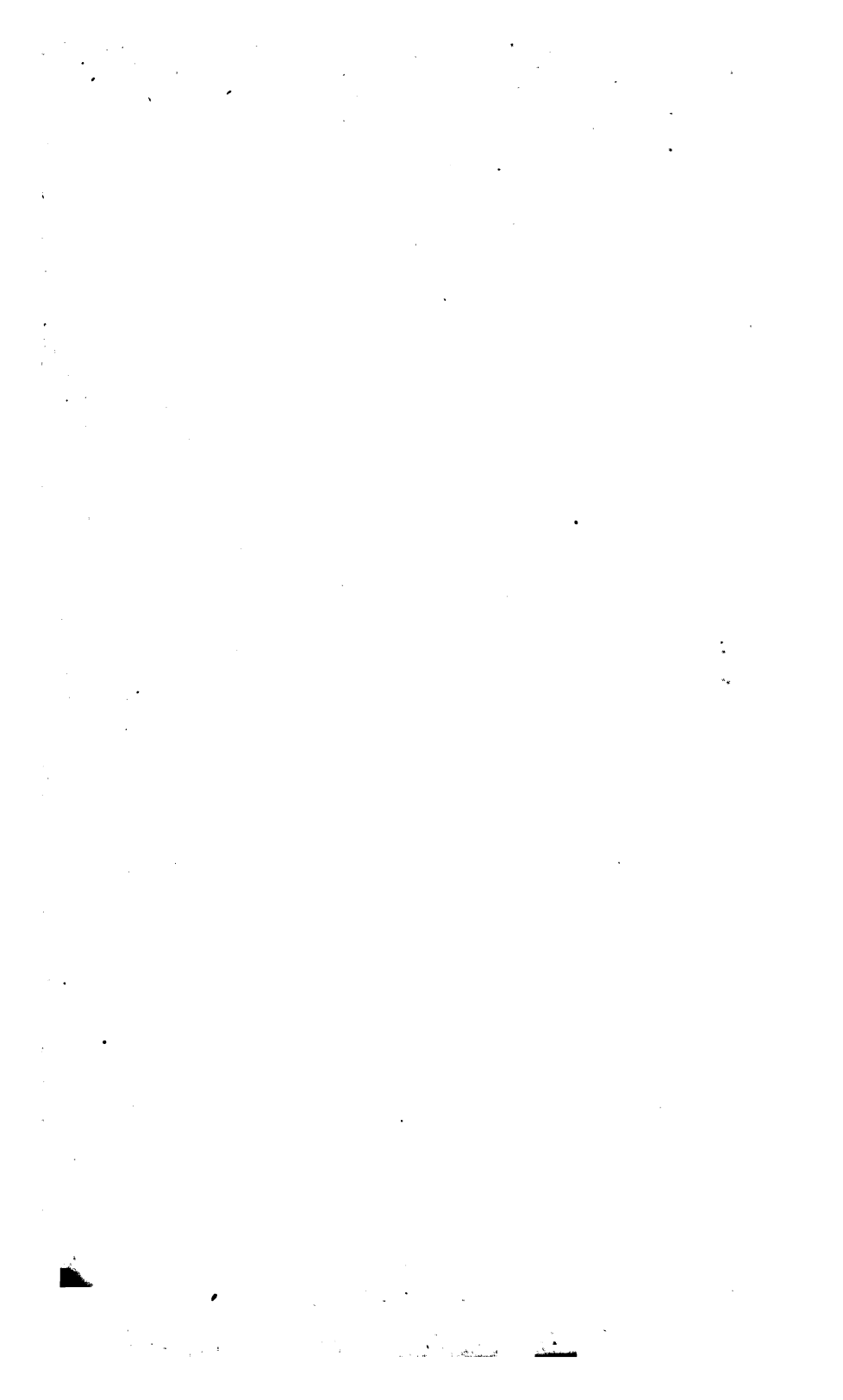
tion. Nor is there any reason why informal Prayer Meetings (as for special intercession) should be excluded, if they are not allowed to take the place of the regular services ; nor the use of extemporaneous prayer forbidden when it seems desirable. Judge Emott's legal distinction between extempore prayer offered standing in the pulpit (which he would allow), and the same said kneeling at a faldstool or in the chancel (which he would consider unlawful), would it is feared have been regarded as " Jesuitical " had it come from a clergyman or a Ritualist. And surely the caution which he gives against the permission of such liberty of prayer is at once unnecessary and unjust. A certain amount both of common sense and of loyalty must be assumed by the Church in her Clergy. And if necessary, erroneous doctrine may be made the ground of censure by Ecclesiastical authority whether it be inculcated in prayers or in sermons.

Adherence to Liturgical *principles*, more especially when these guard articles of the Faith and witness to Sacramental Grace, along with a generous recognition of the need of *adaptation* to varying circumstances, would seem to be the *desiderata* in a Revision of the Prayer Book. In Liturgics as in other departments the scribe instructed unto the kingdom of Heaven, as to its gifts, capacities and responsibilities, will seek to bring out of his treasure things both new and old.

The wise and truly catholic advice of Gregory the Great to Augustine as to the first known revision of a Prayer Book for Anglican Christians may serve as a worthy pattern for every similar attempt in later times. Gregory's words may seem to have a special appropriateness to the present work of elaborating a national use for the American people.

" You are acquainted," he says, " with the customs of the Church in which you were brought up. But if you have found anything in any other Church which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the Angels, which is at present new in the Faith, whatsoever you gather from the several churches. Select from each Church those things that are pious, religious and correct ; and when you have made these up into one body, instil this into the minds of your people for their use."*

* See Bede's Eccl. Hist. I. xxvii.



THE HARVARD SHAKESPEARE.*

IT is one among the strange things in human affairs that we know so little about some of the world's greatest, most gifted men. They come into existence in God's appointed time; they live their childhood's days; they grow up under varying influences; they do their work, whatever it is and such as it is; and then they die. Hardly any one takes account of them at the time; they themselves, as a rule, put nothing on record; their contemporaries go the way of all the earth; and succeeding generations are left to strive, by ingenuity and conjecture, to fill up the large gaps in the story of their lives and careers. This is true of

* THE COMPLETE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, with a Life of the Poet, Explanatory Foot-Notes, Critical Notes, and a Glossarial Index. Harvard Edition. By the Rev. Henry N. Hudson, Professor of Shakespeare in Boston University. In Twenty Volumes. Boston, Ginn & Heath. 12 mo. 1881. Price, \$1.25 per volume.

SHAKESPEARE: His Life, Art and Characters, with an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Growth of the Drama in England. By the Rev. H. N. Hudson. Two vols. 12 mo. Same Publishers, 1880. Price \$3.00.

SHAKESPEARE'S Plays for School and Family Use. Expurgated and Annotated. By the Rev. H. N. Hudson. Three vols. 12 mo. Price \$1.70

Separate Plays of SHAKESPEARE, with Introductions, Notes, etc. 16 mo. ("Annotated English Classics"), 1881. Price 65 cts. each.

many a one whose name the world would not willingly let die. It is true, not only of the grand old bard of antiquity, who sits enthroned in majesty unequalled, and of whom we know next to nothing, but also of very many of his successors as kings of song. It is true, as well of heroes and statesmen, and of scholars and public benefactors, as it is of the wise, and the good, and the noble army of martyrs for the truth, in all ages of human history and experience.

Especially is this the case with WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, the history of whose life, as to its ascertained settled facts, can be summed up in a single paragraph. Scant indeed is our knowledge of the great dramatist and poet. So few are the facts which are positively known, that a wide field lies open to conjecture. Scores of scholars and enthusiastic admirers and worshippers of Shakespeare have labored to make his biography more full and more satisfactory to that insatiable craving after knowledge of him; and yet they have accomplished but little in reality. The few fixed facts of his life are all just as they have been narrated since the time of his earliest biographer, better arranged and illustrated in many interesting particulars no doubt, but still the same. It is not likely that we shall ever obtain any larger or clearer light on the subject, after what has been done by Malone's learning and acuteness, and Collier's and Halliwell's industry and perserverance; and we must perforce be content with what we have. We may muse over this fruitful theme. We may form our own conjectures in examining those of others. We may take our share in the curious controversies which have arisen, in these latter days, as to Shakespeare himself, who he was, and what he was; and we may even have the patience to investigate that which, to the steadfast Shakespearian, is rank heresy, which denies the true faith, and dares to question whether he really was the author of those marvellous productions of genius and power which pass under his name.* But having done all, having read fifties and

* As part of the *Quaestiones Shakespearianae*, I have looked with much interest into Miss Delia Bacon's book, "The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded," and Judge Holmes's volume, "The Authorship of Shakespeare," (though I cannot say that I have studied them); hence I prefer to give, in place of my own judgment, Dr. Allibone's energetic characterization of these books. "We have earned the right (he says) by hard labor to assert that there is not in the 1,100 pages of Delia Bacon and Judge Holmes the shadow of a

even hundreds of volumes on the subject, and then having endeavored to find out just how much we know with anything like certainty, we shall at last come inevitably to the conclusion that impenetrable darkness shrouds the details of the larger part of the life of William Shakespeare.

In the present paper it is my design to bring to the notice and consideration of all interested in the matter of Shakespeare and his works (and who is there that is not?), the excellent service which Henry Norman Hudson, Professor of Shakespeare in Boston University, has performed in his labors of many years upon the dramas and other writings of Shakespeare. As a fitting preliminary, however, and as in measure showing the pertinency of the preceding remarks, I shall give in brief the known facts in Shakespeare's life and career, drawing freely from Professor Hudson's "Life of Shakespeare," prefixed to the first volume of the new edition, and, where called for, from other sources.

I. Every man's life naturally divides itself into several periods, viz.: his childhood and early days; his education, training, home influences and surroundings; his choice of occupation (if he have any choice); his work in maturer years; his old age (if he reach it); and last of all, when it is

— "Mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,"—

his sinking quietly into his grave. Considered with reference to these subdivisions of human life, what do we know really of him whom Ben Jonson calls the "Sweet Swan of Avon?"

1. William Shakespeare* was born in Stratford-on-Avon, in April, 1564; but the day of the month is not known. He was baptized in the parish church on the 26th of April, and, as it was quite common to take infants to

shade of an argument to support their wild and most absurd hypothesis. Bacon was as little capable of writing Shakespeares's Plays as any other man. 'Within that circle none durst walk but he.'—Allibone's "*Dictionary of British and American Authors*," vol. II, p. 2,048.

* The spelling of the poet's name is variously given. He himself, in the few autographs which we possess, does not seem to have been settled on this point. Professor Dowden, of the University of Dublin, prefers the form *Shakspeare*; while other critics and annotators have a fancy for other forms. The spelling, however, as adopted by Prof. Hudson, appears to be the one most used, and most likely to become fixed in English literature.

the font three days after birth, it is generally assumed, and for the most part agreed upon, that he was born on the 23d of April.* His father's and mother's names were John and Mary Shakespeare. John Shakespeare was a man in easy, comfortable circumstances; was engaged in business as a glover; was more or less of a farmer; and, though he could not write his own name, yet reached such civic honors as High-Bailiff and Head-Alderman in the town where he lived. From some cause or other, not ascertained, the tide of fortune turned against him, and he became comparatively poor and straitened. His son's success in London, however, brightened the declining years of the old man; and he died in 1601, at the ripe age of three score years and ten, as nearly as can be made out from the record. Mary Shakespeare was the daughter of Robert Arden, a man of good landed estate, and (as Mr. Hudson says) "of that honest and substantial yeomanry from whose better-than-royal stock and lineage the great Poet of Nature might most fitly fetch his life and being." William was the third child and first born son of his parents; but in how far his mother was to him the *fons et origo* of that tender and inexpressible sense of woman's beauty and sweetness and wisdom, so fully and everywhere set forth in his writings, must forever remain a matter of pure conjecture. We know nothing whatever of her personal characteristics, her intellectual and moral force, or her manner of dealing with the little one on whose life and rightful guidance so much depended. We know simply that she lived to a good old age, when her son had attained to the eminence which he has ever since held, and was buried by the side of her husband in September, 1608. With such a father and mother, and with several brothers and sisters, Willie Shakespeare was ushered upon the stage of life and its beginning of strange things before him. What did he do for the first six or seven years of his life? we naturally ask. What kind of a child was he? Did he learn, "in his mother tongue, the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments," as required by the Church of every one brought within her fold? Was it in his case, as Wordsworth puts it, that "the child is father of the man?" Who can tell?

2. Stratford was one of those towns where a Grammar

* That is, according to the Old Style: this date, expressed accurately, corresponds with our 3d of May.

School had been founded a hundred years before, and chartered by Edward VI. in 1553. Admission to this school was free to all Stratford children of the age of seven years, who had learned to read. Willie Shakespeare was sent to the Grammar School about the year 1571, and, while he continued as a pupil, enjoyed the advantages it afforded. Here he acquired that "small Latin and less Greek," which Ben Jonson accords to him, and made such progress in general knowledge as was to be expected from a boy of a dozen or so years. How much of Latin or Greek he actually knew, at this or any period of his life, is a matter of dispute among his critics and commentators, and so it will most certainly remain.* His father's straitened circumstances seem to have led to his being taken away from school, when he was only fourteen, and to his being put to work to aid in supporting the family; and for four or five years or more he was thus occupied. What kind of a boy was he? Was he a gentle, quiet, loving boy, the joy of his parents' hearts? or, was he a noisy, roystering, ill-mannered youth (such as he is represented by the tradition of the raid on Charlote Park, in company with others), causing pain and distress to father and mother, and to all near and dear to him? Was he fond of retirement and communing with nature and his own spirit within? or, was he one who lived for the present moment, and cared naught for the great future before him? Was he fond of reading and trying to lay up stores of knowledge for the work he was ere long to do? or, was he like very many lads of his age, without taste or love for books, and indifferent to culture and intellectual and moral training? We may ask questions like these without number; but we have no means of answering them. We can only form conjectures and plausible theories as to the actual facts of the case. Professor Hudson's remarks in this connection, however, are forcible and to the point: Shakespeare's "large and apt use of legal terms and phrases has induced many good Shakespearians

* Mr. Thomas Spencer Baynes contributed to Fraser's Magazine (in 1879-80) several instructive papers on "What Shakespeare learnt at School." They are well worth reading. But the latest, and in many respects the most complete and thorough discussion of this subject, is to be found in a work crowned by the French Academy, entitled, "Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity: Greek and Latin as presented in Shakespeare's Plays;" by Paul Stapfer, Professor at the Faculté des Lettres of Grenoble. Translated from the French, by Emily J. Carey. London. 8vo. pp. 483. 1880.

learned in the law to believe that he must have been for some time a student of that noble science. It is indeed difficult to understand how he could have spoken as he often does, without some study in the law; but, as he seems thoroughly at home in the specialties of many callings, it is possible his knowledge in the law may have grown from the large part his father had, either as magistrate or litigant, in legal transactions. I am sure he either studied divinity or else had a strange gift of knowing it without studying it; and his ripeness in the knowledge of disease and of the healing art is a standing marvel to the medical faculty."

3. The next certain fact of importance in the poet's life is one which has called forth a great variety of comment and some rather unedifying speculation. I refer to his marriage. He was only in his nineteenth year when he seems, almost literally, to have *fallen* in love with a young woman some eight years his senior. It is no very uncommon thing for a boy of eighteen or thereabout to be seized with passion for one of the other sex, no matter if she be eight or ten years older than he. Anne Hathaway, of a village near Stratford, was the name of his loved one; and from all that is known on the subject it appears to have been a genuine love match. They were married in the autumn of 1582, and Shakespeare, when he was only nineteen years and one month old, was the father of a daughter, to whom he gave the name of Susanna. Two years later, before he was twenty-one, twins (a boy and a girl) were born; and these were all the children he ever had. Some of the critics are of the opinion that Shakespeare was unhappy in his marriage, and they argue on general principles that it must be so, where great disparity of age exists, the wife being older. Notably Mr. Richard Grant White, one of our best known American Shakespearians, takes ground against Mrs. Anne Shakespeare, "worrying up the matter against her (says Prof. Hudson), and fairly tormenting the poor woman's memory." Mr. White and those who agree with him hold that, finding out his mistake in this ill assorted marriage, Shakespeare hurried off to London, in order to get rid of his wife. But this is mere guess work, and has no solid foundation. It is, too, a harsh and uncharitable judgment, such as no man of right feeling ought to allow himself to indulge in. Mr. Hudson defends the good name of Anne Shakespeare with his usual straightforwardness and chivalrous feeling. "That

Shakespeare was more or less separated from his wife for a number of years, cannot indeed be questioned ; but that he ever found or ever sought relief or comfort in such separation, is what we have no warrant for believing. It was simply forced upon him by the necessities of his condition. The darling object of his London life evidently was, that he might return to his native town, with a handsome competence, and dwell in the bosom of his family ; and the yearly visits, which tradition reports him to have made to Stratford, look like anything but a wish to forget them or be forgotten by them. From what is known of his subsequent life, it is certain that he had, in large measure, that honorable ambition, so natural to an English gentleman, of being the founder of a family ; and as soon as he had reached the hope of doing so, he retired to his old home, and there set up his rest, as if his best sunshine of life still waited on the presence of her from whose society he is alleged to have fled away in disappointment and disgust."*

4. Several reasons appear to have led Shakespeare to leave his native town, in order to seek his fortune in London. The deer stealing frolic in company with some other wild youth, and the consequent anger and ill will of the Lucy family, may have had something to do in shaping his career ; but probably he was far more influenced by the bent of his genius to poetry and acting. Also, it is quite likely that, feeling the discomforts arising out of his father's straitened means, and disliking uncongenial labor, he was the more eager to undertake work which was sure to bring large gains to him who succeeded in it. The drama at this date was in high favor with the court, the nobility, and the common people ; and Shakespeare, we may well believe, was clearly convinced that he was moved by the divine afflatus which would lead him on to fame and fortune. The exact date of his going to London is not known ; but it was probably in the year 1586 or 7. His wife and children seem to have been left in Stratford, to which, as above stated, tradition makes him to have paid an annual visit. For a number of years he evidently was working his way up, taking part in the acting and theatrical management, and gradually developing his rare ability as a dramatist and poet. For the first twelve or fifteen years (in the judg-

* Anne Shakespeare lived some seven years longer than her husband. She died in August, 1623.

ment of the best critics) he wrote more or less in connection with others, and produced not only his two longer poems, but also the "First Part of King Henry VI.," "Love's Labour's Lost," "Comedy of Errors," "Midsummer Night's Dream," one tragedy, "Romeo and Juliet," "Merchant of Venice," "Richard III.," "Henry IV. and Henry V.," "Much Ado about Nothing," "Sonnets," etc. His reputation as an accomplished writer, and man of wit and genius, seems to have become pretty well established, and though we know almost nothing of his habits of life during these twenty five or more years that he spent in London, yet the tradition is quite credible that he attained high social position and influence.* The latter part of his stay in the great city was the period of the full maturity of his powers; and between the years 1602 and 1613, he appears to have written "Hamlet," "Julius Cæsar," "Othello," "Macbeth," "King Lear," "Antony and Cleopatra," "Coriolanus," "The Tempest," "Cymbeline," "Winter's Tale," etc. Of course, such energy, industry, and marvellous ability as Shakespeare displayed led "right onward" to success; and he had as plainly before him as the most practical business man could desire, the solid rewards of all this labor and skill. He resolved to reap the fruits of his toil in supplying himself and his family with that article usually considered not very poetical, viz., money, yet found to be very useful to poets equally with other people. As Professor Dowden expresses it, "the play of *Hamlet* is entered in Stationers' register in 1602, and in the same year the creator of Hamlet was living in no dream-world, but was taking practical possession of this solid earth—purchasing in May, for £320, one hundred and seven acres in the parish of Old Stratford, his brother Gilbert receiving the conveyance for him—and later in the year (the author of Hamlet being now William Shakspeare, *Gentleman*), a second and smaller property. His largest purchase was that of the unexpired term of a lease of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe; this he acquired in July, 1605, for the sum of £440. A year previously, when perhaps he was writing his *King Lear*, his

* Mr. Stopford Brooke says, rather severely (*me judice*) of Shakespeare: "He came to London at the age of twenty-two years, and falling in with Marlowe, Greene and the rest, became an actor and playwright, and may have lived their unrestrained and riotous life for some years."—*English Literature*, "Literature Primers," edited by Prof. Green. p. 83.

care for practical affairs appears by his bringing an action in the court of Stratford, against one Philip Rogers, for £1 15s. 10d., being the price of malt sold and delivered to him at different times. Shakspeare seems to have found it possible to carry on actively, and at the same time, his life in the ideal and his life in the material world.* To the same effect, Professor Hudson says, Shakespeare "had learned by experience, no doubt, that 'money is a good soldier, and will on ;' and that, 'if money go before, all ways do lie open.' And the thing carries this benefit, if no other, that it tells us a man may be something of a poet, without being either above or below the common affairs of life."

5. The last five or six years of the poet's life were spent in Stratford, in the enjoyment apparently of the wealth he had acquired by his dramatic and other investments.† Great obscurity hangs over these closing years, and being in the dark, as we are, as to facts, the question comes naturally, how did he occupy himself at this period? Did he spend his leisure time in works of charity, benevolence, and kindness, as becomes a Christian man, with abundance of this world's goods to work with? Did idleness bring about or aggravate bad habits? And was it a deep sense of time ill spent, and habits ill acquired, that led to such language as he uses in one of his Sonnets?—

"Thence comes it that my name receives a brand ;
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

Is there foundation for a tradition quoted against his good name, that he was given to revelling and banqueting, and that after a specially gay *symposion* with Drayton and Ben Jonson, he was seized with sudden illness and speedily carried off? We cannot answer these and like questions; and it were useless to make the attempt. In the spirit of charity, to which Shakespeare is certainly entitled, we may well believe that he occupied himself in a way not unworthy of his character and position, and that he found

**Shakspeare*, "Literature Primers," p. 26. See also the same writer's "*Shakspeare, a Critical Study of his Mind and Art*, p. 29-31. New York. 12mo. 1881.

†Shakespeare's income, at this time, according to Prof. Hudson, could not have been less than \$12,000 a year as represented in money value at the present day.

his truest gratification in the peace and quiet of his home. His only son Hamnet, we may here note, had been taken away when the boy was in his twelfth year (1596), while his father was in London, at work in gathering means to found a family and hand down the name of Shakespeare. The two daughters of the poet, however, lived to grow up, and were married to residents of Stratford, before their father's departure from this earthly scene. Shakespeare died April 23d, 1616; when he had just completed fifty-two years of life. Of the immediate cause or causes of his death, or of the manner in which he laid down the burden of existence here on earth, we know nothing. We only know for certainty that he passed away to his account at the date just named, and that his mortal remains were buried beneath the chancel of the parish church in Stratford.*

6. *Only fifty-two!* Had Shakespeare lived to the full measure of man's age (according to the Psalmist), what might he not have accomplished? Had he equalled in years Ben Jonson (†63), or Milton (†66), or Wordsworth (†80), or Goethe (†83), what treasures of intellectual and moral grandeur and strength might he have conferred on the world! He might have given to us his autobiography, which would have been a precious gift indeed; or he might at least have put on record some facts and circumstances which would have aided us greatly in dealing with the perplexing questions which have arisen in regard to his life and career, and those imperishable writings of which some are disposed to deny him to be the author. Very possibly, too, had he lived longer, he might, instead of increasing the number of his writings, have thought it best to suppress some of those which he put forth at different periods. And he might have deemed it proper to remove from his plays some, if not all, of the indecency, indelicacy, low vulgarity, etc., which at present disfigure portions of them, and render them unfit to be read aloud, or put in the hands of youth with minds and thoughts as yet uncontaminated by contact with base and unholy things. However

* The grave is covered by a flat stone, bearing the following dog-grel lines, which it is hard to imagine Shakespeare could ever have been guilty of writing:

" Good frend, for Jesus sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed heare :
Blest be the man that spares thes stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

all this might might have been, Shakespeare, during the last two or three years of his life, did not, so far as we know, use his pen at all; as if, having accomplished the main purpose of his days and nights of active effort and toil, viz., securing a competence for himself and family, he now meant to enjoy himself, and cared little about enlarging and establishing his sway over the minds of men.

II. Such is the brief record of Shakespeare's life and career. It shows plainly enough how little we know, and how much there is that we should like to know, instead of guessing at, in regard to his mental training and his moral and spiritual character. Almost of necessity, readers and students of Shakespeare are compelled to try to obtain from his writings an adequate portraiture of the man, who he was, and especially what he was; and it is just here that the services of a competent editor prove of inestimable value. Holding, as I do, that Professor Hudson, in every sense of the word, a thoroughly competent and accomplished editor of by far the greatest of dramatists and artists in our language, and that through his admirable critical skill and ability we may attain in large measure, to an accurate knowledge and understanding of this mighty genius, I ask the attention of all lovers of the bard to the new edition of the poet's works, which Professor Hudson happily designates by the time honored appellation of HARVARD.

I. The edition hereafter to be known by this name, numbers twenty volumes, bound either separately or in ten volumes. The size is 12mo., averaging two hundred and fifty pages; the type is good, clear, and distinct; and the mechanical execution is worthy of these days of choice books. Thanks to both Editor and Publishers, the æsthetic quality is not neglected, nor is it inferior to the substantial value of text and notes. The first volume is adorned with a finely engraved portrait of Shakespeare, painted by R. Burbage the actor, in 1597, when the poet was thirty-three years old. It is indeed an admirable "counterfeit presentment" of the man. Each volume of this edition contains two plays, with everything relating to them, full and complete. Every play has a historical preface or introduction, which gives the reader all the information that he may need or desire respecting it. And as a peculiar feature of this edition two sets of notes are given, one mainly devoted to explaining the text, and printed at the foot of the page, the other mostly occupied with mat-

ters of textual comment and criticism, and printed at the end of each play. The nineteenth volume, in addition to "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," contains a drama which has never before appeared in an American Shakespeare, viz., "The Two Noble Kinsmen." It is added by Professor Hudson, we may state, on entirely convincing evidence; and there is hardly any room for doubt that the poet wrote this play, just as much as he wrote "King Henry the Eighth," i. e., about half of each was written by John Fletcher, and the other half by Shakespeare. The poem "Venus and Adonis," also finds place in this volume. The twentieth and last volume of the Harvard Shakespeare contains all the other poems, and the Glossarial Index. The poems are annotated after the manner pursued with the dramas, though of course, as they require less, less space is given to critical notes upon them. The Index deserves special commendation, and will prove a most useful and instructive help to the reader and student. Some idea of the great labor involved in its preparation may be had when I state the fact, that it fills nearly one hundred pages fine print, double columns, and comprises some ten thousand distinct items.

2. Professor Hudson's Preface to the work (covering thirty-three pages) is occupied chiefly with pointing out what the editor judges to be his duty in the work undertaken by him, and also how he has endeavored to perform it. He explains and defends the having two sets of notes on the ground that ordinary readers must have matter adapted to their needs immediately at hand, at the foot of the page, or they will not take the trouble to look it up elsewhere. At the same time, students and especial lovers of Shakespeare are desirous of, and ought to be furnished with, critical annotations and discussions, which, in the editor's judgment, is best done by placing them at the end of each play. "It has long been a settled axiom that that the proper office of poetry is to please; of the highest poetry, to make wisdom and virtue pleasant, to crown the True and the Good with delight and joy. This is the very constituent of the poet's art; that without which it has no adequate reason for being. To clothe the austere forms of truth and wisdom with heart-taking beauty and sweetness, is its life and law." This being the case, the question then is how to render Shakespeare pleasant and profitable to the great mass of readers. "I must insist upon it (says Prof. H.), that Shakespeare's works can and

should be so edited, that average readers may find enough of pleasantness in them from the first to hold them to the perusal ; and when they have been so held long enough for the workmanship to steal its virtue and sweetness into them, then they will be naturally and freely carried onwards to the condition where 'love is an unerring light, and joy its own security.'" Having thus clearly expressed himself, he goes on to show how, in what proper sense, the great poet is fitted to become the educator of those willing to learn, and his aim is, in all his labors, to afford such help as will carry average readers over the difficulties in unfamiliar words, phrases, and modes of speech, with as little sense as possible of being helped. He rejects, in very plain and forcible terms, the notion that the object in reading Shakespeare is, "to learn etymology, or grammar, or philology, or linguistic antiquities, or criticism, or the technicalities of scholarship." He scouts "a minute, or cumbrous, or oppressive erudition," in dealing with Shakespeare's works, and says: "It has now become, or is fast becoming, very much the fashion to treat Shakespeare in this way ; an elaborate and self-conscious erudition using him as a sort of perch to flap its wings and crow from. So we have had and are having editions of his plays designed for common use, wherein the sunlight of his poetry is so muffled and strangled by a thick haze of minute, technical, and dictionary learning, that common eyes can hardly catch any fresh and clear beams of it. Small points and issues almost numberless, and many of them running clean off into distant tenth-cousin matters, are raised, as if poetry, so vital and organic as Shakespeare's, and with its mouth so full of soul-music, were but a subject for lingual and grammatical dissection ; or a thing to be studied through a microscope, and so to be examined, pondered, searched, probed, vexed, and criticized." As aptly illustrating what he means, Professor Hudson refers to the fact that the Holy Scriptures have been oftentimes overlaid and injured, in many of their utterances, by "diffusive, long-winded, and obstructive commentary." He further expresses his entire disapproval of the conceit of studying Shakespeare as the raw material of scientific manufacture ; which is, as he pertinently puts it, "simply like dissecting a bird in order to find out where the music comes from and how it is made."

3. Having thus made plain his views on these and cognate matters, Professor Hudson next takes up the impor-

tant questions touching *the text* of Shakespeare's works. The discussion is very clearly conducted, with all needfulness, and is well worth examining into by those who properly estimate the urgent necessity of ascertaining, as exactly as may be, just what Shakespeare did write. The original quartos (published during Shakespeare's life) and the folios (printed some years later) are, as is manifest to every student, very often perplexing in the extreme, on account of their typographical inaccuracy. "In fact, the printing in most of these quarto issues is so shockingly bad, that no one can gain an adequate idea how bad it is, except by minutely studying the text as there given, and comparing it in detail with the text as given in modern editions." The text of the folio of 1623, and later, was in parts much better, but by no means free from misprints and vexatious blunders. To the question whether, after all which has been done by learned, sagacious, painstaking, diligent workers in this field of textual criticism, there is any likelihood of Shakespeare's text being ever got into a satisfactory state, Professor Hudson says frankly, "Perhaps, nay, I may as well say probably, not. Probably the best to be looked for here is a greater or less degree of approximation to such a state." At the same time, he pleads for care and wise discrimination in making corrections in so great a classic as Shakespeare, whose text has been so deeply injured by bungling and blundering of printers and press correctors; and he does this the more earnestly because he esteems it to be "the nicest and most delicate art in the whole work of modern editorship." The earliest workers in this field, beginning with Rowe, in 1709, and followed by such editors and critics as Pope, Theobald, Warburton, Johnson, Steevens, Malone, etc., indulged in extreme freedom in handling the poet's text, and very possibly, they corrupted quite as much as they corrected it. A reaction naturally took place, and for the last forty years or so, the later editors, such as Knight, Grant White, and two or three others, have gone to an opposite extreme. "To the former license of correction there has succeeded a license, not less vicious, of interpretation. Explanations the most strained, far fetched, and over subtle, are now very much the order of the day, —things sure to disgust the common sense of sober, candid, circumspective, cool judging minds. It is said that the old text must not be changed, save in cases of *absolute necessity*; and this dictum is so construed, in theory

at least, as to prompt and cover all the excesses of the most fanciful, fine drawn, and futile ingenuity. The thing has grown to the ridiculous upshot of glozing and conjuring stark printer's errors into poetic beauties, and the awkwardest hitchings and haltings of metre into *elegant retardations*. To minds so captivated with their own ingenuity, an item of the old text that is utter nonsense is specially attractive; because, to be sure, they can the more easily spell their own sense, or want of sense, into it. And so we see them doggedly tenacious of such readings as none but themselves can explain, and fondly concocting such explanation thereof as none but themselves can understand; tormenting the meaning they want out of the words that are no more akin to it than the multiplication table is to a trilobite. Surely, then, the thing now most in order is a course of temperance and moderation, a calmness and equipoise of judgment, steering clear of both extremes, and sounding in harmony with plain old common sense, one ounce of which is worth more than a ton of exegetical ingenuity. For Shakespeare, be it observed, is just our great imperial sovereign of common sense; and sooner or later the study of him will needs kill off all the editors that run in discord with this supreme quality of his workmanship." For the keen, incisive, and yet genial criticism which follows our quotation, in which the present generation of Shakespearians is shown to be like some other people of less pretension, viz., preaching one way and practicing another oftentimes, I must refer to the weighty words of Professor Hudson in his Preface. It will well repay perusal.*

4. In regard to *orthography* a medium course is pursued, and rightly too, in my judgment. Archaisms are neither retained nor rejected simply because they are archaisms. Wherever anything either of sense, or of rhythm, or of metre, or of rhyme, is involved, Professor Hudson retains the old forms or old spelling. In all other cases he follows the dictate of sound reason and judgment, which is, plainly, to present the work of Shakespeare in its most easily understood and useful form to the great body of intelligent readers. The ordering of the plays follows that of the folio edition, viz., COMEDIES, HISTORIES, TRAGEDIES.

* I may state here, that the *text* of the Harvard Shakespeare is a thoroughly conservative one, and agrees more nearly with Mr. Dyce's than with that of any other editor. Yet it is independent, and is the result of Mr. Hudson's own careful, painstaking diligence and study.

But the three series of the folio are kept distinct, and the plays of each series are arranged, as nearly as this can be ascertained, according to the chronological order of the writing. The Editor has adopted this plan because it seems to be right and proper, in the nature of things; but he entertains a very low opinion of the notion of studying Shakespeare "historically," and admits unreservedly, that the precise order of composition has not been fully settled, and probably never will be.

5. If now I have succeeded in setting forth fairly and intelligibly the views and principles avowed by the Editor of the HARVARD SHAKESPEARE, as well as what has been his plan of operations and his promises to the reader, it will need but few words on my part to express my conviction as to the services he has rendered to good letters in the work which he has performed. Henry Norman Hudson illustrates, in his own person, the sound "common sense" upon which he places so high a value in a passage quoted from him on a preceding page. He everywhere displays this quality in the just and manly consideration which he gives to the work of others, and particularly in that which is done by himself. He is no extravagant enthusiast, or blind idolater of Shakespeare. He recognizes the fact that the great dramatist was by no means perfect as a man or a poet, and he deprecates, as every truth loving man must deprecate, all one sided and over strained presentations of the life and character of Shakespeare. He is not so carried away by his love and admiration for his hero—profound as these are—as to be unable, with Charles Knight and his circle, to see any blemish in the bard or in the man;* and consequently he is enabled to use sound

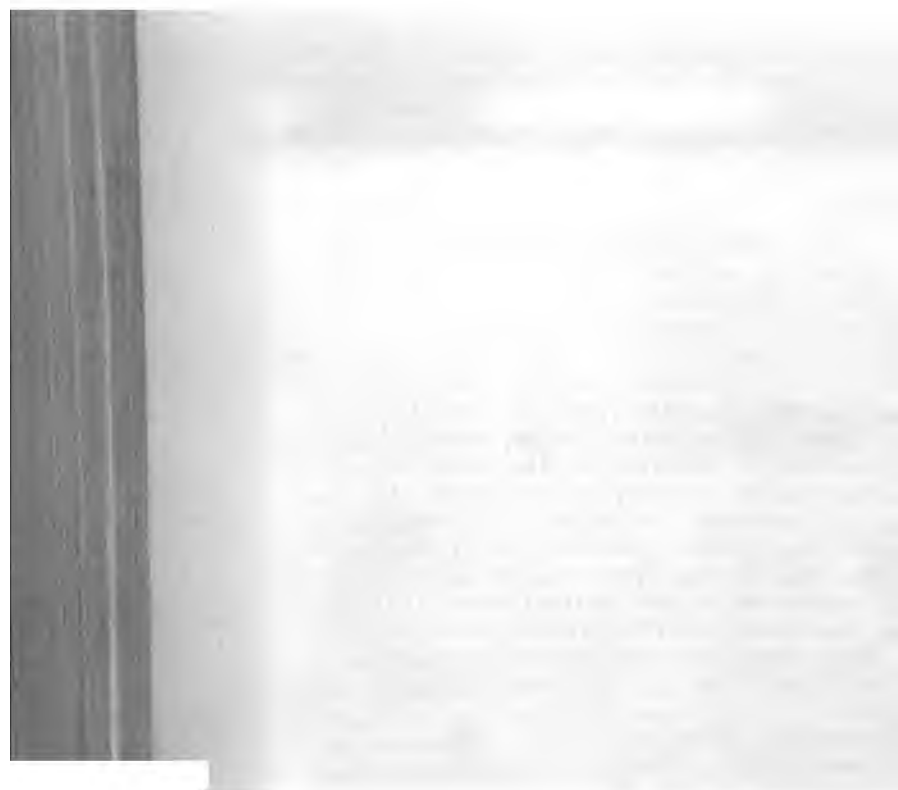
* The words of Professor Dowden may aptly here be quoted: "There are lovers of Shakspeare so jealous of his honor that they are unable to suppose that any grave moral flaw could have impaired the nobility of his life and manhood. Shakspeare, as he is discovered in his poems and his plays, appears rather to have been a man who, by strenuous effort, and with the aid of the good powers of the world, was saved, so as by fire. Before Shakspeare zealots demand our attention to ingenious theories which help us credit the immaculateness of Shakspeare's life, let them prove to us that his writings never offend. . . . No reader will find anywhere in the plays or poems of Shakspeare a cold-blooded, hard or selfish line; all is warm, sensitive, vital, radiant with delight, or athrill with pain. And what we may dare to affirm of Shakspeare's life is, that whatever its sins may have been, they were not hard, selfish, deliberate, cold-blooded sins."—*"Shakspeare, a Critical Study of his Mind and Art,"* pp. 351-2.

discriminating judgment in dealing with the many interesting questions which force themselves upon the notice of all, and demand some sort of solution at the hands of a careful, conscientious editor. Illustrations of this soundness and clearness of judgment, and this ability to deal satisfactorily with questions of all kinds and descriptions, meet the reader and the student all the way through the present work. Professor Hudson's style is almost unique, sometimes a little rough, but always full of life and point. He is pretty sure to call a spade a spade, and he treats with a species of scorn and contempt everything like sham and pretension in dealing with the works of Shakespeare. He is not one of those who can be learned and impressive on clear and plain passages, while they cunningly ignore or forget to try to explain hard and perplexing passages. It is his way, in cases of difficulty, to face the difficulty like a true man, and if he does not always overcome it, he does his best, and satisfies every candid reader that he has done all that a man of first rate learning and experience in such matters can do. Professor Hudson, moreover, is no novice in Shakespearian work and responsibility. So far from this, he has in fact devoted almost a life time to the study and illustration of Shakespeare's works; and it may be doubted if there be, either in America or Europe, a more thorough and accurate student and critic in the particular line he has chosen. And now, when he has reached the good round measure of nearly sixty-eight years, he puts forth "The Harvard Shakespeare," as his *magnum opus*, and his legacy to the present and the succeeding generations of readers and students of that mighty genius whom he lovingly calls "the greatest, wisest, sweetest of men."

Let me close this paper with lines from the great poet of our age, not unmeet, I think, in this connection:—

"Blessings be with them—and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler loves, and nobler cares—
THE POETS, who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays!"

J. A. SPENCER.



THE SERMON.*

THE rapid growth of homiletic literature is a sign of the times. Every kind of help is furnished to increase the efficiency of preaching. Societies are formed for this purpose, e. g., the Church Homiletical Society in England. Lectureships on preaching are founded, e. g., the Lyman Beecher Lectureship at Yale. The subject is earnestly discussed in the religious newspapers, even the secular newspapers offer frequent and urgent advice upon it. There are homiletical Monthlies, and Quarterlies, Homilists and Expositors, Preacher's Lanterns and Quivers, Cyclopædias of Illustration, of Pithy Sayings, of Pearls of thought, and Words of wisdom. Instructions of a past day on preaching by Fenelon, Claude, Blacke, Campbell, Sturtevant, Gregory, Burnet, Baxter, Maury, Porter, Wade, Ostervald have entered on a new lease of life, while the new books whose purpose partly or wholly is to aid the preacher in his work

* *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*. Rev. W. Gresley, A.M., New York, 1840. *Homiletics*. A. Vinet, D.D. Tr. by Thomas H. Skinner, D.D. New York, 1853.

Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures. Edited by the Rt. Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London, 1880. *Lay Suggestions on modern Preaching and Preachers*. London, 1867.

are almost a library in themselves. To give so much as the names of their authors would be too long a list to be printed here; the following are some of them: Alexander, Baring-Gould, Bautain, Bedell, Beecher, Bellairs, Blunt, Bridges, Broadus, Brooks, Burgon, Cater, Coquerel, Cox, Crosby, Cuyler, Dabney, Dale, Dows, Gee, Hall, Hervey, Houl, Hopkins, Humphrey, Jackson, Kidder, Miller, Munro, Moore, Moul, Mullois, Murray, Nair, Oxenden, Parker, Potter, Ramsay, Ripley, Shedd, Simpson, Spurgeon, Stevens, Storrs, Taylor, Wayland, Wilberforce, Ziegler, Zincke. Old commentaries like those of Trapp and Henry, appear in new editions on account of their homiletic value. New commentaries abound whose main purpose is to render assistance to the preacher. Many a critical Commentary, like that edited by Lange, has its homiletic department. "The Sermon" is a special topic for consideration at Church Congresses, both in England and in this country; at the occasional meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, and indeed at almost every gathering of ministers of every name. The Professorship of Homiletics is advancing from an insignificant place to a very important one in our Theological Seminaries. Evidently, among those who teach the Christian religion to the people, and those who teach the preachers, there is an awakened, not to say an anxious interest in "the Sermon."

And well there may be. For, there is another sign of the times, viz., that Sermons are by no means held in as high respect as they used to be. On the contrary, the current criticisms on preaching are very free. That such criticisms should be just, or measurably just, or not flagrantly unjust, seems to be little cared for. Magazines of the best literary reputation, and even grave and considerate Reviews write of "the failure of the modern pulpit" as positively as though it were an admitted fact. Sermons are called "prosy," "cold," "official," "tedious," "puerile," "weak," "wearisome," "vapid," "dry," "dull," "dismal," "an infliction," "purgatory before the time." Men are asking, in books and out of books, sometimes in impatience, sometimes in contempt, "why do ministers persist in haranguing their congregations Sunday after Sunday, in such a humdrum way." The complaint is thus expressed, "the large majority of sermon-hearers are bored rather than interested by the discourses they hear." "Preaching is almost a synonyme for something which though respectable for its origin and ostensible purpose is hard to be endured, and when pos-

sible is to be assiduously avoided." "The majority of hearers have so long accustomed themselves to endure Sermons with martyr resignation as an inevitable evil that religious teachings to be eagerly anticipated and lovingly desired are something seldom or never realized, and often regarded as outside the pale of probability." Of all kinds of public speaking preaching is popularly ranked the lowest, for interest and efficiency. This popular estimate may with good reason be called a mistaken one, and may be fairly proved to be. But the peculiarity of it is that it is held and asserted as positively and freely as though it could not be questioned.

Nor is this opinion only, and mere words, but it has gone into practice, some of it, and more of it is going. There is a diminished attendance at churches, and an increased listlessness on the part of those who attend. And a custom is making its appearance here and there of coming to Church for the service only and leaving at sermon-time, a custom, to be sure, which will not probably become general, and yet one does not know to what lengths it might go, could it only get itself regarded as fashionable.

This second sign of the times perhaps explains the first. "What shall be done," is asked, "seeing that the age is growing more and more out of sympathy with the Sermon." And the common answer to this question—and certainly it looks on the face of it as though it were the right answer—is this: "make the Sermon better."

There are indeed other answers, among them, three quite worthy of attention. One is, let the work of the *Pastor* be more diligent and faithful, comforting the sad, helping the poor, strengthening the tempted, lifting up the fallen, instructing the ignorant, and defending the members of the flock from heresies and false doctrines. To this we heartily assent, and the more heartily for the reason that pastoral work need not be set against the sermon, but may naturally be made helpful to it. The more fully the minister, through his pastoral labors, knows the spiritual needs of his people, the more direct and real will be his preaching.

A second answer is, give more prominence to the service—let the people be taught that they come to church to worship—bestow heart and time and care upon that—instruct our congregations that body, soul and spirit are to be engaged in rendering to God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the honor due unto His Name. To this also we heartily assent—and all the more, because we are

sure that the more living our worship is the more living will be the sermon connected with it; the reverent earnest service rendered to the Lord as really present, giving power to the word preached, as from the Lord really present.

And a third answer is, there must be in the pulpit a discussion of the movements and necessities of the age. The sermon must be felt as a great force in the temperance reform, in the threatened hostilities between poor and rich, in efforts to purify society, business and government, and in enterprises of humanity and charity. And an important consideration this is, undoubtedly—provided always that such discussions rest, manifestly, on the foundation of "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," and are vitally inspired with the Gospel of redeeming love and faith in a Risen and ever-present Lord and Saviour. We are ambassadors for Christ, in Christ's stead beseeching men to be reconciled to God and live unto Him. With this proviso kept in mind, every one must admit the advantage of a definite aim in the sermon towards healing the disorders of mankind "in the life that now is." Still, that the difficulty before us is to be met in this way is more than doubtful. It is not true that preaching, as it is now, and has been, is not generally faithful to the Gospel. Thousands of sermons are preached every Sunday in the year, that are substantially correct in doctrine and careful in the practical application of the principles of the Christian religion to personal and social life, which sermons are nevertheless regarded as dull and tiresome to hear. No such change is possible in sermon-topics as will turn back the tide of indifference and contempt now setting strongly against "the sermon." The change must be not in the matter but in the manner of preaching.

We come back, therefore, to the common and obvious answer to our question, "what shall be done?" People in general not caring to listen to the sermon, make it so that they will care to listen—find out what it is in preaching which is like "poppy, mandragora, and all the drowsy syrups of the world," and cast it out—in a word make the sermon better.

How? By making it a *sermon*. *Sermo*, i. e., speech, talk, conversation. Speaking, not reading. Speaking, not reading in imitation of speaking. Speaking, not reciting in imitation of speaking what has been written beforehand and committed to memory.

I. There is the highest authority for this kind of preach-

ing. The Lord Himself preached in this way. So did the Apostles. What reason is there for not following their example now? Will the answer be that the Lord taught the people wherever they might be gathered together, by the wayside, by the sea, apart from the formalities of religious worship? But, He also preached in the synagogue on the Sabbath day. Will it be said our congregations are large, and may more properly be addressed in a written oration than in extemporaneous speech? But, it was to large assemblies that the Saviour preached—"All the people were very attentive to hear Him,"—"the common people heard Him gladly,"—"I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple whither the Jews always resort." It was a large gathering of people which S. Peter addressed on the day of Pentecost when there were added to the Church about three thousand souls. Is our reason this, that our congregations are critical? No doubt they are—and what is worse, our nice way of preaching has helped to make them so. And yet they are not so far gone with that poison as were the Athenians to whom S. Paul presumed to preach without manuscript, or as were the Pharisees who, plotting against Jesus, took counsel how they might entangle Him in His talk. Will it be urged that Jesus was the very Truth and the Apostles were inspired? We reply to that that our question here relates to *method*, not *what* they preached, but *how*. Is it not worth gravely considering whether their example in this particular may not have been carelessly ignored as being in modern days of no consequence whatever, no, not so much as even to think about—or, if it gets now and then a random thought does not that thought quickly alight and stay on this conclusion—that we know a better way than theirs of preaching the Gospel. If reading *is* better than speech is it possible they would not have known it to be? If they had known it to be is it possible they would not have used that method?

II. Speaking is *Nature's* way: Man was made to express his thoughts by the use of his vocal organs directly, and not by the process of writing them down on paper and reading them off. The thought of the mind has its clothing of language with it; suitable clothing too. Vanity, fashion, a peculiar mental structure, miseducation may compel the thought to go wandering about with "nothing to wear" till a garment has been elaborately made for it with pen, ink and paper, nevertheless the ordinance of nature will stand, and man will not be developed from a

talking into a writing creature. The opinion, though a common one, that the ability to preach unwritten sermons is a rare and special gift is an entire mistake. The average man stands up in a meeting of his town, of his lodge, of his society or club, and says the thought which is in him without the aid of manuscript; he speaks extemporaneously; not knowing what a wonderful feat he is performing, he actually talks to his fellow-men with no book or writing before him. If he understands his subject, he has no difficulty in making a clear statement of it; if he feels his subject, he speaks forcibly. A merchant, a manufacturer, having an important business matter to urge upon the favorable attention of a Board of Bank directors or a Legislative committee does it extemporaneously. College students in their debates speak off-hand. A. becomes a lawyer, and can talk by the hour before jury or judge; B. goes into Wall Street, and in the keenest encounters, in the most delicate and complicated discussions of commerce and finance makes his way by ready, clear, weighty words; while C., who in College could speak as well as either of them, having "turned his attention to the ministry," suddenly finds himself struggling through the week to produce a prosy manuscript half-an-hour long, and dumb without it. Because the many at the present time write their sermons, preaching thus with some degree of usefulness, the claim is often made that nature intended the many to preach in that way. Such a claim will not bear investigation. Who knows what preachers of unwritten sermons they might have been? Or, what ability has been left unused, perhaps unsuspected? How many a preacher of might may have been spoiled to make a mere moderate, inefficient, weak, though conscientious, persistent and patient reader of pulpit essays. The gift to speak with effect directly from the mind and heart is the common gift because it is natural; the power to speak with effect through the medium of manuscript is the uncommon because it is artificial.

III. As to the *hearers* of sermons, nature has had something to do with them, also. Nature has made them to be talked to rather than read to. They find it easy to listen to speaking, hard to listen to reading. The ears in a Church are like the ears in other places, attentive to a voice alive and natural with the thought which it is conveying fresh from the speaker's mind, and dull to a delivery at second-hand, by recitation or reading, of that whose

first glow is past. How empty would be the benches in courts of law, and how listless the juries, if lawyers should read their long arguments. How soon the crowds around the stump speaker's stand in a political campaign would diminish were the speeches to be first written out and then read. To have the sermon effective, the prime necessity is that it be attentively listened to. In order to this, the preacher himself must at the time of speaking be earnestly interested in it. The act of thinking, the producing power in the act of production naturally creates in the preacher this interest. Undoubtedly, many written sermons are preached in a most devout and anxious spirit. And yet no one who has tried it will question the difficulty of putting life into an old sermon, i. e., the life that belongs to it, its first life; and it must be remembered that every written sermon has some age; an interval has passed since its birth; the act of production was completed when it had been put upon paper and the pen laid aside. Then, when it is preached comes the effort to reanimate it with the spirit which went to its production on paper. An effort more or less successful; but an effort it is; an effort which the hearer feels as well as the preacher. The producing mind and the receiving mind are not in immediate contact. The producing mind finished its labor before the act of speaking began, and is bringing its product to the hearer across the bridge of manuscript. In this process of transfer the receiving mind takes part; consciously or unconsciously feels the toil, and soon becomes weary. "I maintain," says Prof. Ziegler, "that experience proves that those ministers who read their sermons ordinarily have a larger number of drowsy and listless hearers than those who make thorough mental preparation and then deliver their sermons extemporaneously."* There can be no doubt that such is the fact; and the explanation of it is simply that the artificial has been substituted for the natural, thereby not only diminishing the power of the preacher but also increasing the difficulty of attention on the part of the hearer.

IV. Who are they who make up our congregations? They are, generally, people in common life, of ordinary minds and not much education, busy and often tired out with life's necessary labors, some of them dull or distracted with physical ills and pains, some of them burdened with anxieties and trials. Not one in ten is in mood or condition to

* Henry Ziegler, D.D., "The Preacher," p. 163.

think closely, to follow and be benefitted by a labored argument or a high strain of literary excellence. Children are in the congregation—or ought to be—and there should be something in the sermon which they can understand. "Ye shall call upon them to hear sermons" is the injunction of the Church to sponsors. The usual written sermons of this period, alas! what crime did the poor children commit in being baptized that they should be punished by having to hear such things? The long sentences, the constrained unnatural manner, the abstract style, the words, the logic, the allusions, all above their comprehension, who that recalls his hearing of sermons in childhood recalls anything but the weariness he felt and his longing for the minister to shut up his sermon-cover. Even the occasional hard-headed member of the congregation will not want the sermon to be a study in rhetoric, oratory or reasoning, unless his heart is hard as well as his head; he will want what he needs, the plain unaffected talk of a minister of Christ taken up with delivering his Master's message of Salvation. But, whatever the few in a congregation may desire, it is the good of the many of common understanding, and it is the instruction of the children for which the Lord Who died for the masses and Who blessed the children makes His ministers bound to preach. To this end they must use every-day language and a natural manner. This necessity is absolute. Much more of preaching than the clergy are accustomed to think is most imperfectly comprehended. It must be more simple. It must have in it more illustrations. It must argue less, and teach and exhort more. There must be more of clear, plain exposition of the Holy Scriptures, more of simple explanation of Christian doctrines, more simple telling how these doctrines have fared on their way through the centuries. The preacher must be willing to take most of his language from the common man's vocabulary of three thousand words rather than from the educated man's vocabulary of fifteen thousand. In short, the state of those who make up our congregations requires a sermon that shall be plain, conversational, natural; a kind of sermon more likely by far to be made, if preached unwritten.

V. The *purposes* of preaching point to the extemporaneous as the most effective method. These purposes are chiefly two, instruction and persuasion. As to instruction: there can be more instruction given in a sermon unwritten, because the listener's attention can be longer kept, and

because the preacher is compelled to have substance in his sermons, and a clear, well-digested arrangement of his materials. It is the testimony of those who began preaching extemporaneously after some years of reading that their old written sermons would not answer as outlines to extemporize from. There was in them often a want of matter, sometimes a want of clearness of plan. It is not the fact that written sermons are sure to be well prepared, or likely to be well prepared. There is a great deal of extemporaneous writing, the result being a class of sermons the poorest possible. It often happens, too, that ministers are burdened with work, and, by no fault of theirs, hurried in their preparations for the pulpit ; they have to choose between extemporizing thought and preparing language, and extemporizing language and preparing thought, under which circumstances it is a clear mistake to spend their limited time in getting language ready when if they would only get the thought ready the language would come of itself. Again, it should be seriously laid to heart that preaching of the kind called "Expository" is an urgent need of the present time. The Bible is little read. The people are busy reading everything else but Holy Scripture. Therefore in Church it should be read and its meaning explained. Expository preaching is truly most lamentably needed, and would, we believe, be most heartily received. But it will never be much done in written sermons, nor well done, interestingly and instructively done, save extemporaneously, after study and thorough preparation, the preacher's labor spent on *what* he is to teach, and not in thinking out and writing down his *words*. Indeed, instruction on all subjects, e. g., on the facts and doctrines of the faith, on the Church's history, on Christian morals can be better given in unwritten sermons; the preacher preparing his matter rather than his language. There will be more substance in his teaching. He will secure a closer attention on the part of his hearers. He will be more clearly understood. What he says will be better remembered.

And as to persuasion, the other main purpose of preaching, can there be any doubt as to the greater power of the extemporaneous method? Where but in the pulpit is any persuasion attempted except by the word springing directly from mind and heart? What business man would write out at length the subject of a proposed business interview, with its arguments and advantages, and read it when the

meeting came? What lover would elaborately set down his affection on paper, and carry the document into the presence of his fair one, and therefrom read her into acceptance of him? What advocate of any cause, anywhere, ventures the persuading of jury, or committee, or congress, or popular assembly on the mechanism of reading? Is the business of religion so wanting in vital interest, is love of the Infinite Lover and of souls redeemed by Him so unreal, are the difficulties of persuading men to repentance so slight as to make the preciseness and deliberation of paper more correspondent to the facts of the case, to the preacher's feelings and the hearer's needs, than the warmth of direct address would be? When Christ's minister talks without paper to the people "there is likely to be greater plainness and directness in his exhortations, more closeness in his appeals, more of the earnestness of genuine feeling in his expostulations. This forgetfulness of self, this unconstrained following the impulse of the affections, while he is hurried on by the presence and attention of those whom he hopes to benefit, creates a sympathy between him and his hearers, a direct passage from heart to heart, a mutual understanding of each other, which does more to effect the true object of religious discourse than anything else can do."*

VI. The truth of what we are urging is fully confirmed by the whole history of the Christian pulpit. There is not room here to trace that history minutely. Only its main outlines can be indicated, and that very briefly. Leaving the age of the New Testament, we find the preaching of the early Church down through the days of Chrysostom and Augustine almost entirely extemporaneous. The Church's marvellous conquests then, and its advance by missionary efforts in the centuries still later were, under God, the results of unwritten, natural, simple setting forth of the truths of the Gospel. In the Middle Ages, wherever in the old places of Christendom mere routine took the place of the heartfelt ministries of salvation, preaching either ceased altogether or became a reading from the Homilies of the Fathers, or worse, from the preacher's own ill-advised efforts. The Reformation was a return to the natural utterance of living thoughts. Often astray from the truth, it was still life instead of torpor, it was spring-

* Henry Ware Jr., D.D., "Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching." (Reprinted in Ripley's Sacred Rhetoric), pp. 202, 203.

time and sunshine, with bloom and growth and promise. It was extemporaneous preaching which greatly helped to carry this reformation movement forward. And from that day to this, it is in extemporaneous preaching that the power of "the sermon" has been most evidently shown. We do not forget names like those of South and Barrow—but their sermons were prepared with reference to printing as well as to preaching—the sermon form was one of the ways of their time in which to put forth theological and ethical instruction. Nor, on the other hand, can we fail to see that always the preaching, which has stirred the hearts of the people, has been of the unwritten kind. The clergy of the Evangelical School in the Church of England, as Cecil, Venn, Scott, Simeon, preached extemporaneously. The Catholic movement of the present period carrying on the same stream of life is largely influenced by the same method of preaching. In this, also, has been the chief strength of Puritan and Wesleyan, whether in England or here. Moreover, the greatest preachers have been of this class. The exceptions are exceedingly rare. Some of these exceptions are only apparently such; when the whole truth is known, it is discovered that the powerful passages of the sermon were put in extemporaneously under the strong impulse of the moment, as in the instance of Jonathan Edwards. "He carried his notes with him into the desk, and read most that he wrote, still he was not confined to them; and, if some thoughts were suggested to him while he was preaching, which did not occur to him when writing, and appeared pertinent, he would deliver them with as great propriety and fluency, and often with greater pathos and attended with a more sensibly good effect on his hearers, than what he had written. He looked upon using his notes so much as he did as a deficiency and infirmity, and in the latter part of his life he was inclined to think it had been better if he had never been accustomed to use his notes at all."* Chalmers is often named as an example of wonderful effects produced by written sermons. But consider what he was, and what his habit was in writing—and what sort of reading his was. He would never begin the composition of a sermon until the full plan of it was clearly in his mind; until, in other words, he was prepared to deliver the same sermon extemporaneously. Then he wrote it at a sitting, in little more

*Life of President Edwards. New York, 1829, p. 605.

than an hour's time, eight pages only, in short hand, driven through at the highest rate of speed, just before Church on Sunday morning. Thus, it had the flow, the momentum, and much of the naturalness of an extemporaneous sermon. Then as to the delivery of it. It was as unlike the common reading of sermons as possible. There were but four leaves to turn throughout the whole of it. It was fully in his mind; having just been put on paper if it was a new sermon; or, if it was an old sermon, being one with which from many repetitions he was thoroughly familiar. And he gave himself up to and lost himself in, the preaching of it, with all his great powers of body, mind and soul. The expenditure of physical energy was something without a parallel—so far as we know—not only in preaching but in speaking of any kind. By it the massive chandeliers many feet away from him were set vibrating. His countenance was lighted up with a glare. A writer in the *British Quarterly Review* says: "Dr. Chalmers on great occasions was absolutely terrible; his heavy frame was convulsed; his face flushed and grew pythic; the veins on his forehead and neck stood out like cordage; his voice cracked or reached to a shriek; foam flew from his mouth in flakes; he hung over his audience menacing them with his shaking fist, or he stood erect, maniacal and stamping." And what he was on great occasions as thus described, he was to a very striking and characteristic degree on all occasions. "It may be reading," said the Scotch woman, who had the strong aversion of her country to paper in the pulpit, "but it is unco' fell reading." At the end of one of his bursts of eloquence he would pause breathless, and his hearers, breathless also, were glad to avail themselves of such pauses to get back to something like their normal condition. Often in the midst of a sermon he was compelled to sit down, and have a psalm sung while he could rest. His frequent criticisms of his own preaching which appear in the extracts from his journals in Dr. Hanna's life of him, all bear upon his want of self-control in the pulpit. He bewails his excesses and extravagancies of voice and manner, his boisterousness and impetuosity. Again and again he resolves to be more restrained, and fervently prays that he may be. Yielding to the urgency of a friend, whose advice he much respected, he made a trial—a very brief one—of preaching his sermons unwritten. It did not prove, in his own judgment, successful. The tide of thought and feeling was too full and fast-

flowing to be carried forward in an orderly and useful current of speech in that way. He compared his extemporizing to an attempt to pour out all at once the contents of a narrow-necked bottle. To Chalmers his written sermon was what the track is to the locomotive, what the brakes are to the stage going down the mountain, not an obstruction but a necessity to safe travel. Without his manuscript Chalmers was a tornado, a conflagration. With it he was a strong gale, bearing his hearers away towards the spiritual land, a fire kindling their cold hearts into bright flame. The case of Chalmers is *sui generis*. When it is fairly considered, and fully considered, his methods of composition, and of delivery, and his singular organization, it is seen to belong as much in the extemporaneous class as in the other ; and strictly speaking, belongs to neither. And certainly, on the whole question as between sermons written and sermons unwritten, there can be no doubt that the witness of history is on the side of the unwritten.

Very much might be said confirmatory of the main position of this article which we cannot now so much as allude to. That position, however, we believe to be amply established. On the other hand, we have not been careful to anticipate and answer objections. No doubt, some extemporary sermons are poorly prepared ; but, so are some that are written. If grace and a good conscience are not able to overcome a preacher's indolence, very certainly the pen will not. No doubt, again, there are miserable attempts to extemporize, owing to want of practice or of a proper education in it. But in no preacher's case need the first want long exist ; nor, indeed, the second, if he will but read a few such books as those of Zincke, Broadus, Storrs or Alexander, and follow faithfully their counsel. While, as to candidates for holy orders, thorough instruction and opportunities for practice should not fail to be sought and given. Let it be understood that the extemporaneous is not to be regarded as an easy way of preaching, but as the best way. Hence, to be learned and practised, under the sanction of solemn duty. The question is not which method would a preacher prefer to use, but which ought he to use. The thought in many a minister's mind that he has no talent for unwritten speech and could not learn to do it, should be cast out as a probable mistake ; for, why should he suppose himself to be an exception to mankind in general ? It is time, too, that the advice so often given by lecturers on preaching to those who never attempted any

sort of sermon but the written, or thought of attempting any other, to follow the method best adapted to them, were abandoned, as under the circumstances, absurd. As well tell them, "talk in English or Sanscrit, as you may find it convenient to you." It may be granted that there is now and then a man capable of doing good service in the ministry as a preacher of written sermons, and of no other kind. But such men are the exceptions. It may be granted that written sermons have their use on some special occasions, or when the preacher is in ill-health or otherwise out of condition for extemporizing. These, also, are the exceptions. For the greater part of preachers, and of preaching, the extemporaneous way is the best way. It should be taught as a duty, learned as a duty, practised as a duty. So would "the sermon" be made better. It would be a more living and real address of ministers to their people. It would be listened to with a new interest. And in character and effect it would be more like that of the first Christian days which was "not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

SYLVESTER CLARKE.

CHRISTIANITY ON TRIAL!

THE latest form of infidelity takes position under the wing of "Destructive Criticism." A not inapt name! It is something when the Adversary and the adversaries take on themselves a dismal designation. If modern criticism should be successful, it would be only destructive. Destructive in every direction! Social order, domestic purity, political stability, and personal morals would go down together under it. Some belief in the Supreme power has lain at the foundation of every known form of civilization. Not any form could be possible, if "every one did what was right in his own eyes," feeling neither fear of punishment, nor hope of reward. "By their fruits ye shall know them." It is perfectly fair to carry any avowed principles on to their legitimate consequences; and to hold them responsible, in the beginning, for what must be their inevitable results.

Consequences are, however, remote, and therefore not immediately pressing. It is so common to resort to prophecy, that prophets of evil are not much regarded. Still, its very commonness shows that prophecy is a power. Some, therefore, may be induced to pause, before committing themselves to "Destructive Criticism," by considering the perils that lie directly in its forward path, and arise from its very principles.

It may indeed be that something constructive will arise, when destruction shall have done its utmost. Having dashed into mire, and crumbled to dust the fabrics of political, social and domestic order, under which we now live and progress, it may be, that something will follow "Destructive Criticism," which may reconstruct for us a more advanced civilization, a more impartial distribution of possessions and powers, and a higher moral and mental enlightenment.

If this may be, it is quite as likely that it may not be.

In ordinary experience, it has been found prudent not to tear down the houses we live in, much less to burn them down, until we have made some arrangements for shelter, and some provision for rebuilding. Our existing civilization has grown up, it has not been built up after human plans. It has grown in the soil of necessity, from germs not self planted in human nature. It has assimilated here a little and there a little from the soil, and drunk in air and light from above. It would be at least a daring experiment to destroy it. From a worldly point of view alone, men may demand some plan, or at least avowed principles, of reconstruction, before they consent to snap the sacred bonds of domestic union, to sever the binding cords of social order, or to dash down existing political forms.

The leaders among these daring critics retain the morals and culture of the old order of things. They have been nurtured and brought up under restraining moral influences. They have been trained, even mentally, in a school of reverence. They are not, therefore, "lords of misrule" from any apparent personal longing for license. They are cultured, refined and generally respectably pure. They are, therefore, better than their principles. Knowing, however, what every one of the commonest observation and least introspection must know of natural proclivities, and of the importance of restraint and discipline in the early days of manly evolution, who does not see that the removal of restraint will tend to youthful riot, and to the formation of permanent characters which will work in the end the mere results of wilful self indulgence? The only check then will be force. General intelligence, even should it prevail, cannot be expected to effect more than it has already done as far as tried. It has been found to be a mere implement in the hands of moral character. A good man uses his intelligence for good; a bad man for evil. Were the moral foundations removed, nothing else could



be expected than general evil, made all the darker for general culture.

This, however, only shows us what will come on the earth, if "Destructive Criticism" prevail in things temporal. In this view it is a matter for statesmen and philanthropists to deal with. There are signs that "the powers that be" are taking it into consideration. It may be that the fair fabric of our civilization will be defended and upheld upon merely utilitarian principles, by those who bear rule on the earth.

"Destructive Criticism" is striking lower than this, however. Its blows are directed against the very foundation of all right and truth. In various ways, it deals with existing orders of things in their concrete form ; but, in every case, endeavors to go back to the "origin of things." It is very dogmatic, when it reaches this last point. It assumes, and demands without proof, assent to its primary dogmas. It affects to despise objections to them. It has nothing better to say of its primary dogmas than that "all persons who make any pretensions to scientific knowledge or philosophical thought assent to them."

Christianity is assailed by this Destructive Criticism, but now, as ever, maintains a persistent conflict against it. It is no new thing for Christianity to stand trial for its life. Many times already it has passed the ordeal ; coming out always hitherto with a somewhat altered theology, but unshaken in its foundations, and resting firmly upon its corner. Indeed, the stone of the corner is now, as it has ever been, that on which its enemies have been broken. As a fact, or power, or life principle, Christianity is on, with and in CHRIST. It holds Him forth, it holds on to Him, it stands with Him, it is in Him, and He is in her. She believes and teaches that everything stable rests on CHRIST. He is not merely a teacher of truth. He is Himself The Truth : its central life, and its all-pervading efficacy. Without CHRIST, philosophic thought has no starting point ; and hence evolution neither basis nor energy.

Christianity is not hostile to criticism. It has no fear of it. Even Destructive Criticism it has no objection to, in principle. Whatever can be destroyed, let it be destroyed, only let the destruction be real and open, not a mere dust-raising at the crux !

The "Destructive Criticism" of modern times has busied itself with attacks upon theology. It has carried some of its outposts ; not so many as it claims, but yet some. The

tone of religious teaching, through the press generally and largely in the pulpit, is much milder than even in the last generation ; and quite in contrast with that of a century ago. A natural consequence has arisen. In the popular mind, discrimination is not made between theology and religion ; therefore, many think, and some boldly say, that Christianity is effete, worn out, no longer able to cope with advancing thought ; good enough, perhaps, for the past, but destined soon to be superseded by "a Church of the future," a religion, or an absence of all religion, better fitted to the wants of individual men, and to the needs of concrete mankind.

The shortest way to deal with "Destructive Criticism," is to draw it at once to the central fact of Christianity. "What think ye of CHRIST?" is the first, and the whole question that must be answered. The stand to be taken is far back, at the "origin of things ;" at the verge of the finite ; at the "beginning," where evolution began, whence progress has come forth from its primal germ and gone on unbroken through all its complexities ; at the concept of "no-being," with that of the "becoming," or energy whence proceeds "being" or the universe, with its past, present and future. All thought must get back at last to this primordial idea. Christianity may as well take voluntary position there at once. It may leave garrisons in many outworks, far out around this central post. There, however, it must be found, and there meet its deadliest foe. It will get no favor. It had better not ask it. It has no need to ask.

Man as man, free, bold and bent upon exploring the last open path, pushes back to the utmost discoverable fact in science, to the primary concept in philosophy, and there stands waiting. Not all do this. Some assume a power, start back with their assumption, and run through the universe, gathering or making incidents according to some chosen theory, and constructing arbitrary, philosophical or scientific systems. Those Christianity need not follow. The true, and honest, and earnest men that remain, gather together on the verge of the finite, and look outward. Behind them is the fact of the universe. They are themselves, as far as they know, the pre-eminent fact in the universe. They did not make it, nor make themselves. They do not sustain it, nor are they sufficient in themselves for themselves. All that they are had a beginning. All that they see must also have had a

beginning. It may be, indeed it is said, that the Universe is self-evolute, and men themselves mere unwilling products of a blind force, or an abstract energy. As a thought, this is conceivable. It is not large enough, however, to encompass all known facts. It is especially defective, in giving no source to the self-conscious Ego, and in making no place for the dearest self-assurance of freedom. It leaves man a mere resultant of forces. When he thinks he is choosing and willing, he is merely obeying some resistless combination of forces that holds him in chains of iron that enter the soul. This is a mere assumption indeed, but it lies at the basis of popular, modern philosophy, and is the ultimate ground of popular science. This is not evolution merely; it is self-evolution; and that without any incipient or even co-operative exercise of will. Hence personality, under this theory, is a mere dream. Though all men dream this dream, and think themselves, each one, free to choose or refuse, to act or refrain, to believe or deny, within fixed creature limits, they are in fact deceived. The universality, therefore, not only of self-conscious freedom, but even the reality of the conscious "I," has no place under Destructive Criticism. Man comes out of it a lie unto himself, and consequently concludes that all the universe is a lie also. Being thus mentally driven out to sea, on a shoreless ocean, his next inevitable drift is into moral confusion, to the loss not merely of conscience, but of the very idea of morals itself. Right and wrong cease to be realities, and actions become indifferent.

Here Destructive Criticism has already arrived. Its first principle is, as we have allowed, conceivable as a mental proposition. A blind, remorseless, unsympathetic and unfeeling Necessity can be thought of, and can be assigned to the post of the Pantocrat, the Almighty Creator and Ruler of men and things. We have, however, a right to demand of philosophers, that they prove their first principle. It is not enough to show that it is conceivable. Before evolving their systems they ought to establish their basis. This they fail to do. They do not even attempt it. They construct their systems of physical science, sociology and ethics with the assumption of necessity at beginning, and adherence to Necessity throughout. They affect, perhaps feel, sublime indifference to mental fears lest chaos come again; lest moral confusion wreck all social order; and lest the "survival of the fittest" prove at last the survival only of the most cunning and unscrupulous.

If "because of advantage" men adopt this idea of a primordial and persistent necessity, because it fits into their selfishness, and leaves them free to pursue their chosen ways in seeking their chosen ends, without conscience and without fear, they must be left. They evince their conscious freedom in thus choosing. Though they hereby unconsciously deny their own first principle—for necessity has no place for free will—yet they like it, and follow it, and that is all. And yet it is not all; for no man has yet fallen so far down from his naturally self-conscious god-likeness, that he contentedly submits himself to such a pantocrat as necessity. He fights it daily in every plan he makes, and in every difficulty he opposes. He revolts against it in his soul continually; for it would make him worse than a slave, even not a person at all, but only a fortuitous combination of elements incapable of personality.

Christianity addresses true men. Others it cannot reach. Men true to their own consciousness, to that consciousness which they share alike with all human nature, true to belief in personality and in personal liberty, are accessible to Christianity. It asks to be subjected, by such men, to "Destructive Criticism." It is willing to have destroyed whatever in it is destructible. It only asks that what cannot be destroyed may remain.

It demands that true men go back with it to the "origin of things," to the primary fact or even idea of being, to the outmost bounds of the finite. There let all the wise men of the ages be gathered. They are a band of little children at best. They feel, every one, the conscious Ego. They all see the "not me," the universe. This is all they are conscious of. This is all they see.

Now Christianity demands, "Show us the starting point." The Ego is self-insufficient. "I" is not self-existent, nor self-preservative: yet it is, and is persistent. It is not the universe. It has position in it; but each one has consciously a distinctive position. Every "I" knows that every other "I" is not itself. It knows that all the universe is distinctive from itself, and from every other personality. Person and the Universe are therefore ultimate and primary facts. They comprise the finite.

The finite is a definite concept. It has boundaries, or rather one boundary or circumference. We may gather the sages anywhere on the circumference. The inlook is the same. From every point the universe is seen. At every point the seer is the self-conscious "I," the person.

The Agnostics declare that everything, besides "I" and the Universe, is unknowable. They turn back.

The self-indulgent, self-willed and all untrue men, have not come out. They remain far within the circle of "practical life." They care for none of these things.

The worshippers of necessity have chosen their god, and are engaged in evolving him through the making of books which have no end.

Of the few that remain Christianity asks, "What see you?" "The 'me' and the 'not-me.' 'I' and the universe."

"Perceive you aught else?

We perceive the Infinite."—[*Max. Müller.*]

Man starts within the universe from ten-thousand points, where he has learned some definite fact. He traces that fact back through a line of antecedents, none of which he finds a full cause, and at last reaches the limits of the finite. All roads of investigation, and all links of concepts, lead finally to this one boundary.

This is surely not all. Something lies beyond. Man cannot discover this something beyond; because he cannot leave the finite. If he has stretched the boundary farther than his predecessor, he has still not left the finite. He is on it, in it, and it is behind him.

This single fact is enough for Christianity to begin with. With it, it takes post at the "origin of things," at the germ of all reality and all possibility. Here it joins issue with science and philosophy. Here it takes post at the source of law, the ground of all practicable thought and prudential life-action.

Man cannot leave the finite. He knows that the finite is an effect. It is bounded, and the Universal Cause must of necessity be unbounded. He cannot find out this Cause. He cannot attain unto the Infinite.

Christianity alone has a word to say, at this limit of things, to the baffled multitude. "The Infinite has stretched itself out to the finite. It manifests itself. It comes down on to the confines of the whole great universe. It comes personally. It is "I," "I the LORD," "I the LORD am one GOD."

Man did not discover, but he readily accepts this, as a fact. Still he is unsatisfied. The mere concept of the Almighty Person is a little better than that of the abstract Infinite. It is not the mere idea of a boundless depth. It

is rather that of One Great Supreme, sitting far away in the boundless depth. We may listen, indeed, for His voice, if perchance He speak to us. We may tire of listening, and then try to search out His ways, and follow them, however discovered or made known. At best however the Almighty alone is more awful than attractive.

The All-Merciful! "GOD is love." This is better. It gives a fuller conception of the Creator and Preserver of us, and of the Universe. Even this, however, leaves a vast unbridged chasm between man and God. In His compassion He can pass this chasm and find us. We cannot go over it, however, and lay hold of Him. He is yet, "God afar off."

"He is a just GOD." He must be a just GOD, or confusion would wreck the whole fair order of things, and overwhelm man and creation in one common ruin. Yet what are we before a just GOD? We know that we have thought, spoken and acted, according to our own wills. We know that we have often willed the wrong, and oftener yet neglected to choose and follow the right. What is a just GOD to us but an object of terror?

Mercy and justice! How reconcile them? There is absolutely no reconciliation possible to human invention. If mercy be supreme, then the order of the universe goes down, under a partial and one-sided Pantocrat. If justice be supreme, then ruin follows to all free-thinking and free-acting creatures. There is no hope for the salvation of the self-conscious person man, under the exclusive supremacy of either mercy or justice.

Righteousness also means war to the death with every form of evil; and yet peace is the goal of all conceivable human satisfaction. "How shall mercy and truth meet together? How shall righteousness and peace kiss each other?"

There is absolutely no answer, in all human science and philosophy, to these common questionings of the common mind and heart of mankind. They would remain unanswered, did not Christianity present GOD-manifest, GOD coming not to but into His creation, GOD taking hold of His universe by the hand of the visible Lord of creation, GOD taking thus hold of His universe by coming Himself into personal conjunction with it, by taking into His own personality the highest form of natural creation, by becoming Himself incarnate by being made man.

This stupendous fact, and this alone, presents a restful possibility to the mind of man, a peaceful refuge for his

soul, and a place of satisfactory repose to his yearning heart. When true to the highest human ideal, when perceiving, confessing, contemplating, and especially when striving to attain the full development of the perfectness of his conscious capacities, man knows, and all true men confess, that only on a footing of friendship with the Pantocrat can he find satisfaction. He abhors, in his soul, the idea that he is a mere resultant of forces, the outcome of a concurrence of energetic atoms, the evanescent form of a person, the lying Ego where no Ego can truly be. He clings to his sense of personality. He cannot divest himself of it in thought. Even the deniers of it, he perceives, assume and assert it in the very phrase of denial. "I am not a person," is a self-evident and explicit contradiction. Even the intellect, therefore, can find rest in nothing else than in the personal GOD of Christianity ; for a person only can be the Maker of personal creatures. Something beneath the intellect exists, as every one feels and knows, within man. Feelings, affections, longings, needs and aspirations spring up, swell and surge in every human creature. Science and philosophy alone have absolutely nothing to say to these interior forces. At best they teach that it is wise to give them free rein, and let them take us wherever they will. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." All experience, however, shows that under such precepts, the evil would simply eject the good, or bury it deep under free and mad indulgence. Utilitarianism, which is the latest new-old avowed basis of "rational ethics," would be like a thread of gossamer to bind the self-will of mankind, if freed from all fear and exempt from all restraint. And yet man feels that he must be free, and that whatever restraints of discipline he may submit to must be such as his higher consciousness approves. Struggle surrounds him. Struggle he himself endures with much within and many things and forces without. He cannot rest in the thought of unceasing struggle.

The outcome of all human consciousness and human observation is simple confusion, unless the first fact of Christianity be accepted, while both reach harmonious order only in GOD-manifest. In GOD, coming out from the veil of the indiscoverable, crossing the void beyond the finite, taking hold of creation by taking into Himself the nature of the greatest creature, joining humanity to Himself in a conjunction of nature, retaining His Divine Personality; in this fact of facts the whole conscious man, in unity

of person and conjunction of parts, finds complete satisfaction. His personality remains intact. His freedom is conserved. The widest conceivable career is laid open; for thus the self-insufficient conscious Ego is joined to the whole person of the Pantocrat, and may grow up towards His perfectness, through constant personal intercommunion.

We do not attempt here to prove all this. We leave out of view the checks and balances, and impediments which lie in the way. We say nothing of sin, of relative capacities, of ignorance, of difficulties. We simply conceive of the highest type of man, as known to consciousness and observation—a type which all persons may aspire after, and more or less nearly approach—and we assert, without fear of denial, that Christianity alone provides for this ideal man; moreover, by consequence, that Christianity alone is true to man as man, and worthy of acceptance by the one only godlike creature.

This worthiness of Christianity all centres in one person. Not alone because He is a complete pattern, an unrivalled exhibition of human perfectness, a model of all good, dropped once into history and ever after standing out as the highest exemplar! This would make Jesus the noblest of men, and one worthy imitation by all the true and wise "men of good will." Far beyond and above this, the Incarnate ONE, the GOD-man of Christianity lays hold lovingly with power upon mankind as a unit-nature, and would lift all, and will lift every willing person into sharing His own seat at His FATHER's right hand, aye into junction with that personal love, which is reciprocal between the SON and the FATHER.

Here again we rise beyond and above details of doubt and difficulty. The realization, and actualization of this human communion with the Divine person through partaking of the Divine nature, as they shall become in personal experience, are not now in view. The one point is the possibility presented; and this possibility Christianity alone presents. As we have seen hitherto, Christianity alone gives a starting point to human thought, by showing the only bridge beyond the finite, the only link between the known and the unknown; Christianity alone also conserves human personality, accords with the universal human consciousness of the Ego, and is reverent to human freedom. And now at last Christianity alone sets forth a prospect, large enough to fill all human capacities, assure all human aspirations, and give satisfaction to all human affections.

There is nothing in all science, philosophy or even poetry, nothing in all the ages of wisdom, nothing conceivable, to be compared to the promises of Christianity to all "men of good-will." It promises friendship with GOD. Herein all the good things of GOD are assured as gifts to men. But this is only a very small part of its promises. This we might enjoy, and never rise beyond the degree of servants. Man cannot be satisfied with servitude forever. He must get nearer to GOD, or he cannot find restful satisfaction in soul and spirit. So grand is he by nature that the post of a servant, even at the right hand of the Majesty on High, cannot satisfy him. He must get nearer to GOD than a servant can get. Allegiance, devotion, obedience, he must of course pay, because he is a creature; but the word of command, simply coming to him from a lord and master, he knows and feels that he cannot obey with satisfaction. There is an impassable gulf between a mere master, and a mere servant. Human nature is essentially too noble, to walk content on the edge of an impassable gulf, listening to the utterances of Divine laws rolling in from afar.

Every other religion than Christianity, every philosophy, every mixture of religion and philosophy, old or new, eastern or western, sacrifices this human self-consciousness of inability to be forever a mere servant. Their practical systems stop short with economy; their ultimate reach is after what can be gotten. Though the Nirvâna of Buddhism is a concept of absorption into Deity, and so comes nearest to Christianity, yet it does not entirely escape the economical idea of profit, while it gives up wholly the fact of the ever persistent personality, the indestructible self, the immortal Ego.

Christianity conserves this Ego, goes with it through the mortal educational period, keeps at its side, dwells within at its fount of affections, thought and will, and finally goes up with it to meet GOD. There it proclaims an everlasting sonship for all its disciples, a personal presentation to GOD as the FATHER, an acceptance by the FATHER into the inheritance won, not merely bestowed upon but won by man, and finally such close communion, that the Creator and creature are bound forever together in a reciprocal bond of love. Allegiance, obedience and devotion flow forth from the creature. Beneficence pours forth without limit from the Creator. But the flow is a ceaseless outpouring from a fountain of love, that holds

the whole person. The mere submission is not even that of a grateful servant ; while the beneficence is the outpouring, not of gifts merely, but of Divine yearning, of personal love by a personal FATHER towards personal children, whose responsive affection He delights in.

This inexpressible nearness between GOD and holy men, this close communion of persons, is inexplicable by human language ; because language addresses the intellect, while this reaches more than the intellect, even the whole man, with all his body, soul and spirit, all that makes him and keeps him immortally one, yet indescribably complex. It is not entirely incomprehensible, however ; for, down in the lower deep of every human consciousness, is a felt capacity for loving, which is wiser far than the understanding, and surer than intelligence ; and it is this that Christianity fills, when its one Head, "CHRIST," presents His beloved to His FATHER and their FATHER, His GOD and their GOD.

We have seen Christianity standing at the outer verge of the finite, and there giving man what no philosophy attempts to give, viz. : a starting point for thought. The stupendous fact of the GOD-manifest, the Jesus, the CHRIST, is the beginning of all human knowledge ; not merely of religious knowledge, but of all knowledge ; for there is not a department of human study which does not lead out to the circumference of the universe and there stop short, out-looking perhaps, but baffled. Either, therefore, man must be tossed forever on the fluctuating waves of mere conjecture, or accept "The Word of GOD, by Whom the worlds were made, the light of the world, the True Light that lighteth every man."

Going on with man from this beginning, and keeping with and in the individual persons of men, through the mysterious trainings, experiences and conflicts of mortality ; Christianity comes out at last with him upon the open boundlessness of the future, and there shows Him the same person, the GOD-man, linking forever together the human and the Divine, and satisfying every Ego with full communion with the great "I Am."

Holding on to this beginning and to this ending Christianity stands forth in this age, as in all its past, as the only true humanitarianism. It is absolutely peerless, in its reverence for mankind, and its jealous conservation of human dignity. It gives man first a firm foundation ; and at last shows him the one only post he can hold, with all

essentials of his nature drawn out to their fullest capacities and evermore filled.

Christianity need not stand on the defensive. It has small need of responding to this and that objection, and to details of doubt and difficulty. It can smile serenely at being put on trial for its life. It can plant one foot on the origin of things, and another on the consummation of all things, and confidently challenge comparison. Either Christianity is true, or man has nothing to begin with, and nothing to end with. As it is true, the mortal life of man, however difficult it be to understand and however hard to endure, is at least explicable; while the immortality it discloses is simply perfect in all its promises, as well as deeply true and therefore inexpressibly glorious to self-insufficient yet consciously godlike man.

The time has come in the history of the Household of GOD, for all the children to gather, in militant ranks, around the central reality of the Gospel. A keener sense, and loftier consciousness of human dignity are evidently expanding, and deepening the thoughts of men of all classes. Not merely the wise, so called, but all of every grade are perceiving, as no age previously has perceived, the great, actual and potential glory of man as man. Christianity is the author of this grand idea. Strangely, the world is adopting the fact, while turning, with its natural hatred of The Light, against the very source of the fact. It is dragging forth the racks and screws of a departed or at least moribund theology, and trying to hold Christianity responsible for them. It assails Christianity with arms stolen from her own guard-room. It grimly, albeit ludicrously, charges Christianity with hostility to man as man; with trying to enslave him according to arbitrary dogmas, and to shut him up under mere law. In fact, however, she alone proclaims, now as ever, the one possible Way, Truth and Life. She does not flatter man. She does not falsely tell him that he is supreme in the universe. She accords with his own conscious self-insufficiency. But she also tells him that he is greater than every other creature; and that his normal and full development, such as is not possible for any other creature, will consist—or rather may, if in his free choice he so elects—in personal union and communion with GOD Himself; wherein the will of the FATHER will be in conjunction with his will, and consequently his obedience will be forever the joyful response of eager love to Him Who is Love.

"Be the earth never so unquiet!" However the wise of this world think about the relative standing of Christianity and "Free Thought;" the fact is, not that Christianity is undergoing a severe sifting with doubtful results; but the world itself is undergoing that sifting. Believers in the Gospel of our LORD and Saviour Jesus CHRIST, and they of every degree extending up to holders of the Catholic Faith, and down to the mere philosophico-historic accepters of the fact of His life and His claims, stand out aggressively, not defensively merely, amid the haughty strivings, fierce assaults, and supercilious indifference of modern scepticism. Though gathering round the central fact, the citadel, the Corner-stone of "the faith once for all delivered to the Saints," they come together, not in flight, but in concentric readjustment, with pure resolve and firm assurance. Now as ever they are the chosen and appointed witnesses to Him, Who is the Light of the World. They challenge the world to show any other true Light; or any true light at all that does not draw its beams from the Sun of Righteousness. It is impossible successfully to contradict the fact, that the only basis of sound thought is the taking hold by the Infinite of the finite. Everything else is conjecture. Every system of philosophy or science, hitherto known in all the history of thought and study, has started at a conjecture; and every one that can be evolved by man must, as we have seen, necessarily begin at conjecture and proceed by arbitrary theories. Nor can those theories in the end sustain themselves, however many facts they may accord with, because their one first assumption refuses to regard the actuality of the self-revelation of the Infinite to the finite, the reality of GOD's self-manifestation.

Here Christianity plants itself. While encouraging the boldest investigation, while looking on with sympathetic interest into every analysis and microscopic search, while urging the deepest and farthest study of facts, while joining with glad voice in all songs that glorify essential humanity, while going in and bidding others press through every open door of discovery, while acknowledging the right of the largest liberty, it adheres and demands that all adhere to the primary consciousness of personality, and to the common verdict of human self-insufficiency. These primary facts, and the primary truth that the one only sure "origin of things" starts forth from GOD-manifest, constitute the foundation of Christianity; and are abso-

lutely the one only possible basis of all mental concepts, and of all practicable philosophy or science.

The issue is plain. It cannot be concealed. It need not be masked. Christianity calls the world to trial. Its call of the world to a moral trial will come in due order. Now we take into view only the human intellect. In this age of intellectual daring, before the splendid array of highly equipped, well drilled, numerous, confident, and learned wise men of the world, she holds her ground, and demands that they conquer her or be conquered, upon the one position of a beginning of creation, an "origin of things." If the wisdom of the world can find this beginning, let it find it. And yet what sheer mockery this is! The wisdom of this world not only has not found it, but cannot find it, because it is, and ever must remain within the finite, and man himself finite cannot pass the boundary.

Perhaps we have repeated this argument too often already. But it must be presented and re-presented, so long as the "foolishness of men" prevails. We may leave it now however, for the present, under this obvious dilemma: Either the primary position of Christianity is true, GOD has made Himself manifest; or there is absolutely no basis, no possible beginning for science, philosophy or religion, nor any certainty about anything, whatsoever; either the primary position of Christianity is true, or everything in heaven, on earth, or under the earth, every fact of the past or hopeful aspiration for the future, is remanded to the felt darkness of dismal doubt, or blown off into the ever-changing void of coldest, attenuated and attenuating conjecture.

Now for the other extreme of the human outlook, viz: the details and complexity of the future of mankind! Imaginary pictures are plenty enough. Christianity itself has been made the subject of many works of imagination. Poets and preachers, and some belonging to other classes, have drawn and painted Paradise, Heaven and Hell. As mere pictures, they are more or less attractive, or repulsive. Whether made by genius, or portrayed by inspired artists, they have one common characteristic. They are exterior, or at least objective, mainly. They show celestial or infernal environments, associations and occupations. How much is figurative cannot be beforehand determined. Especially cannot a satisfactory exterior or objective delineation be given of everlasting joy, or everlasting woe.

The mind of this age is too introspective, too abstract,

too much bent upon subjective conceptions, to take much interest in exterior delineations of possible future fortunes. The Heaven that attracted, and the Hell that alarmed our father's fathers, touch but lightly modern hearts and minds. The outside of everything is little regarded in modern thought. This may be either advancement or retrogression. It is not of much moment which it prove to be.

Christianity is quite capable of taking a living position, and maintaining either warfare against, or alliance with this introspective, subjective, self-analytic, modern band of devotees to "the wisdom of this world." If warfare be chosen, then Christianity, upon merely philosophic grounds, is prepared to prove that there is a real, self-existent, objective reality, in which man is involved, towards which he stands in constituent relation, and by or through which he will get either good or harm. If alliance be sought, then Christianity with glad accord leaps to the front, in claiming for man, and strenuously setting forth, the noblest possible exaltation of human worth and dignity. Look in on himself deeply as man may, draw as he will from the purest depths of his consciousness of capacity, from the loftiest ideal he can of human nature, its powers and its possibilities, Christianity stands first in its glorification of essential humanity. It does not fool man, by telling him that he is GOD. It does not mock his conscious self-insufficiency, by saying that he can make and do all he needs or wants. It proclaims him a creature ; but a creature "made after the image of Him Who created Him ;" a creature of knowledge and choice, who knows good and evil and may freely choose between them ; not a mere product of forces and resultant of law, but a free man who may or may not, as he himself may will, follow either light or darkness, truth or error, right or wrong, GOD or the devil. These extreme, opposite possibilities, with all their consequences forever, must from first to last be open ways for free man to walk in ; or he cannot be a free man. Christianity contains some threatenings against those who refuse the good and choose the evil ; but they are merciful threatenings. They do not make, they only point out the inevitable, natural consequences of taking the downward, instead of the upward road.

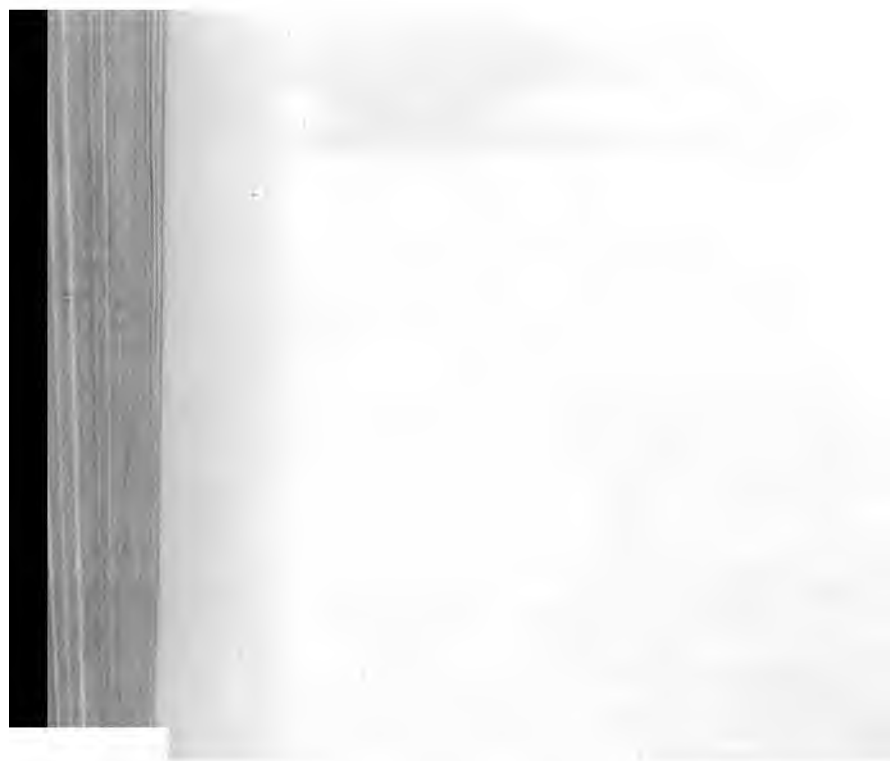
We turn away from the consideration of what perversity may cause men to lose, and what persistence in self-confidence and self-indulgence may lead them to incur ; and

give heed now to what Christianity holds out, in measured temporal fruition and in immeasurable everlasting promise, to the yearnings, to the hopes, and to the full consciousness of capacities and needs in man. It relates that at creation man was made in the "image of GOD." Hence by nature he can become not the servant merely, but the "friend" of GOD. It relates that GOD manifested Himself, by taking into His own person the whole of essential humanity, that "He was made man." Hence every personal partaker, of this once created and ever after developing human nature, is laid hold of by the Incarnation, shares in the exaltation of all humanity, becomes capable of being one among "partakers of the Divine nature."

The consequence is manifest. To creatures, altogether outside of GOD, His will comes forth as command. Such creatures may rise to servitude, but never higher. Taking one department of creaturehood into Himself, uniting it to Himself forever, He constitutes a possibility of higher relationship than that of mere servitude. Now for the consequence! All who exercise their godlikeness in making choice of communion with the Incarnate One, are uplifted to a share in His communion with the FATHER. They get far within the sound of command. They find position inside of law. They dwell with GOD and in GOD. His will becomes known to them within themselves. They live in Him and He in them. The perfectness of His consistency, as well as the warmth and light of His love, pulsate in them as life indwells and stirs their deepest sub-consciousness. They know His will intuitively, and do it with eager, natural, and glad accord.

Now which is on trial, Christianity or this world? Which is wise; human philosophy with its ever sinking basis of conjecture and ever darkening pit of doubt; or Christianity with GOD in the beginning making the worlds, and the same GOD "in the fullness of time sending forth His only Begotten Son, made of a woman to redeem them who are under the law?" Which are loyal to high humanitarianism; they who would induce man, weary in conscious self-insufficiency, to look only into and never out, of himself for help; or Christianity, setting forth GOD-incarnate, man's own Divine elder brother, Who has purchased an eternal inheritance, and will take all "men of good will" up to sit with Him forever in heavenly places, at GOD's right-hand, and present them as His beloved to Him, Who is His Father, and will be their FATHER in closest communion forever?

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.



THE CATHOLIC FAITH AND THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS.

ONE of the most respectable and influential religious newspapers of the day has recently bewailed the divisions of Christianity, and in its despair has gravely announced its conclusion that this is not the age for making a Creed, and that the hope, therefore, of formulating a Creed upon which all Christians can agree, is simply impossible. The reason assigned for this profound conclusion is that each division of the great Christian Body adheres too tenaciously to the distinctive principles of its own theological system. The Episcopalian clings, it is said, to the XXXIX Articles, the Calvinist to his Westminster Confession and Catechism, the Reformed Bodies to the Heidelberg Catechism, and so on, and therefore it is impossible to-day to construct a Creed which shall reconcile them all.

A distinguished minister of one of the Denominational Bodies has also stated as the result of long years of study, of intimate personal acquaintance with Foreign missionary work, and of considerable experience as Pastor and College Professor, that the great mistake of Christianity to-day both at home and abroad, is the disposition to make denominational systems the test of membership in the Body of Christ. He acknowledged that it was a hindrance

in the Foreign missionary work, for one set of missionaries to translate the XXXIX Articles into the native tongue of the heathen, and another to translate the Westminster Confession, and another still to obtrude the peculiarities of Wesleyanism; that these things only confused the heathen mind in its conceptions of Christianity, and that he himself had insisted that there should be no test of Church membership and nothing taught as essential to Christian faith, except the simplest fundamentals of Christianity as formulated in the Apostles' Creed.

What was the last analysis of this learned Divine, propounded as a real discovery, after years of scholarly study and pastoral work and personal experience in Foreign missionary effort; and what was gravely announced by the learned Editor as his wise and unquestionable conclusion, is really the first lesson that is taught to the Christian Child in the Historic Church. And any Sunday School scholar of a truly Catholic Communion, if asked to rehearse the Articles of his belief will not for a moment think of rehearsing the XXXIX Articles, much less of repeating the dreary formularies of the Westminster Catechism, the recent requirements of faith in the Immaculate Conception or the Infallibility of the Pope, or the superlative value of the Class-meeting as a means of grace, but will simply and sincerely repeat the Apostles' Creed.

The two instances referred to, will help to illustrate and emphasize the distinction which in this paper we propose to make and to insist upon, between a Creed and a Theological system, as tests of membership and Communion in the Church—between “the Faith, once (for all) delivered unto the saints”—and the theological commentaries which Divines and Synods and Councils have constructed upon that Faith. And this is precisely the distinction between Catholicism and Sectarianism—between membership in the One Body and membership in some schismatic or heretical faction which has broken off from the One Body; between the binding obligation and fundamental character of the Creed, and the varying systems of religious doctrine held by various bodies of Christians and containing, as they suppose, the very essence of Christianity, but which are really no Creeds at all. It is the distinction between the narrow bondage of the Sect-Idea which emphasizes secondary opinions as tests of Communion and the broad freedom of a comprehensive Catholicity, which while thoroughly unyielding in regard to fundamentals, at

the same time leaves to the Individual the determination of the details of his religious opinion and belief.

There is a very important and practical sense in which the words of the religious newspaper, already quoted, are true and always must be true; namely, that this is not the age in which to make a Creed. And it is so, and must be so, because the Creed never was "made" in the sense of ecclesiastical composition. It is not the compromised formula of any synod or council; it is not the deliberate result of the comparison of theological Views, it is not the careful construction of eminent Reformers or learned Divines. It was "delivered, once for all to the saints," as complete in all its essential characteristics when Jesus ascended as it is to-day. And the Church was appointed, not to formulate a belief, but to be the guardian and keeper of a Creed already delivered and held; not to construct a Theological Procrustean Bed, to the length of which all the Faithful should be either stretched or amputated, but to be a witness of the Resurrection and of the great mystery of the Incarnation, of which the Resurrection is the crowning proof.

There is another sense in which no age ever will be the age to make a Creed, because the attempt to construct a universal symbol out of the varying and discordant systems of modern Christian bodies always must be a failure. God never intended that the Faith should be formulated in any such way, and the attempt to do it has only resulted, as it always must result, in a platform of pious platitudes or a theological statement of colorless neutrality. What men call Creeds in the inaccurate and careless popular phraseology of to-day are not Creeds at all, and a Creed can never be made out of them. And the mistaken effort to do so, and the popular mis-apprehension of the distinction between a Creed and a Theological system, is keeping thousands of earnest and sincere men outside of the pale of any religious communion, who, otherwise would be within some fold or other, fully pledged to Christ and actively working in the discharge of their personal duty. For a Creed is not something that ought to be believed or that deserves to be believed, but something that *must* be believed in order to be a Christian.

Now the most zealous adherent of any theological system will hardly claim that a belief in it is essential to salvation. He may consider it the clearest statement of the essential truths of Christianity, it may be to him the formula

of those aspects of Christian truth most impressive to his judgment and most refreshing to his soul ; it may embody for him, the clearest views of the truth "as it is in Jesus," and it may be quite essential to the strengthening of his personal belief. And yet it is only the view which he, or his denomination takes of the truth of Christianity, and he would hardly claim that every other man must look upon it, in all its details, precisely as he does, in order to be saved. And the almost universal willingness of men, to-day, to compromise these secondary statements and the desire to reconcile them, is the proof of this. The Calvinist does not antagonize the Arminian ; the Immersionist meets on a common plane with the Pseudo baptist—differences are minified and agreements are emphasized until there is developed a kind of ecclesiastical "happy family," which ignores denominational peculiarities and in which every body agrees not to insist upon anything that somebody else does not believe. And this theological anodyne, which enables religionists of the most antagonistic views to harmonize for the time being is called Christian Charity, or Christian Liberty ; or, in the domain of the Historic Church it constitutes that easy and flexible partisanship which has been very truthfully defined as including those who only half believe anything.

In opposition alike to this nothing-arianism within the Church, and this anything-ism outside of it, there is a definite and well formulated belief, which includes all that is essential to Christian Faith, and which remands all secondary opinions to their appropriate subordinate position. It is as broad in its comprehensiveness as the broadest Churchman could desire ;—it is as charitable as any sectarian compromise could wish, and yet it preserves for the faith of men to day and for its transmission to future generations, all that is essential to Christianity in its formal statement of the great truth of the Incarnation, and all that is involved in it ; which is the Faith once (for all) delivered to the Saints.

The practical result of this thrusting forward of doctrinal and denominational peculiarities as tests of faith and terms of Communion, has done immense harm to the progress of Christianity to-day. Every Christian Pastor has had men say to him again and again, "I would like to be a Christian and would like to unite with your Church, but I cannot accept your Creed ;" when, in fact, he believed the Creed all the time, and what he meant was, "I would like to be a

Christian, but my opinion on certain secondary matters differs from that of the religious body which you represent." And the hardest work which many a Church clergyman has had to do, has been to unloose the fetters of sectarian narrowness in which many an earnest soul has been bound, and to teach him the generous breadth and loving freedom of the truth as it is in Jesus and as it is embodied in the teachings of His Holy Catholic Church. That truth is formulated for all ages and for all men in what S. Jude calls "The Faith once (for all) delivered to the Saints ;" it is embodied for us in the venerable symbol known as the Apostles' Creed ; and the only fuller statement of that Creed authorized by the united voice of an undivided Christendom is the Nicene Creed. Even that fuller statement is not used in the Baptismal Office, but is reserved for the Eucharistic Communion of the Faithful.

There are certain distinctions between a Creed and a Theological system which should never be forgotten, but which in the popular theology of the day are constantly ignored or persistently denied. By its very name, a Creed is the statement of what *must* be believed. It is the formula of the Credenda of Christianity, the things necessary to be believed. Not the disputed inferences of Christian doctrine, nor the secondary opinions on theological subjects, as for example the difference between Calvinist and Armenian, in regard to which Christians may innocently differ ; but the things which every Christian must believe, to be a Christian at all. The second distinction is, that the Articles of the Christian Creed differ from all modern theological systems in this, that they are not matters of opinion, nor of speculation, nor of inference, but of *fact*. The Apostles' creed is simply a condensed statement of Historical Facts, (or of Prophetical Intimations which one day shall be Facts), but without asserting any theory or doctrine as inferences from those facts.

And there is one other distinction, the substance of the Creed must be the same for every age and place, while the value of theological systems depends upon the living questions of the hour, or the historical emergencies which call them into being. This last universal characteristic, even aside from the others we have mentioned, is itself the demonstration that only a Creed can be the test of membership in the Christian Church ; and that for any religious body to require any other test,—whether it be the Westminster Confession or the Immaculate Conception of the

Blessed Virgin ; the promise of attendance upon a weekly class-meeting or the Infallibility of the Pope,—is simply an impertinent and unscriptural assumption of authority.

The distinction here insisted upon may be illustrated by the comparison of the Creed as a statement of fundamental and essential truths, with any secondary systems of theological doctrine. As this is a Church Review it may be at once more courteous and more fair to take the illustration from the practical working of the Church which it represents. In the dense ignorance of true Church principles which unfortunately prevails even among intelligent Protestant Christians, it is very generally supposed and very frequently asserted that the XXXIX Articles constitute the test of membership in the Protestant Episcopal Church. This opinion is almost universally entertained by that large class of astute historical critics outside of the Communion of the Church, who firmly believe and openly proclaim their belief, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was founded by Archbishop Cranmer and Henry VIII. But is any one ever asked to approve the XXXIX Articles as a condition precedent to Holy Baptism,—which is the only Scriptural method of “uniting with the Church?” or in the solemn hour when the Baptismal Vow of Infancy is to be voluntarily assumed and the Apostolic Rite of Confirmation is to introduce the young Christian to his highest privilege in the Church of Christ, as well as to enable him to make his confession good before the world, is there the remotest allusion to any doctrinal or disciplinary test outside of the broadest fundamental truths of Christianity as formulated in its most Ancient and Universal symbol? not a word. The whole proceeding goes upon the basis of the Apostles’ Creed, as the rule of Faith and the Baptismal renunciation and vow as the rule of duty; and there is not a whisper of any doctrinal test or of any disciplinary promise peculiar to the Episcopal Church as distinct from the Holy Catholic Church of which it is an organic Branch.

This misapprehension may result from the fact that in England, the clergy are required to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles before ordination; or that in the United States the subscription of Conformity to the doctrines and worship of the Church may by fair implication include the XXXIX Articles, but these subscriptions are not made as tests of Communion; they are required of the Clergy as safeguards to insure, if possible, their fidelity as Christian Teachers. But every Branch of the Church Catholic has

always required severer doctrinal tests of those who are to minister at her Altars and teach in her Pulpits, than either could or would be required of the Faithful Laity committed to her care. And the very moment in which the Church in the United States would require of her Laity a profession of belief in the XXXIX Articles as a condition of membership, she would cease to be a Branch of the Church Catholic, and would become merely an Anglican or an American sect.

And this is precisely the difference between the Church-Idea and the Sect-Idea. The Church is broad enough and comprehensive enough to include all earnest and penitent souls, the Sect can include only those who are able to pronounce its shibboleth. It is unfortunately true that there are many individual members of the Church Catholic who are thoroughly, and it may be hoped unconsciously, sectarian, in spite of the broad and Catholic comprehensiveness of the Church to which they belong. And the complementary fact is one for which we may well be grateful, that there are many members and ministers of Sectarian Bodies who are truly Catholic, alike in doctrine and spirit. But the distinction does not refer so much to Individuals as to the systems with which they are identified. It may be suggested that if this distinction be true, then all Christians are Catholics, since all believe the Apostles' Creed ; and in a very real and practical sense they unconsciously are ; but it does not follow that all organizations are Catholic whose members believe the Apostles' Creed, if in addition to this they insist upon some secondary statement of belief as a test of membership and even emphasize it as if it were the one important and fundamental thing. If, for example, the Protestant Episcopal Church super-added to the belief in the Creed the necessity of professing a belief in the XXXIX Articles, as a condition precedent to membership in her fold ; or, to state the analogy more accurately, if she never said anything at all about the Apostles' Creed to her postulants for Baptism and Confirmation, but simply thrust before them the XXXIX Articles, as the most essential and fundamental statement of Christian Truth, then it would be simply a sect and not a Church ; and it too might engage in the hopeless task of constructing a symbol of Faith out of the varying and discordant dialects of modern Christianity. The religious life of our country in its tone and atmosphere, unfortunately is Sectarian and not Catholic. And the result of this is, that when men learn that

religious bodies are setting up standards of Faith which are not of universal obligation nor of Divine authority, they revolt against all forms of faith and lapse into latitudinarianism and indifference if not positive antagonism to all religious organizations, instead of finding their Christian life and liberty and law in the comprehensive limits of the one Catholic and Scriptural Creed.

The question will naturally arise whether the Church can afford to be thus generous to her children in the whirlpool and cross-currents of modern religious thought? And the best answer to that question is that she could afford to be thus generous in the First Century, and if then, why not now? The germ of the Creed was found in the Baptismal Formula, and the first Converts to Christianity were admitted to Baptism upon the simple profession of their Faith that Jesus was the Messiah.

When the Creed took fuller form it simply rehearsed the facts of the Incarnation as the truth of the Gospel most essential to be believed. The whole burden of the Apostolic preaching was "Jesus and the Resurrection," the facts of the Incarnation and the Miracle of the Pentecost. And they preached these truths not as theories nor as speculative doctrines, but simply as facts. They preached that Jesus died for our sins, but they did not attach to that statement a theory of the Atonement to be accepted by their hearers. They preached that he rose again for our justification, but they did not connect with it a metaphysical theory of justification by faith. They preached all the great truths of Christianity, not as opinions or theories or parts of a well-compacted theological system, but as divinely attested facts; and the Christian believer was required to put his faith in the fact and not in any interpretation of it. And while it is true that the subsequent development of Christian Dogma became necessary for the Apology and Defence of the Faith; and the preaching of Christian doctrine has been essential to the growth of Christian character and the Edification of the Church, yet the primary test of membership in the Church of Christ must be as wide to-day as when the door of faith was first opened, and whatever tends to narrow it or to erect other tests is simply destructive of its Catholicity.

And this is one of the living questions of to-day. Hundreds of men are deterred from identifying themselves with their personal religious duty, because they cannot submit to the fetter of a theological system as a test of

membership, and from the force of early education they cannot conceive of any Church organization without it. To such men the revelation of the Church's position and practice is a boon which no words can adequately describe, and the Church can do no kinder office to the multitude of sincere but dissatisfied men to-day than to assert her own Catholic and Maternal position as a harbor of refuge from speculative doubt and a Divinely appointed home for earnest souls. The clear apprehension of her comprehensive Catholicity would be more impressive to the popular mind than the clearest demonstration of the Apostolic succession.

That there are sectarians in the Church is only too true;—men of narrow thought and bigoted views—but that is the fault of their own mental constitution or the result of early training, and the Church is by no means responsible for it. And there is many a truly Catholic spirit within sectarian organizations, chafed and worried by the friction of speculative views which do not commend themselves to the acceptance of their judgment, though their Catholicity of spirit is not the result of the organization to which they belong, but exists in spite of it. And when multitudes of men are turning away from all religious organizations because of the sectarian tests which have been established and the doctrinal requirements which have erected obstacles in the pathway of their personal duty, while it is certain at the same time that they really do believe the truths embodied in the Œcumenical Creeds of Christendom; and when there is an organization, small in numbers it may be, but venerable in its historic lineage, which has preserved its Catholicity and which will welcome them to its fold on the basis of that Catholic Faith, surely no motives of Churchly modesty and reserve, no instinctive shrinking from what might seem to be a competition with the sects around her, should deter the Church from lifting up her voice and uttering her invitation and asserting her true position. Unwilling as she may be to appear to bid for converts, she yet owes a duty to the people of this sect-ridden and heresy-cursed age and land,—and with all her traditional conservatism and dignified reserve she must remember that there may be circumstances in her history when silence would be a crime.

Further than this, in the inevitable appearance of competition with the mushroom growths of popular Christianity, she is constantly tempted to forget the great Catholic

heritage which is hers and the liberty wherewith Christ hath made her free. Many of her children speak of her as if she were simply "one of the denominations"—and it must be confessed that they find their warrant for the phraseology in the Preface to the Prayer Book itself, in which with an excess of filial devotion, our grateful regards are recorded to the "Mother Church of England for her long continuance of nursing care and protection." But recent years have taught us that Anglican precedents are not necessarily Catholic, that much of our immediate inheritance from a Church, which with all its Catholicity, is yet bound in the grave-clothes of a political establishment, and is enfeebled by much that is insular and narrow and un-catholic in it, is unfavorable to a genuine Catholicity in the missionary work which has been committed to this American Province of the Church Catholic. And by the possession of our Catholic heritage notwithstanding its Anglican limitations we are bound to welcome all earnest souls to the enjoyment of a like precious faith. It is not the liberty of Individual Caprice on essential truths, but the liberty of law. These great fundamental and essential truths can never be compromised. They are embodied in the Creed; evermore the watchword in worship and sacrament, they are embodied and commemorated in the process of the Christian year from Advent to Trinity and give tone and shape to the prayers and praises of the doctrinal half of the Christian year. They are the things which were believed before secondary systems were codified, and which will be believed long after the tyranny of theological tests of Communion has passed away. They are the simple *Credenda* of Christianity, the things which *must* be believed, and which embody for all time and for every people the one great fundamental truth of the Incarnation, whose centre and substance is simply this: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever." This, and not a narrow and fractional system, is the Faith once (for all) delivered to the Saints, and this, and not the shibboleth of a party is the Faith for which we must "earnestly contend."

WM. A. SNIVELY.

AN ETHIOPIAN MANUSCRIPT IN THE ASTOR LIBRARY.

AN Ethiopian manuscript, formerly belonging to the Abyssinian Convent at Jerusalem, has recently been presented to the Astor Library by Mr. Francis H. Delano. Having been intrusted by Mr. F. Saunders, the senior librarian of the Astor Library, to examine that codex, I have found it to present some peculiarities which I will call attention to ; and as Ethiopian literature and Abyssinian matters are not very commonly known, the following notice may perhaps be of some interest.

The Astor Library Manuscript contains the following pieces :

1. The Psalter. 2. A series of Hymns, selected from the books of the Old and New Testaments, and from some of the Apocryphal writings. 3. The Canticles. 4. The so-called "Wedase Maryam," "praises," or "glorifyings" of the virgin Mary, for the seven days of the week, beginning with Monday. 5. A general "Wedase Maryam."

The Manuscript originally did not contain more than these five pieces, and ended with the following prayer :

"O, my Lady Maryam, give peace to the soul of thy servant, Mahatama Krestos, in eternity! Amen."

From this may be concluded that Mahatama Krestos was the first owner of the book, the man for whom, and

This Kenfa Mikaël, in consequence the second owner of the Book, has also put in his name among the lines of the preceding prayer, and written it three times elsewhere in the Book, in different places, always using very bad red ink or a very bad pen. Some efforts were made to erase the name of Mahatama Krestos, probably by the same Kenfa Mikaël.—Later owners have not written their names, perhaps because they could not do so, but in other ways they have added to the contents of the Book. The last leaf has been used for rather primitive exercises in drawing by two Abyssinian religious men, who desired to contribute their opinions about the appearance of an angel. The one thinks an angel consists of a kind of halo with two wings and a human head, while the other considers such a being to look almost like a bald-headed friar in slippers and with wings on his back. The former was able to write, with some difficulty, that his beautiful drawing represents an angel; the latter made some vain efforts to write something, but gave it up.

Finally, one of the last owners of the Book, or some chief of the convent, evidently in this century, has enlarged its contents by adding a long prayer in the Amharic language, with the usual introduction: "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God." This addition begins immediately at the end of the original Manuscript, and fills up the space left open at the end of the Book. The prayer being very long, however, and the last leaf having been occupied by the above mentioned exercises in drawing, the writer was compelled to continue on the first leaves of the book, hitherto left blank. The Book, in that way, literally begins with the end. This Amharic prayer is in every respect, very carelessly written.

In consequence the Manuscript, taken entire, tells a story of general decline inside the Abyssinian Convent in Jerusalem, during the last three centuries. And this agrees very well with that which is known about the Convent.

* * * * *

The Abyssinian Convent at Jerusalem has undoubtedly

ordinary page is the utmost that can be produced by an entire day's steady application. — With this agrees very well the observation of Mr. Wright, that fine manuscripts must have been at all times an expensive luxury in Abyssinia; hence it is that so many of the volumes now in the British Museum were written for kings and queens, either for their own use or as presents to churches which they built and endowed.

been for centuries a flourishing institution, and of great influence on the intellectual life of Abyssinia ; but it has never been an object of general international interest. In my efforts to find some dates to represent its history, its rise and decline, I have not been very successful. The history of the Convent can be traced, it is true, but from a series of glimpses only, from a series of short and scanty notices, with intervals of centuries.

The founding of the Convent must have taken place in the first part of the Fourteenth century, but nothing more exact is known about this event, as unfortunately the annals of Abyssinia for the whole of the Fourteenth century have perished. It is very likely that the appearance of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem gave the first impulse to all those rumors about the mighty "Prester John," which at that time were spread over Europe.*

An Ethiopian manuscript, now at Paris, a translation from the Arabic, contains a notice to the effect that it was executed A.D. 1379 for Tomas, the chief of the Abyssinian convent at Jerusalem, and that this Tomas presented it to the church of Quesquam, in Abyssinia. As just at that time a considerable number of literary works, written by Christians in the Arabic language, were translated into the Ethiopian, we may presume that the Abyssinian friars at Jerusalem had taken an active part in this enlargement of the literature of their country. It is even not unlikely that the whole work of translation from Arabic into Ethiopian was the fruit of the establishment of those Abyssinian friars in the Arabic-speaking "Holy City." It is known, at least, that an Arabic manuscript, brought to Abyssinia in the Twelfth century, remained there untranslated until this time.

Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1432, mentions among the different Christian nations which had their special chapels in the church of the

* By the growth of Mohammedanism the Abyssinian kingdom became completely isolated from the rest of the Christian world, and remained entirely forgotten for six centuries. When, in the beginning of the Fourteenth century, news reached Europe about that Christian country far away to the South of Egypt, the people of those days, fond of tales and fanciful stories, believed that mysterious Christian sovereign to be a marvellous phenomenon in every respect. The French called him "Prestre Jehan" (Prêtre Jean), the English "Prester John," the Italians "Prete Gianni;" and even when the country became better known, that appellation continued for some time to be used as a name for the king of Abyssinia.

Holy Sepulchre, also "the Abyssinians (abécins) from the country of 'Prestre Jehan.'"

In the middle of the Fifteenth century the Abyssinian King, Zara Yaakob, also called Kuastantinos (Constantine), who especially interested himself in Abyssinian convents in foreign lands,* generously endowed the monastery in Jerusalem, and thereby inaugurated its most flourishing period. From this time, if not earlier, date probably most of the buildings of the Convent. As the Church of Abyssinia was a dependant upon the Monophysitic Church of the Copts, so the Convent of the Abyssinians was built close to that of the Copts, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

A manuscript preserved in the Imperial Library at S. Petersburg, gives some information about the state of the Convent a century later, or about 1526. It was, at that time, occupied by twenty-two priests, twenty deacons, thirty-five monks and seventeen nuns.† Its library contained thirty-nine different works, all theological, and some of them in several copies. The Convent possessed four copies of the Pentateuch, four of the Books of the Kings, four of the prophet Habakkuk, and also four of the Concordances. There were three Psalters, two copies of the letters of S. Paul and two of the Catholic letters. While there were two copies of the Books of the Maccabees and of the "History of the Fathers" (of the Church), Isaiah and Job were represented by single copies only. The library contained further some works of Afa Kark ("The Golden Mouth," S. Johannes Khrysostoms) and of Kerlos (S.

* He also founded the Abyssinian monastery at Rome, from which originated the study of Ethiopian literature in Europe. Two centuries later the renowned Ludolph, the first scholar in Ethiopian matters, became acquainted there with the learned friar Abba Gorgoryos (Gregory) who informed him about the Ethiopian language and Abyssinian history.

† The Abyssinian nuns are always old women: no young lady goes into a convent. It often happens, that an old couple, longing for peace, go into a convent together, the husband as a monk, and the wife as a nun.—There are men who are monks from their youth for the sake of cultivating learning; but they do not give up therefore other accomplishments. It has happened, sometimes, that friars have been the most valiant warriors of the Abyssinian army: such was, in the time of King Dawit III. (1508-1540), the friar Endryas (Andrew). When a famous Mohammedan chief, like another Goliath, boldly called for some Abyssinian who dared to fight him in single combat, the friar took up the challenge and made the Mohammedan silent forever.

Kyrills), who are both especially venerated in Abyssinia; then the History of Sancta Barbara, "The Miracles of S. George," and a good many "Religious Struggles" of different persons, of the Martyrs, in three copies, of the Apostles, of Father Aaron, of Father Cyriacus, of Father Antos, of a certain Antiochus, of a certain Nabyud, of Father Yesay, of Gabra Krestos, etc., etc., all in one copy only. And there were other similar books, for the edification of the priests, the monks and the nuns.

A century more passed away. In the year 1616, the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle, — "*Il Pellegrino*," — went from Cairo to Jerusalem with a company of Abyssinian priests. One of them, Tabuta Krestos by name, who became his special friend, presented him with Ethiopian books and taught him to understand and write their characters, "which were about two hundred." The Abyssinian monastery in Jerusalem was evidently at that time still very flourishing. The Abyssinian priests took a prominent part in the services in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they possessed two chapels, a larger one for their particular religious services, and a smaller one, containing the column, whereupon Christ was seated when crowned with thorns. Some twenty years after this visit of Della Valle at Jerusalem, most probably the Astor Library manuscript was written.

Henry Maundrell, in his short description of Jerusalem, A.D. 1697, also mentions the Abyssinian Convent of that city, without special comment, among other convents of Eastern nations. From this may perhaps be concluded that the Convent at that time was in a tolerably good condition, at least in such a state, that its decay was not very apparent.

At the end of the Eighteenth century, however, Bruce, in his description of Abyssinia, in mentioning this Monastery, utters the opinion that at his time there were seldom any Abyssinians in Jerusalem. This statement, though probably somewhat exaggerated, proves at least that the Convent had greatly decayed and had ceased to be an object of importance in the opinion of the Abyssinian people.

All authors of the present century, mentioning the Convent, agree in describing the Abyssinians in it as living in an exceedingly poor and wretched condition. Sepp fixed, some years ago, their number at thirty-eight priests and monks, and about half a dozen nuns. They have ceded

to the Armenians the most of their rights in the Holy Places, and lease out the rooms of the monastery, while they are living themselves in some miserable huts, in a corner of the court.

Putting these fragmentary dates together, we have a kind of commentary on the general appearance of the Astor Library Manuscript.

* * * * *

The Ethiopian is a dead language, like the Latin, and the place it occupies in the life and learning of Abyssinia is exactly the same which the Latin has held in Europe and not yet completely lost. The Ethiopian is the language of the learned and of the Church ; and until the end of the past century it was the only written language in that country, although it had not been spoken for a long time in social life. It therefore is called by the Abyssinians also : "Lesana Metzka," the language of the books.

A great many different languages, or dialects, all originating from the Ethiopian,—as the Italian, the Spanish and the French originated from the Latin,—are spoken in different parts of the country. The Amharic, being the language of the King and the Court, is considered the most fashionable among them, and will probably be commonly employed in writing instead of the Ethiopian, one of the reasons being, that Amharic translations of the Bible have been scattered over the country by foreign missionaries.

Until our day, however, the books of the Bible, as all other religious books, the code of laws, and the annals of history, were accessible to the Abyssinians only in the Ethiopian language. The study of this language therefore must be a fundamental ingredient of all education and public instruction in Abyssinia. The first step in education is to make the children learn to understand some of the Holy Writings in Ethiopian, and to know by heart some of them, especially the Psalms. After that, if they wish to be further instructed, they learn, also by heart, an Ethiopian glossary, which should enable them to write the "language of the books." At this, however, most of them at the present time stop short, says Gobat. While in the principal part of Abyssinia a fifth of the men can read, only a few understand writing.* No grammar is employed at all.—

* As an excuse for the Abyssinians in this matter may be adduced the already mentioned fact, that the Ethiopian language has two hundred and two different characters, for consonants, and vowels,

While examining the Astor Library Manuscript, I labored under the evils of that method of teaching. For there are some letters that were differently pronounced, when the Ethiopian was a spoken language ; but in the Amharic and other idioms used in our day, they have exactly the same value. The writer of the Manuscript, having learned by heart the Ethiopian, and having perhaps written large parts of the book from his own memory, has frequently changed those equally sounding letters and thereby given many words in this codex an appearance somewhat different from the form they present in other codices.

* * * * *

The Psalter, that forms the first part of the original Manuscript of Mahatama Krestos, is in Abyssinia the most important of all books. It is the principal schoolbook, and was still more so during the centuries that have past : a "psalter-boy" in the Abyssinian colloquial meant a school-boy. The first step in learning was to know by heart the whole Psalter, or the "Dawit," as it is called.* The Psalter, in consequence, was so frequently met with, that often in Abyssinia "a Dawit" became the designation for "a book." The Psalter also played a most prominent part in the Church services and in social life.

It is said, that in our day very few Abyssinian ladies are able to read. Some two or three centuries ago every lady of the better families was liberally educated and knew by heart the entire Psalter as well as any man. At the social reunions, and especially at the receptions given by the King, the people used to amuse themselves by reciting or singing the whole Psalter from beginning to end, every one of those present, ladies and gentlemen, and the King himself among the others, taking a part in the performance. Some one of the company commenced with the first hymn, another one followed with the second, and so on in a previously arranged order, until every one of those present had sung a hymn. Then the one who started the first, commenced another and so they continued on until they had passed through the one hundred and fifty

and for every combination of a consonant with a following vowel or diphthong. Thus the word, "Babilon," is written with four characters : Ba-bi-lo-n, the word, "Kuastantinos," with seven : Kua-s-ta-n-ti-no-s.

* This name seems to have been generally used during the Fourth century. Gregory of Nazianzenus, for instance, in one of his poems, also calls the Psalter, "David."

—or rather one hundred and fifty-one—hymns of the “Dawit.” *

This knowledge of the Psalter is employed also on other occasions, of quite a different kind. When, in the year 1543, the Portuguese chief, Cristobal de Gama, had been slain by the Mohammedans, the Abyssinian King Galawdewos (Claudius) ordered an imposing funeral service to be performed in honor of this distinguished warrior. On this occasion a numerous congregation of priests, monks and other clergymen sung the Psalter from beginning to end, after every psalm pronouncing some times, in a solemn tone and with long pauses, the word, Halleluiah.—When the body of a deceased King was conveyed to the grave, the priests also accompanied the procession by singing select hymns from the Psalter, and also on such occasions filling the air with frequent Halleluiahs.

Still another way of making useful that knowledge of the Psalter is related by Gobat. A gentleman who had committed a most terrible crime, to avoid punishment from the civil authorities, took refuge in a monastery. To do penance for his crime, he was ordered by the priests to fast for a whole year† and to repeat two hundred times all the Psalms, during that year. This penance, however, did not please the sinner, in this case, and knowing well the power of money even in religious matters, he asked the priests, if the payment of a suitable amount would not have the same purifying effect. The priests agreed to this proposal and immediately engaged fifty boys to fast, and to repeat the psalms in the presence of the man, who did

* This custom may have been of ancient origin and probably is the cause of some curious remarks by Sir John Maundevile, “Knyght of Ingelond,” about a great man from the neighbourhood of “Prestre John”: “He hathe every day 50 fair Damyseles, alle Maydenes, that serven him everemore at his mete. . . . And whan he is at the Table, thei bryngen him his Mete at every Tyme 5 and 5 to gedre. And bryngynde hire servyse, thei synge a song. . . . And alle weys theise Damyseles, that I spak of befor, synge alle the time, that this riche man etethe” (The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Knyght, A.D. 1322, cap. 31).—The most of the fables, told in this book about “Prestre John” and his country evidently have their origin from misunderstanding the statements of Abyssinians telling about their country. For instance, Maundevile knows the Abyssinian name of God: Amlak (Emlak), but believes it to be the name of a country.

† An Abyssinian faster is permitted to eat fish every day after three o'clock P. M.; but on Saturdays and Sundays he is not restricted in his diet.

not like paying his money for nothing.—Gobat, however, remarks, that those Abyssinians who are better instructed, blame the priests in such cases.

The Abyssinians do not divide the Psalter into five books, as the Hebrews do. Instead of that, they divide the Psalms into fifteen decades, the last of which contains eleven hymns. The end of every decade is in the Astor Library Manuscript indicated by a line of alternately red and black points.

The Psalter was also the first Ethiopian book ever printed. A.D. 1513, a German of Cologne, named Potken, published at Rome the Ethiopian Psalter, believing that singular language to be that of the ancient Chaldeans. Another edition, revised, was published by the renowned Ludolph, A.D. 1701, and has since been reprinted several times.* The Astor Library Manuscript presents in the text a considerable number of differences from the text published by Ludolph. I shall not express any opinion about the importance of this fact, as I am no linguist, and only know languages in so far as I have considered such knowledge necessary for my historical studies. Still, as the Manuscript evidently was written by and for a learned man, the text may be of some importance for a new edition of the Ethiopian Psalter.

Very interesting are, however, the rubrics, or short introductory notices preceding every psalm in the Astor Library Manuscript. They are different from all other rubrics, so far as I am able to judge. They also differ from those preceding each psalm in Ludolph's edition of the Ethiopian Psalter, with the single exception of the introduction to the first psalm, which in both places reads alike: "Distinction between the pious and the impious; psalm of Dawit, Halleluia!" The introductory notices of the Manuscript of Mahatama Krestos are small commentaries on the different psalms, keys to an interpretation of them, similar to the arguments of Eusebius, but very different in their contents.†

Many of the hymns are headed thus: "About the Babylonian exile," (Nos. 5, 114–115, 117–118, 121, 123–132,

*Only such a reprint, without notes and translations, has been accessible to me.

† As is well known, the greater part of the Psalms, in the Hebrew text, and consequently in our Bible, are headed by such short introductions, as, for instance: "Psalm of David, when he was in the desert of Judah," (No. 63). These rubrics are usually very difficult to translate,

134-138, 141-143, 146-147, 149-150); others have only: "About Babylon," (Nos. 26, 40, 43, 51, 63, 71, 88, 93, 101, 106-107, 119), and others only: "About the exile," (Nos. 15, 23, 42, 61, 70, 73, 77, 84, 90, 97, 103, 105, 113). The 25th psalm is headed: "A prophecy about Babylon, etc.;" the 31st psalm is considered also a prophecy (tenbit), about the return from Babylon. The 122d psalm is headed: "When Cyrus (Kiros) ordered the people to return from Babylon," and the 133d of the hymns has a rubric about Zerubbabel.—A great many of the psalms are referred to the reign of Hezekiah (Hezkyas), viz.: Nos. 14, 20-21, 28-29, 32-34, 41, 46, 48, 52-54, 75-76, 86, 91-92, 112, and the latter part of No. 116, verses 10-19, which in the Ethiopian Psalter was considered a separate hymn. Some of these psalms especially refer to the king's recovery from his

because they contain the names of a number of ancient instruments now unknown, as, for instance: "To the master of the nehiloth, psalm of David" (No. 5). "To the master of singing to the sheminith, psalm of David" (No. 6), etc. Quite different are the rubrics of the Septuagint, composed by Ezra, according to the opinion of some early fathers. Many of the psalms, that have no rubric in the Hebrew text, have one in the Septuagint. Some are superscribed: "For the first of the Sabbaths" (No. 24.) "To the day of the Sabbath" (No. 92), etc. Others have headings as: "Against the Assyrian" (No. 76), "Against Goliath" (No. 144). Others refer to incidents in the life of David, as, for example, No. 143: "Psalm of David, when he was persecuted by his son." The question whether the rubrics of the Hebrew text or those of the Septuagint were the authentic ones, was generally discussed during the Fourth and Fifth centuries. Theodoretus favors those of the Septuagint, and they are maintained by nearly all the fathers of that epoch. In Ludolph's edition of the Ethiopian Psalter the rubrics of the Septuagint are also generally retained; some psalms, however, have headings that are not to be found in the Septuagint, as, for instance, that quoted above, of the first psalm. Eusebius composed a third series of headings or arguments to all the psalms, indicating what every one contained of prophecy. For instance, No. 2: "Prophecy about Christ and the calling of the peoples;" No. 46: "The preaching of the Apostles;" No. 68: "The Incarnation of Christ and the calling of the people;" No. 69: "The passion of Christ and the scattering of the Jews;" No. 79: "Prophecy about what happened to Judea under Antiochus, or the history told in the books of the Maccabees," etc. Some few of these arguments, as for instance those of No. 2 and 79, partly agree with those of the Astor Library Manuscript, but generally the two series are very much at variance, as mentioned above. Nearly every prominent theologian of the Fourth and Fifth centuries wrote a large commentary on the psalms, and one of the most eminent among them, Gregorius of Nyssa, wrote a work especially on the rubrics. But neither in this work, nor in the commentaries known to me, have I found any series of arguments similar to those of the Astor Library Manuscript.

severe sickness, as for instance Nos. 21 and 32; others are considered as particularly relating to Sennacherib (Sannakrem) and his attack on Jerusalem, such as Nos. 14, 52-54, 75-76. The 46th psalm is headed: "About Akhaz and Hezekiah;" No. 52 is especially indicated as a prophecy, etc.*

Further a number of the hymns are referred to the Maccabees (Makabyan) and Antiochus (Antyakos) such as Nos. 44-47, 56-60, 62, 69, 74, 79-80, 83, 103-104. Some few are interpreted as "Prophecies about Christ" (Krestos), as Nos. 2, 8, 22, 45, 110. The 67th psalm is attributed to Moses, (Musa) and number 35 to Jeremiah (Ermyas, "lamenting over the great disasters.") The 72d psalm, which in the Hebrew text is indicated as written by Solomon, is in the Astor Library Manuscript headed: "About Solomon." A number of psalms have the heading: "About the greatness of God," (Nos. 65-66, 81, 85, 94-96, 98-100, 102); others open with "Thanksgiving to the Creator, from the creation," etc., (Nos. 19, 104, 148). The 49th psalm is superscribed: "About correcting the priests and the people," the 82d similarly: "Correcting the priests, and the judges, and the elders." And there are often psalms with similar rubrics.—As will be observed, a comparatively small number has been left for David and his time, only the hymns Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 17-18, 36, 38, 53, 64, 82, 120, 139-140, 144. A part of these are especially referred to the time when David fled before Saul (Saal), with headings such as "About Saal" (Nos. 64 and 120), "About Dawit when he fled before Saal" (No. 17), "Tale about the Prince when he lived exiled by Saal" (No. 30), "Prayer of Dawit, when he descended to Get (Gath) to hide himself from Saal" (No. 55), etc. Others are connected with the revolt of Absalom (Abselom), superscribed as for instance: "About Abselom" (No. 3), "Prayer of Dawit when he fled from Abselom" (No. 38), etc. The 22d

* As far as I am aware, no ancient father has referred to Hezekiah the psalms here mentioned. Some other psalms, such as Nos. 24 and 110, were by Jewish theologians referred to Hezekiah, as appears from Justinus Martyr's Dialogue with Tryphon. In another way the name of Ezechiah was connected with the whole Book of Psalms, an old tradition ascribing to him the selection of the 150 psalms out of a number of 300, or 3000. As it was commonly acknowledged, however, that Ezra also had something to do with the selection of the 150 hymns, the names and work of these two excellent men were often confounded (as, for instance, by Niketas and Michael Glykas, the latter quoting the "very learned" Psellus).

psalm is headed: "Prophecy about Krestos, from his sayings when he fled before Absalom," "he" indicating David, of course. Several other hymns are thought to refer to different matters, such as No. 47: "About the victories of the Maccabees and the return from Babylon," No. 61: "About the exile, and about Herkyas (Hezekiah)," No. 68: "About the ark (tabot) and the exile," No. 89: "About Dawit when he descended to crush Babilon." In the reading of the hymn in question the latter singular title must be understood; the psalm is interpreted as a hope from the exiled to see the Lord's promises to David fulfilled.

These headings are interesting as a singular interpretation of the psalms, though scarcely peculiar to the Abyssinians, as their church never has favored any independent views, but always strongly maintained the state of things established at the introduction of Christianity into the country, in the Fourth century. Probably, therefore, these rubrics of the Astor Library Manuscript are the interpretations of some ancient father. With some very few exceptions in the favor of David, not a word is said about the authorship of the single poems.* A number of the psalms are directly designated as "prophecies" (tenbit), such as Nos. 2, 8, 12, 23, 25, 31, 41, 45, 52, 110, and 111; regarding some others, hints are given of an interpretation in a similar way, as for instance No. 47, where the rubric reads: "About the victories of the Maccabees and the return from Babylon," or No. 61, where the heading mentions both the exile and Hezekiah. In regard to the greater part of the hymns, however, it is left entirely to the reader whether he will consider them as written before or after the events indicated in the rubrics.

The numbers used above for the psalms are those found in the Hebrew text and in our English Bibles, but they do not correspond with the numbers of the Ethiopian Psalter. Here the 9th and the 10th psalms of the Hebrew text form together only one hymn; in this way the 11th psalm of

*Some ancient fathers of the church are of the opinion that David is the author of all the psalms, and that the employment of other names, such as that of Asaph, has only a mystical meaning. The Arabian author Masudi seems to be of a similar opinion. He says that God revealed to David the Book of Psalms, in Hebrew, consisting of 150 "surahs." This book David divided into three parts, one part containing prophecies about Nebuchadnezzar, another prophecies concerning the Assyrians, and the third part admonitions, exhortations, and hymns.

our Bible corresponds to the 10th of the Ethiopian Manuscript, and so on, until after the 113th Hebrew, *i. e.* 112th Ethiopian psalm. Then again Nos. 114 and 115, of our Bible, are joined together as one hymn, No. 113, in the Ethiopian Psalter. The following hymn of the Hebrew text, No. 116, in return, is divided into two psalms in the Ethiopian version, Nos. 114 and 115, the former consisting of verses 1-9, with the rubric: "About the Babylonian exile," and the latter of the following verses, with the heading: "About Hezkyas." The previous order being re-established,—the Hebrew text always being a number ahead of the Ethiopian,—is continued until after the 146th psalm of our Bible, the 145th of the Ethiopian. Then the 147th psalm of the Hebrew text is divided again by the Ethiopians into two hymns, Nos. 146 and 147; and in consequence No. 148 of the Hebrew text is also No. 148 of the Ethiopian Psalter. Thus the two texts agree again at the end, as they did in the beginning. Still, after the 150th psalm, the Ethiopian Psalter gives one hymn more, though without any number, at least in the Astor Library Manuscript.

Whether here the Hebrew, or the Ethiopian, text is right, is more difficult to decide, than would be supposed. The Ethiopian text agrees with that of the Septuagint, the translation of the Holy Books of the Hebrews into the Greek language, by order of King Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, in the Third century before Christ. This Greek translation differs in very many respects from the Hebrew text now known, and is supposed to have been executed after another earlier Hebrew edition of those books. Although Josephus (*Contra Ap. I.*, 8.) some four hundred years after the execution of this translation, declares that his countrymen were extremely cautious about altering anything in their holy books, they possibly were not so conscientious some centuries earlier. The Hebrews, after having selected and joined together the books of the Old Testament, most likely were engaged in "purifying" the text for some time afterward, probably as long as the collection of the books was a fact still fresh in their memory and not yet wrapped in the mysterious twilight of ancient times. The Samaritans charged the Hebrews with having tampered with the text of the Pentateuch, a charge that becomes more serious when one considers, that on a great number of points, where the Septuagint differs from the present Hebrew text, it agrees

with the Pentateuch of the Samaritans. And what happened to the Pentateuch, may have happened also to the Psalter.*

The additional psalm mentioned—the one hundred and fifty-first, has in the Astor Library Manuscript the heading: "About the Prince (or the King)," and appears to be a description of David's youth, by himself. It runs as follows :

I was the small one among my brothers,
And the youngest in my father's house,
And I tended my father's sheep ;
And my hands made a harp,
And my fingers played a hymn.

Somebody spoke about it to my Lord.
He is the Lord, and he listened to that word ;
He sent a messenger and gave his orders,
And took me away from my father's sheep,
And anointed me with his holy ointment.
My brothers were fair and tall,
And with them my Lord was not pleased !

And I went out to combat the foreign man,
And he cursed me by his impure gods ;
I deprived him of his sword and cut off his head,
And I took away the oppression from the children of Israel !

This psalm no longer exists in the original Hebrew text. It is to be found, however, in the Septuagint, in a form only in some few points differing from the Ethiopian text of the Astor Library Manuscript, but with another heading : "This is the psalm of David about himself, and [he composed this hymn] exceeding the just number [of psalms in the Psalter] when he fought Goliath."—In Ludolph's edition of the Ethiopian Psalter, this psalm has a line more, the end being as follows :

And I took three stones and threw them against his front and
slew him ;
And further I deprived him of his sword, etc.

The way in which this line is combined with the following one, certainly proves it to be an insertion, but hardly from an Abyssinian initiative. There exists namely an

* This supposition is strengthened very much by the fact, that in the Midrash another Hebrew edition of the Psalter is mentioned, where not only Nos. 9-10, but also Nos. 32-33 and 42-43 are joined together.

Arabian version that besides some other enlargements also contains the line in question. In this case the text of the Astor Library Manuscript seems to be superior to that followed by Ludolph.*

* * * * *

The following section of the manuscript comprises "The Songs (or Hymns) of the Prophets." As above mentioned, it is a series of poetic pieces, selected from different books of the Bible. The pieces are as follows :

1. "Prayer of Moses, from the Exodus." This was the hymn sung by the Israelites after the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 15, 1-19). 2. "Prayer of Moses, from Deuteronomy." 3. "Prayer of Moses, the third." The second and third prayers of Moses are parts of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy. 4. "Prayer of Hanna, the mother of Samuel" (from I Sam. 2, vs. 1-10). 5. "Prayer of Hezekyas, King of Yehuda." This is the prayer of Hezekiah, related by the prophet Isaiah (ch. 38, vr. 10-20). 6. "Prayer of Menase, the prophet"—to be found among the Apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, as the prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah. 7. "Prayer of Yonas, the prophet." From the book of Jonah, II, 3-10. 8. "Prayer of Daniel, the prophet; hymn of Azarya." From the Apocryphal appendix to the third chapter of Daniel, vs. 3-22. 9. "Prayer of the three young men" (literally: the three boys). This is the first part of the prayer of Daniel's three friends, from that Apocryphal appendix to the third chapter of his book, vs. 29-34. 10. "Song of Praise to the Lord, by Ananya and Azarya and Misael." (The second part of the prayer mentioned above, vs. 35-68.) 11. "Prayer of Enbakom, the prophet."†

*David's authorship of this little poem seems to me more difficult to contest than his authorship of most of the psalms ascribed to him in our Bible. That the royal poet in his hymn has glorified himself, and not Jehovah, may have been the reason why it has been excluded by the Hebrews from their holy book. The "Lord" spoken of is evidently Saul, and not Jehovah, as the Ethiopian text seems to hint. In the Septuagint there is said nothing about "holy ointment"; the line reads: "He anointed me with the oil of his ointment." The Arabic version mentioned above, to defend the existence of that psalm among the holy writings, violently puts in the name of God. Instead of "my Lord" it has: "the Lord, my God," and the disputed line at the end reads: "I slew him with three stones in his front, by the grace of God."

†The name is written: Enbakum, in the Alexandrine codex of the Septuagint, and also in the "Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae," attributed

This is the hymn of the prophet Habakkuk, and forms the third chapter of his book. 12. "Prayer of Isayyas, the prophet." (From Isaiah, ch. XXVI, vs. 9-19.) 13. "Prayer of the Lady Maryam." (Mary's prayer from the Gospel of S. Luke, I., vs. 46-55.) 14. "Prayer of Zakaryas, the prophet." (From Luke, I., vs. 68-79.) 15. "Prayer of Simeon, the prophet." (Luke, II., vs. 29-32.)

This little collection of Hebrew poems is always joined to the Ethiopian psalter, as an appendix. The same collection, generally enlarged by the Lord's Prayer, the Nicene Symbol, some hymns of Athanasius or of Macarius, etc., is also generally found appended to the Syriac and Coptic psalters.—It is to be found in the Alexandrine Codex of the Septuagint, and most likely was brought to Abyssinia as early as Christianity itself. In the Septuagint, the number of these prayers is only thirteen, however, Nos. 2-3 and 9-10 of the Astor Library Manuscript not having been divided. A fourteenth hymn, of later origin, follows, the so-called Great Doxology, superscribed "A morning hymn," but better known, I think, by the Latin translation of its first line : *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*.—Commentaries on this collection of hymns, like those on the Psalms, were written by Cyrillus, in the Fourth century. The collection is, therefore, of very ancient origin.

The Falasha or Abyssinian Jews (probably the descendants of those Abyssinians who were not converted to Christianity, in the Fourth century), are said generally not to be aware, that the three prayers at the end of this collection do not strictly belong to their religion. They recite the prayer of Mary with the same fervor as the prayers of Moses and Habakkuk, when they are chanting the Psalter.

* * * * *

After this collection of prayers follows in the Astor Library Manuscript: "The Song of Songs, by Him, by Solomon." This title already bears witness to the high position occupied by the wise King in the opinion of the Abyssinians. But they venerate him not only as a wise man and a great author ; they more particularly venerate him as the ancestor of their Kings. Menyelek, the son of Solomon and the queen of Sheba, having been educated at Jerusalem, went back to his mother's country after Solomon had grown old or had died. A number of young men,

to Athanasius. The Synopsis also mentions an apocryphal book of Habakkuk, or Ambakum.

of the best Hebrew families, are said to have followed the prince, among others a son of the high-priest Zadok, Azarya by name, and a grand-son of Nathan, the prophet. They carried with them the Psalter,* the Pentateuch, some books containing the laws and statutes of the Kingdom, and the Ceremonies of Coronation—a gift from Solomon to his son. They also carried away from Jerusalem the Ark of the Covenant containing the Ten Commandments.†—So the Abyssinians believe. And they also believe that Sheba was situated in Ethiopia, and that down to our times descendants of this Menyelek, the son of Solomon, have occupied the throne of Abyssinia. The Ark of the Covenant, the “Tabot,” as they call it, is said to still exist, in the church of Axum, the ancient capital of the country. In every other church, in a separate Sanctum Sanctorum, is preserved a copy of the ark, as a visible representation of the Deity (or, if Mr. Harris is right, of the Saint to whom the church in question is consecrated).

Concerning the “Song of Songs,” the Abyssinians plainly consider it a series of lyrical poems, composed by Solomon, to celebrate his love for the daughter of the King of Egypt. Although these poems are held in great veneration by the Abyssinians, for the sake of their author and of their poetical beauty, still they do not consider them as safe reading for ladies and young men. Only old priests are permitted to read the Song of Songs; all others are forbidden to read it. Therefore the presence of the Canticles in the Astor Library Manuscript is a sure proof, that it was executed for and by an old clergyman.

* * * * *

The “Wedase Maryam” is, if not the most important,

* That the whole Psalter should have been brought to Abyssinia in the time of Solomon, is, of course, a fable, as a great part of the psalms evidently are of a more recent date; but it is by no means impossible, that the Abyssinians were acquainted with the Hebrew Psalter in its original text during the time they professed the Jewish religion. Certainly the Ethiopian Psalter shows such an affinity to the Septuagint, that this Greek version undoubtedly was chiefly instrumental in giving it the final form. But on the other hand, many words and expressions so closely resemble those of the Hebrew text, that it seems more than probable that the Abyssinians in earlier days knew at least some of the psalms in the original Hebrew.

† It may be that some real event is at the foundation of that story. At least, from the time of Solomon, the Ark of the Covenant no longer plays any prominent part in the life of the Israelitic people.

at least the most popular part of the Abyssinian liturgy ; and generally it is to be found in the same manuscripts with the Psalter. The Abyssinians are of the opinion, that sinning mortals are unworthy to appear in the presence of God,* and need the intercession of the saints. The first among the saints and the chief intercessor for mankind is the Virgin Mary (Maryam), to whom they therefore address their prayers and praises. They also have a "Wedase Amlak," praises to God, but they are by far not so commonly used as the "Wedase Maryam" contained in the Astor Library Manuscript.

These prayers are learned by heart as well as the Psalter, and known by every Christian Abyssinian who knows anything at all. They are praises to the Virgin Mary, for every day in the week. The first of them is headed : "Wedase (praise) of the second" (day, viz. Monday); then follows : Wedase for the third, fourth, fifth, sixth (day), then : "Wedase for the ancient Sabbath" (viz. Saturday), and "Wedase for the Sabbath of the Christians, the Holy Day" (viz. Sunday).—The contents of these pieces are of very little interest ; they are praises of the Virgin Mary, as intended to be, but nothing else. A few phrases will give an idea of their whole character. The Wedase for Tuesday commences : "The crown of our glory, and the source of our salvation, and the foundation of our sanctification are all in the Virgin Mary, who bore us the Lord, the Word made Man, that we might be saved," etc. The following Wedase, for Wednesday, reads : "The whole host of Heaven are saying : Blessed art thou, the second heaven, the door to the light rising over the orbit of the earth ! O Virgin Mary, immaculate is thy conception and holy thy Bridegroom, etc."—On Fridays is to be prayed : "Blessed be thou among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb, O Mary, immaculate mother of God !" The word : "Maryam" is always written in red ink.

As before remarked, these seven prayers are followed by another general "Wedase Maryam," which in the Astor Library Manuscript commences with a larger introduction than in other manuscripts. This introduction was probably

*In accordance with this, their churches, like the temple of the Hebrews, have a compartment (containing the ark), not accessible for common people, but for the priests alone, who are supposed not to commit as many sins as other mortals.

composed by Mahatama Krestos himself. It reads: "In the name of the Holy Father who has chosen Mary, and in the name of the Holy Son who was made man through Maryam, and in the name of the Holy Ghost who has sanctified Maryam: one perfect God—this praise in eternity, Amen! This praise I wrote, remembering the Saviour who opened for me the way to the light; may his blessing be likewise over my work! Amen!" Then follows the text of the Wedase itself, similar to that of the others, perhaps still more laudatory: "Holy and blissful, praised, blessed, glorious, exalted, the gate of Light, the stair to Life, the abode of the Deity, the Saint of the Saints art thou, our Mistress, etc."

These small fragments of the "Wedase Maryam" are also sufficient to give us an idea of the Christianity of the Abyssinians. Their Monophysitic opinions make them always assert particularly that God is *one*, notwithstanding they accepted the Trinity at their conversion and believe in this dogma. Not admitting the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, they believe him to be God, the one and only, having assumed the shape of a man. Hence they call Mary "the second heaven," because the Deity, elsewhere believed to reign in heaven, has also resided in her; and for the same reason she is called "the abode of the Deity" and "Mother of God."—The heading "Wedase for the ancient Sabbath" recalls another peculiarity of Christian life in Abyssinia, the observance even now of some doctrines of the Hebrew religion, to which the Abyssinians adhered before they were converted to Christianity, in the Fourth century. The ancient Sabbath, the Saturday, is still considered a kind of holiday. "The ox and the ass are at rest. Agricultural pursuits are suspended. Household avocations must be laid aside, and the spirit of idleness reigns throughout the country" (Harris). Another remnant of the Hebrew religion, the worship of the Ark, is before mentioned; a third is the custom of Circumcision, even now constantly maintained. Still, there is something of national pride in their retaining of Hebrew rites; the kings are still the descendants of Solomon, their motto is still "Victorious is the Lion of the tribe of Judah!" and in the ceremonies of coronation their title includes the appellation "King of Israel." When the Jesuits had arrived in Abyssinia, under King Galawdewos (Claudius, 1540-1550), they tried to abolish these Jewish rites and

sent a communication to the king concerning the matter. The king, however, wrote himself a repudiation of that treatise, here, as everywhere in religious questions, by logical reasoning and sincerity in opinion defeating in every point his adversaries to such a degree, that no further attempts in that direction were made.

This King Galawdewos is worthy to be named as a model in the way of defending an established religion against the attacks of reformers. When he heard the news of the arrival of those Roman Catholic priests, he was not very much pleased with their visit, but he resolved in his good-hearted way that, "These people have made a long and difficult voyage to come here; they ought to be well received and cared for." He sent men to receive them with all honor and permitted them to preach as they liked; but at the same time he asked his own clergy to take up the contest with the foreigners. Disagreeably surprised at the inferiority in knowledge and logic shown on this occasion by the Abyssinian priests, the king himself took up the matter, and so fervently and logically defended his creed, that the missionaries were beaten on every point; and were unable to succeed in their mission during the reign of Galawdewos. By the force of reasoning alone, he struggled against his adversaries, and never abused his power as a king; during the disputes he most ardently defended his own opinions, but when the dispute was finished, he never forgot to give his antagonists some proof that he esteemed them personally and entertained friendly feelings toward them. He liked to have them in his company, and talked with them in the most friendly way about other matters, and favored them on every other occasion. This Abyssinian king seems to have had the excellent faculty of discerning between persons and opinions, a perfection which many prominent men of very civilized nations of our very enlightened century have not at all attained.

Returning to the "Wedase Maryam," theologians will observe, that very similar prayers or praises were composed by Ephraim the Syrian. The Ethiopian praises differ from those of Ephraim in words only, the spirit and general form being exactly the same in both.* And

* The following may give an idea of Ephraim's "Prayers to the Mother of God" (sufficiently Monophysitic, as will be observed):

"O Virgin, my Lady, immaculate Mother of God, my mistress entirely glorious, most possibly gracious toward me, more exalted than the heavens, much purer than the splendors, the beams and the light of

as these prayers of the Abyssinians of our day agree with the prayers of the whole of Christendom of the Fourth and Fifth centuries, so does also the extensive use of the Psalter agree with the spirit of those early times of Christianity, when the Book of Psalms was so very much employed and commented upon. In the same way, the religious questions discussed by pious people of present Abyssinia, are exactly the same as were commonly discussed in Christianity during the period just mentioned. And the theological standards of present Abyssinia are exactly the same as were those of the whole Christian church during the period from about A.D. 330, when the Abyssinians became Christians, until A.D. 451, when the Chalcedonian council separated the Monophysites, and thereby also the Abyssinian church, from the great body of the Christian church. The Monophysites were the Conservatives, on that occasion, and they have remained conservative ever since. In short, the Abyssinians and their Christianity is as a remnant of those early times, preserved nearly unaltered to our day.

Everybody knows the tales about that gallant youth, who penetrated to the garden or island of a fairy, and lived there for a day. Such it seemed to himself, but that day was a thousand years, and when he came back among people, all looked strange to him, everything had altered, and he himself seemed to others still more strange than they to him. Such is exactly the fate and the present condition of the Abyssinian people.

* * * * *

The Manuscript, presented to New York by Mr. Delano, is probably the first Ethiopian manuscript that has ever crossed the Atlantic. There are more Ethiopian manu-

the Sun, more honored than the Cherubim, and overshadowing the entire host of heavenly beings! Most glorious art thou, the delight of the Apostles, the standard of the Martyrs, the enjoyment of the Saints, the light of the ascetics, the altar of gold, the lantern spreading light, the cup containing the heavenly manna, the true Ark, the divine law, the bush unhurt by burning, the room without limits, the germinating branch of Aaron! As a branch really thou appearest, and thy flower was thy son, Christ, in truth our God and my Creator! A virgin before thy confinement, and a virgin after thy confinement, thou bore after the flesh, God and the Word, and we were reconciled to God, Christ, thy son!" And so on in the same way. The whole prayer is five or six times as long as the first part quoted here, bearing witness of the author's most astounding faculty for inventing epithets to the glorification of the Virgin.

scripts at Jerusalem and in Abyssinia, and there are always Americans travelling abroad. There are Irish manuscripts of the greatest interest hidden in private possessions ; and there are manuscripts of the highest literary value to be found in Morocco, in Asia Minor and in Turkistan, in Persia, India, Burmah, Siam, Anam, China and Japan. Mr. Delano has shown the right way to raise the Astor Library to an institution like the great libraries of London, Paris, Leyden, etc., which are the pride of the nations owning them, and of the cities in which they are contained. The Astors have probably done more for the institution bearing their name than any single man or single family ever has done for any public library ; but libraries like those named above cannot be established by a single family or a single man, even at an enormous outlay of money. They are the work of a whole nation, the monuments of true patriotism. When every American, rich or poor, travelling in foreign lands, will bear in his mind, that he ought to contribute something to the public institutions of his own country on his return—when every American will perceive that it is more praiseworthy to contribute something to the advancement of Science and Art, than to hide away, as curiosities, in private houses, objects of general interest — then will libraries and museums in America be able to compete with those of Europe.

L. LUND.



WOMAN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH.

ALL GENERATIONS SHALL CALL ME BLESSED. These prophetic words, limitless in their application, marvelous in their pregnant power, strike the keynote of the position of woman under the Christian Dispensation. High as was the honor bestowed on her who spoke them, honor greater than ever before or since was vouchsafed to any human being, nevertheless we should most grievously narrow their glorious significance, if we confined them to the great and inexpressible dignity conferred on Mary the Virgin.

Scripture, ever instructive by its silence as well as by its words, has, with Divine foresight, guarded against any such error, the modesty and reserve of the lowly maiden are respected in its sacred pages. We are therein led to observe that she was an instrument in the hands of Providence for a great and eternal purpose, and that she and we have the same object of adoration, the Incarnate Son.

It is possible also to dwarf, and as it were to starve a truth, and one of the effects of Mariolatry is to impair in men's minds the value of the Atonement. The human intellect can scarcely grasp the whole of a truth, and the sensuous and really material view, which exalts the Mother of the Lord into a mediatrix, which clothes her with attri-

butes, and crowns her with honors, which, were she on earth, she would repudiate with horror, is surely a complete perversion of the true honor bestowed in and through her upon womankind.

Contrast the words which head my paper with the benediction pronounced on Jael of old by Deborah the Prophetess. Whatever be our estimate of the particular act, whether we regard her as an executioner employed by the Almighty to inflict a signal and terrible penalty on the cruel and idolatrous Canaanites through their licentious chief, or as breathing the sanguinary treacherous and vindictive spirit of the day, matters little to our present enquiry. She was to be held in renown by the fierce warriors of her tribe, the women of the tent were to sing a pæan of triumph in her praise, because she an Arab woman had slaughtered Israel's bitterest foe, and thereby demoralized his army. But Mary was to be counted blessed, because she gave birth to the Saviour of the world, the Prince of Peace. Eve the first woman brought sin into the world; Mary the second Eve brought forth of her substance the second Adam, who was to save His people from their sins.

Truly she and womankind in general have been saved through the *childbearing, the birth of the Blessed Saviour. That Incarnation restored woman to her proper place in God's counsels. Woman was first in the transgression, and as far as this world is concerned has suffered from the Fall more than man. Among savage nations she has been the drudge to minister to man's idleness and the victim of his lust. In conditions of higher surface-civilization she has been too often the mere puppet of his fancy, the mere sport of his passions. In Ancient Republican Rome her position was more respected, and her admirable influence more appreciated than in intellectual Greece or luxurious Egypt. Here and there at different periods the exceptional gifts of some remarkable woman placed her on a pinnacle above her contemporaries. But it was one of the results of Christianity to show forth generally woman's worth and woman's work in the Divine economy for man's restoration. Reverence for woman was one of the necessary effects of Christianity. This beautiful sentiment gave life and temporary reality to that romantic dream of mediæval ages, chivalry. This sentiment imparts dignity and pathos to Cervantes' immortal work, which to a hasty reader may per-

* I Tim. II, 15. Revised Edition New Test.

haps seem but a farrago of absurdity. It is this sentiment which, under God, has helped to make Christian marriage what it is, and has called into existence that perfect realization of earthly happiness, that most blessed centre of healthy holy influences, the pure Christian home. All generations in good truth shall call woman blessed, because the Desire, the Healer of all nations, was born of a woman.

And we can plainly notice in Scripture how soon woman's regeneration began to work.

The delicately touched nature, the fine instinct, the noble impulse of women appreciated the Saviour's sanctity more fully than did His immediate male followers. Women were drawn to him by irresistible attraction. Their allegiance was steadier, and their faith and self-devotion gave them supernatural courage. They were last at the Cross and first at the Sepulchre. Careful study of the original demonstrates to all appearance that there were two distinct bands of ministering women anxious to perform the last offices of love to the Crucified Master. In the appearance of the risen Lord to Mary Magdalene* we have, as it were, the triumphant proof of woman's restoration, socially and spiritually. To her, a penitent, not to Peter or John, did the Lord grant first of all His followers an undoubted vision of Himself incorruptible, undying. Nay, she became the authorized herald of this stupendous verity. Christ said, "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father." Thus, to use another's words, "The first minister our risen Lord employed was a woman, and the first note in the hymn of man's completed redemption was struck by a woman." Nought can exceed the exquisite pathos of that narrative. It, in connection with the fact of the Incarnation, places woman in her true light, and helped to lay the foundation of her position and her work in the Church.

In His teaching as preserved in the Gospels, the Saviour gave men general principles of action. In the Gospels also, and I may add in early Christian records, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, we read of the existence of things and realities rather than names. In the Mary, in Joanna, Salome, Martha, in the Gospels, as also Dorcas in the Acts of the Apostles, we note the germ of the Deaconess and female Church worker of later times. As we look onwards through the vista of Ancient Church

* S. John XX. pp. 14-18.

History, we observe how multiform were the avocations of women in the Church, and how thoroughly and gratefully their assistance was recognized by the Apostle Paul. He seems to be roused to special enthusiasm when he alludes to them. We had Phebe the servant of the Church at Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, of whom more anon. The very expression "Servant of the Church," though a somewhat inaccurate rendering of the Greek, speaking technically, yet gives a clue to the relation in which the Deaconess stood and should stand to the Church. Her duties, as we shall see, were various. Then we read of Priscilla, that prominent figure of the Apostolic age, seemingly even more distinguished than her husband, conspicuous as an educationist, and combining masculine undauntedness with feminine self-devotion. It is also probable that Chloe, of whom we read in I. Cor. I, 2, may have had an official position in the Church at Corinth. We have also Lydia, a member, we may presume, of a guild of dyers in Thyatira, finding the pearl of great price through the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and later, in all probability doing mission work in her own city, carrying thither not only the earthly produce of her sales in Philippi, but the true riches also, even the knowledge of God in Christ. Then we have allusion to those Christian women, whose duties seem to have been more general, and who either ministered to the bodily needs of S. Paul and of his companions, or who may have had a share in the work of instruction. Such were* "those women which labored with me in the Gospel, Mary who bestowed much labor on us, Tryphena and Tryphosa (names indicative perchance of a heinous course of evil pleasure) who labor in the Lord, the beloved Persis, which labored much in the Lord." And here it is well for us to distinguish as carefully as possible between the Apostolic Deaconess and the widow in the first century. The former was emphatically a worker. The office was one of Apostolic appointment, as indeed all are now agreed, and the title is identically the same with that of the Deacon, viz., *Diakonos*. The form *Diaconissa* is of later date. In the I. Epistle to Timothy III. chapter, after a brief description of the Bishop† and the Deacon, we read in the 11th verse "Even

* Rom. XVI. *Passim*.

† The title Bishop here Presbyter or Elder, in other words the Second of the Ministry in Apostolic times.

so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things." The word "their" has no place in the original, and was probably inserted from a misconception of the text. The interpretation "wives" was unknown to the early Church, and the only two current explanations were to the effect that the word meant women in general, or Deaconesses. Wycliffe has translated it "women," and the Vulgate has "mulieres." The revised edition of the New Testament has "women in like manner," which is an improvement on the authorized version. Chrysostom, who probably was more familiar with the working of the female Diaconate in early times than any of the Fathers, affirms without hesitation, that by the term "women" is meant female Deacons, i.e., Deaconesses. If this be correct, their position in the Chapter is at once intelligible and appropriate. If they be only the wives of the Deacons, the omission of all needful qualities in the wives of Bishops is well nigh incomprehensible.

Further it is, or should be, patent to all students, that the Deacon of the XIX century by no means exactly corresponds to his prototype in the primitive Church. Assuming that the Seven were the original members of the order, a conclusion not accepted by all scholars, it is certain that the ancient Diaconate was more of a secular office. It has been inferred (Bib. Dict.) that the Seven were not Deacons, in the later sense, but commissioners who were to superintend those that did the work of Deacons. It has been thought by some that the young men of Acts V 6-10 were persons occupying an official position, and that they corresponded to the Deacons of Phil. I, I, and I. Tim. III, 8. Its holder had to serve tables, in other words to provide for the bodily needs of the faithful poor. He was allowed to baptize, to take part in the administration of the Holy Communion, to lead the devotions of the Congregation, and to assist in providing accommodation for the believers of his own sex. The Deacon was also allowed to preach if specially licensed thereto by the Bishop. On the other hand the modern Diaconate is practically but a stepping stone to the Priesthood. There is reason to believe that at the English Reformation it was in contemplation to continue the minor orders. This idea was, as we all know, not carried into effect. The majority of Clergy now remain Deacons only for one year. During that interval they are empowered to perform all ministerial functions, appertaining to the second order of the Ministry,

except the Consecration of the Elements in the Holy Communion and the pronouncing the Absolution. The liberty to preach is not considered to be inherent in their Ministerial office, and they require the license of their Diocesan, but as a matter of fact it is certain that the permission is very seldom refused. As a result "*plectuntur Achivi*," which freely translated—the Congregations sometimes suffer. I am personally disposed to believe that the modern Deacon is a legitimate descendant of the original Seven, though it may be conceivable that the peculiar circumstances of the Church in Jerusalem called for the appointment of special officers, or at all events, for special functions on the part of certain officers. Be that as it may, there can scarcely be a doubt that the duties of the modern Deacon are more exclusively spiritual than those of his predecessor in ancient times. Many Churchmen in England acknowledge the great need of a permanent Lay Diaconate. The free action of the Church in England is somewhat hampered by its connection with the State, and if a Lay Diaconate were instituted it must be by the Bishops, in conference with their Clergy and Laity, taking courage to inaugurate an office which would have no legal existence. I cannot see that the obstacles are so very formidable. The English Convocation in session in 1866 advised the restoration of the ancient office of Reader, and the Arch-bishops and Bishops assented, and I believe prepared a Form of Admission. This is a step in the direction of the Lay Diaconate. The office of Reader is of great antiquity and a form of admission is extant which was authorized by the Council of Carthage A.D. 398.

The Colonial Churches, and the great Church in the United States labor under no State-created impediments.

The Scotch Episcopal Church passed a Canon for the formal institution of the Office of Lay Reader in 1863. The office is I am told in existence in the Australian Church, and the Provincial Synod of the Canadian Church at its last session in 1880 passed two Canons, one relating to the due licensing of Lay Readers, and the other to meet the need of a permanent Diaconate. I append the letter.

This Canon was passed by both Houses, and is now the law of the Church.

"A Deacon need not surrender his worldly calling or business (said calling being approved by the Bishop) unless he be a candidate for the office of a Priest, and he shall not be admitted to the Priesthood till he shall have passed

a satisfactory examination in Latin and Greek, and have further complied with such other requirements as the Bishop of each Diocese may impose.

Every Deacon who shall, from necessity, be placed in charge of a parish or mission shall be under the direction of a neighboring Priest, until he be advanced to the Priesthood."

The American Church has already a Canon on Lay Readers, to which some amendments were proposed at the last General Convention. That important Church seems to have as yet made no move in the direction of a permanent Diaconate, but by admitting candidates to the Order at the age of twenty-one, makes the interval between it and the higher Order as a rule three years instead of one.

It is truly satisfactory to observe the change of feeling with respect to lay help generally on the part of the Clergy of the present day. Fifty years ago lay co-operation was regarded with suspicious jealousy, and yet the very Canons of the Anglican Church realize active Church duties for Laity. The natural consequence of this jealousy was that some earnest minded laymen despairing of work being given them by the authorities of their own Church, forsook her fold for the ranks of dissent.

I have spoken somewhat lengthily on the subject of Deacons, because by remembering what were their functions in primitive ages, we can more easily understand the office and duties of the Deaconess, which were very similar. The Deaconess, in ancient times, was permitted to baptize female proselytes, to visit the poor and the sick, to act as doorkeeper of the church fabric, to provide accommodations for female worshippers, and to carry messages, letters, etc.

Phebe the Deaconess, was intrusted with the responsible task of conveying to the Roman Christians the Epistle which we now possess, and which was written from Corinth. The Apostle therein* speaks of her in the following eulogistic terms: "I commend unto you Phebe our sister, who is a servant (deaconess) of the church that is at Cenchrea; that ye receive her in the Lord worthily of the Saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever matter she may have need of you; for she herself also hath been a succorer of many, and of mine own self." Surely a volume of interesting intelligence as to woman's work in the Apostolic Church is comprised in these few words.

* Romans XVI., 1, 2. Revised Edit.

A Deaconess as we can gather from very early records received both ordination and mission at the hands of a Bishop. A beautiful form of ordination, attributed to the Apostle Bartholomew exists in the Apostolic Constitutions. Other forms are also extant.

The Ecclesiastical widow seems to have been a person without family ties, and family duties, or means of support. The first hint at the existence of any such class is in Acts VI, 1, where we have mention of the Hellenistic widows. But these need not have been a distinct body, and care for those who had been bereft of their husbands would be one of the first fruits of Christ's religion.

It is possible that the term had a larger signification even in the days of the Apostles than that of a woman who had lost her husband. But at all events, she received no ordination or mission, and hers was a condition of life rather than a sphere of Christian labor. The age at which in Apostolic times she was permitted to rank among the Church widows, viz., 60 years was far too advanced a time of life for the discharge of the active duties which devolved upon a Deaconess in the East. It appears probable that the widow had in some cases been a Deaconess in her younger days, and that having in her time of health and strength devoted herself to various phases of Church work, she in her declining years was supported, and her latter days soothed and comforted by the ministrations of religion. So beautiful and fitting a recompense must commend itself to every mind; it breathes the spirit of the purest Christianity. Such an arrangement is a feature of the system pursued at Kaiserswerth. It helps to explain S. Paul's words * "Honor widows that are widows indeed;" which, more accurately translated, would mean not honor abstractedly but show regard for by liberal treatment, and thus give material proof of respect; also in the same chapter "let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor," which perhaps signifies strictly double remuneration, double pay.

It is fair however to state that in the Western Church, the Church Widow was eventually merged into the Deaconess, and that very considerable confusion and misunderstanding with respect to the two classes have prevailed in consequence. Bingham is by no means clear on this subject. Again, as regards Virgins, without entering

* I. Tim. V, 3-17.

needlessly into controversy upon the interpretation of a portion of I. Cor. VII, it may be remarked that Virgins were most likely not an *order* of the Primitive Church. They received no authority from Episcopal hands, but it is easy to understand that those who were deprived of their parents would most likely become dependent on the Church for their maintenance, and might probably be employed in active duties, if health and physical power admitted. These also have at times been confounded with deaconesses and widows although originally they were quite distinct from both.

Once more, there was a class of women who seem to have acted as personal attendants to the early teacher of Christianity, and who are apparently alluded to in I. Cor. IX, 5. In the Authorized Version we read, "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles," etc. The Revised Edition has, "Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer," etc. (margin, a sister). It is, to say the least, probable that we may render the passage, "Have we not power to lead about a sister, woman," one that is, who being a Christian, would minister to the Apostle, as did holy and devoted women to the Saviour. Such as we know, was an ancient interpretation of these words. If S. Paul meant this, he here maintains his right, while presumably for wise reasons he refrains from exercising it. And indeed the objections to such a proceeding became so notorious and the evils connected with it so scandalous, that it was openly denounced by Ecclesiastical authorities.

I desire then to distinguish the order of the female Diaconate from other religious conditions among women in early Church History. I lay stress on the order itself, because it seems the most thorough development of woman's work, the most Scriptural, the least open to objection, and the most easily adaptable to the needs of the present day.

I should become wearisome and prolix, if I entered with any detail into the modifications and variations of Ecclesiastical thought on this subject. Those who desire to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with its history should peruse carefully Dean Howson's work on Deaconesses, and Mr. J. M. Ludlow's "Woman's work in the Church." The Apostolic Constitutions* treat of them, and

* These enjoin that she should be a virgin or a widow once married,

Pliny in his celebrated letter to Trajan touching the early believers speaks of "ancillie qua ministra dicebantur;" the "ministra" being evidently the Latin rendering of Diaconus. They were not exempt from the persecution which at intervals assailed the Primitive Church, and in fact they were among the first to suffer. The Order continued in the Eastern Church far longer than in the West. In the former part of Christendom, the Order had reached the height of its influence during the latter part of the IV. and the first half of the V. Centuries, and it lasted till the XII. Century. In the West it was generally disused about the V. Century, and ceased to exist a century later. It lingered later in Gaul than in the rest of Europe, but Gaul bore the traces of Eastern religious influence. In the West, the distinction between the Deaconess and the Widow was soon obliterated, and the gradual advance in the claims and power of the Priesthood tended eventually to swamp all but the Monastic and Conventual Orders. The Church Virgin was merged in the Nun, the gradual enforcement of the vow of celibacy and the growth of Monasticism of necessity extinguished the female Diaconate, so that at the Reformation it had passed away. At the same time there were kindred institutions some of which were of a very interesting and important character. Among these were the Béguines, literally the praying women. As early as the X. century there existed in Germany and Belgium communities of widows and unmarried women, who, unfettered by vows, and without renouncing the business of this life, devoted themselves in a great degree to labor, meditation and prayer. These however were not ordained. They did not baptize, and their duties were of a general kind, answering in some measure to our modern District Visitors, but in many respects they were practically equivalent to Deaconesses. According to Mosheim a large number of the Béguines in Germany embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. Also in the South of Europe, as a parallel to the Béguines in the North, we find the Institution of the Tertiaries, or third rule regulars of the Order of S. Francis, while I can only name *en passant* the Alexian Sisterhoods, the nuns of the third Order founded by Eliz-

for the obvious reason that family cares would interfere with her labors as Deaconess. By the Council of Chalcedon it was ordered that a Deaconess should not be less than forty years old.

abeth of Hungary, the Hospitallers, Ursulines, Augustinians, etc. These, and many other bodies established either for educational work, moral reformation or physical relief, deserve our admiration, when they attained these great and laudable objects, although there may and must be features in their system to which we shall take exception. They exemplify the natural tendency of human beings to associate for purposes of good, and they are proofs of a want felt by the Mediæval Church, not only of woman's work, but of work which, while it was methodical, and subordinated to authority, was yet somewhat elastic in character, and therefore hardly in keeping with the rigid Ecclesiastical system of the age.

The Béguines do not appear to have been looked upon with much sympathy and favor by their ecclesiastical superiors. Their comparative independence and freedom of action probably begat suspicion, and with a few exceptions they were gradually absorbed into Monasticism. Those of us, however, who have traveled in Belgium must have visited its Béguinages with no common interest.

The *Sœur de charité* must of course, not be omitted from our record. These are generally connected with the name of that truly large-hearted Christian man, S. Vincent de Paul, in the XVII. Century. Their institution is a clear evidence that the female Diaconate was now a thing of the past, and an equally plain evidence of the absolute need of enlisting, the organized service of women for practical church work. Admirable was the work done, and it has brought forth fruit in later days. At first the vow was simple, and was renewable from year to year. And surely as charity which takes some definite form expands and increases, the obligation which takes the form of a vow generally becomes less stringent.

These various organizations confirm indirectly the value of the female Diaconate. Its enduring nature was certainly remarkable, and is a notable fact when we consider the powerful counter-influences which finally to all appearance extinguished its life. But "*natura expelles furca, semper usque recurret.*" It is truly natural. It can claim Scriptural authority and Apostolic usage. These commend it to our most respectful consideration. Also its spirit is really Catholic, and it has been revived with great success in Germany, and exists in France, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Every one has heard of the great Institution at Kaisers-

werth in Germany, which first attracted the general notice of English-speaking people at the time of the Crimean war. It is pleasant to know that Pastor Fliedner, whose work in conjunction with his wife and a female friend resulted in the great Institution at Kaiserswerth acknowledges that he received his first impulse towards the reformation of erring women from Mrs. Fry. And as one good action reacts on another, it is said that Mrs. Fry after witnessing the working of the Kaiserswerth Hospital, was moved to set up the Institution for Nursing Sisters in London which, I believe, is still in existence. The Paris Deaconesses' Institute next followed in 1841, that of Strasburg in 1842, that of Echelles in Switzerland in 1843.

There are other similar establishments at Dresden and Berlin, as well as many offshoots from the parent Society. Space and time would fail if I attempted to describe this excellent institution, or enumerate its many works of mercy and good. Suffice it to say that its theory and system are entirely devoid of anything objectionable in the eyes of any member of a Reformed Church, and that it must command our sincere admiration. In England there are kindred institutions whose existence is partly due to Miss Nightingale's noble efforts and partly to the example set by the work at Kaiserswerth. The Mildmay Deaconess' Home in England was founded in 1860. It has greatly increased, and has sent offshoots to Scotland, Ireland, India and Australia. Dean Howson has been the great champion of the movement. Also it is important to observe that the Church of England, slow to move as a rule, (owing to the inborn conservatism of the nation and to its position as an Establishment and as interwoven with the State) has nevertheless in a measure taken the lead in the movement by the formation of a Canon respecting Deaconesses. It is true that this Canon possesses no legal authority, having not received the sanction of any Act of Parliament. Neither is it invested with even ecclesiastical authority in the fullest sense, inasmuch as it has not been ratified by Convocation, which at present, is the only representative body of the Church in England, and is in more ways than one a very imperfect representative of so important a branch of the Church. But nevertheless the Canon in question must needs carry with it much weight in the eyes of English Churchmen, and will also receive the respect of all Churches that are in communion with that venerable body. It received the imprimatur of the two Archbishops and more than two-thirds of the Episcopate.

DEACONESSSES IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Principles and rules suggested for adoption in the Church of England.

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

(a) Definition of a Deaconess.

A Deaconess is a woman set apart by a Bishop, under that title, for service in the Church.

(b) Relation of a Deaconess to a Bishop.

(1) No Deaconess, or Deaconess' Institution, shall officially accept or resign work in a Diocese without the express authority of the Bishop of that Diocese, which authority may at any time be withdrawn.

(2) A Deaconess shall be at liberty to resign her commission as Deaconess, or may be deprived of it by the Bishop of the Diocese in which she is working.

(c) Relation of a Deaconess to an Incumbent.

No Deaconess shall officially accept work in a Parish (except it be in some non-parochial position, as in a hospital or the like.) without the express authority of the Incumbent of the Parish, which authority may at any time be withdrawn.

(d) Relation of a Deaconess to a Deaconess' Institution.

In all matters not connected with the parochial or other system under which she is summoned to work, a Deaconess may, if belonging to a Deaconess' Institution, act in harmony with the general rules of such Institution.

II. RULES SUGGESTED.

(a) Probation.

It is essential that no one be admitted as Deaconess without careful previous preparation, both technical and religious.

(b) Dress.

A Deaconess shall wear a dress which is at once simple and distinctive.

(c) Religious Knowledge.

It is essential to the efficiency of a Deaconess that she should maintain habits of prayer and meditation, and aim at continual progress in religious knowledge.

(d) Designation and Signature.

It is desirable that a Deaconess should not drop the use of her surname, and with this end in view it is suggested that her official designation should be Deaconess A. B.,

(Christian and Surname), and her official signature should be A. B. Deaconess.

P. S.—It is desirable that each Deaconess' Institution should have a body of associates attached to it for the purpose of general council and co-operation.

Signed by the two Archbishops and eighteen Bishops of England and Wales.

The exceptions were the Bishops of Durham, Ripon, Worcester, Manchester, Norwich, Llandaff, S. Asaph and Sodor and Man.

The Provincial Synod of Canada has, as yet, made no attempt to regulate woman's work of love and mercy by any precise rules. It is perhaps best that any such legislation should be the outcome of experience in the needs of the present, and it is wholly inexpedient to cramp the working of the living Church of the XIX. Century, by a reviving after a servile fashion of the machinery of the past.

This same spirit of cautious foresight has seemingly held the hands of the legislators of the American Church. As yet they have enacted no Canon on the subject of Deaconesses, although the matter has been brought before the General Convention on two occasions at least. Perhaps neither the subject nor the time has been deemed ripe for legislation. In the General Convention of 1877 the House of Bishops passed a Canon too lengthy to quote in extenso. The salient features were these. "That any Bishop might appoint a Deaconess or Sister. That her age should be as a rule not less than 25, but that for special reasons she might be as young as 21. That her qualifications must be attested by one Presbyter and five lay Communicants, of whom two should be men and three women." There was to be no vow of perpetual obligation. A Deaconess might resign her office, or be suspended from it, but in the case of her resignation she should not be re-admitted without special reason. She might be transferred from one Diocese to another, if thought desirable. Also the constitution and rules of any Institution or Community, should have the sanction of the Diocesan, and the like sanction should be required for the books of instruction and devotion in use. A Canon of a very similar character was passed by the Synod of the Diocese of Quebec in Canada at its session in 1875.

Convention it was resolved by both Houses

that a joint Committee should be appointed consisting of three Bishops and three Clerical and three Lay Deputies to inquire and report to the next General Convention what legislation may be necessary or expedient for the due authorization and regulation of women working in the Church under the name of Deaconess or Sister. In the recent General Convention in 1880 the matter came up in due course, and a lengthened message on the subject was sent down from the House of Bishops. This was not concurred in by the House of Deputies. Thus the question is in abeyance.

Let us now consider the various ways in which women can serve the Church. It is difficult to set a limit to them. Where a spirit of love for Christ and a desire to serve the brethren prevail, there will be no difficulty in finding work. In fact every age develops fresh needs, which have to be met or souls may be lost. There is on the whole no lack of willingness on the part of Christian women, but sometimes their efforts are misdirected, and owing to lack of method become partially inoperative. It is plain that a good and sound system should be the basis of their operations, and if they serve the Church, it is abstractedly desirable that they should work under Ecclesiastical authority. I say, abstractedly, because we cannot deny the existence of systematic charitable organizations unconnected with any religious denomination and because the highly successful Institutions in Germany are practically independent of any Church of any special denomination. It cannot be therefore that the element of Protestantism which blends with Catholicity in the teaching of the Anglican Church, is an obstacle to religious organizations. The Diaconate has flourished under Protestant auspices in Paris, Switzerland and above all in Germany. But it must be borne in mind that the Protestant bodies in Germany are solidly united in their opposition to Rome, and that they regard the differences which separate them from one another as comparatively superficial. A Deaconess in Germany may belong to any of the Reformed Communions and this would prove no difficulty to her admission into any such Institution. Would it be outrageously visionary to conceive of an American Kaiserswerth which could send Deaconesses all over that gigantic continent, and which would receive as inmates members of any denomination that believe in and love the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire to serve Him? I may be told that the differences

which sever us from Non-conformists deal with more than externals. This I sorrowfully admit. Also I yield to none in my appreciation of the value of Church Order and an Apostolic Ministry. Also it would be far preferable that our Deaconesses should labor under the direction of the Bishop, as by this means vagaries and peculiarities of teaching and practice would be reduced to a minimum. Also I may be told that a Church Deaconess would lose her influence, if she ignored the differences between the Church and other Protestant systems. Nevertheless it is hard and painful to reflect, that in the case of an office admitted to be in accordance with Scripture, the very functions of which are to do good to the poor, to teach the ignorant, to visit the sick, to comfort the sorrowing, to show forth in fine that spirit of practical Christian love, the presence or absence of which we are told by the Lord Himself will determine our future, it does seem hard I say that our unhappy divisions should impair that unity of action, that breadth of front so essential to real success and increased expansion. Religious differences do not always interfere with harmonious co-operation in works of charity. Is it then beyond hope that such a spirit might work still more extensively in Christendom for the benefit of the many for whom Christ died?

But this unsectarian co-operation may be impracticable, and I am not blind to difficulties which would impede the scheme if attempted on a scale extensive enough to be beneficial. Then let us Church people spur to be enthusiastic in the cause. Let Churchmen of various shades of opinion combine, instead of standing aloof, and assist in restoring on a broad foundation Lay co-operation, and especially the efforts of womankind. There can be no doubt that people have been led to think that the clergy are to do all the religious work, that the laity are simply to be the recipients of spiritual benefits from them, and in return to open their purses. Now this is not the picture which the New Testament gives us of the Church. All Christians are therein described as living members of a living body, and that being the case, every one is bound to give of his service. This principle has been recognized among the Non-conformist bodies, notably the Presbyterians and Methodists. This united action would greatly foster zealous earnestness. People are tolerably certain to be enthusiastic on behalf of any cause on which they bestow time and trouble. Now we must confess that throughout the

Anglican Communion and her branches there is less enthusiasm on the subject of Deaconesses, than of Sisterhoods. This is the case in England, and as far as I can ascertain it holds good in the United States. That admirable and well-known Christian lady, Miss Sewell, in a paper contributed to *MacMillan's Magazine* in 1873 has assigned a possible reason. To this paper I have been much indebted. Sisterhoods have mostly been the outgrowth of individual zeal. They have developed with the spirit of the age, and have become more or less tinged with extreme doctrines and practices. These very externals are attractive to many persons of whom I would speak with the utmost respect, and I would not desire to disparage the great good that has been done through the means of Sisterhoods. But the revival of Deaconesses has been brought about in England by persons of moderate views, and cannot be said to have evoked the enthusiasm which the subject really merits. Miss Sewell also remarks that there should be some permanent provision for those who give their lives for others. Not only have the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses their Mother House on the banks of the Rhine, but they have the "House of Rest," to which they can retire when sick or weary from arduous toil. In their working time they who need it receive permanent provision which leaves no room for anxiety, and when disabled by illness or age, they find a peaceful asylum till the final rest is accorded them. Thus an attractive centre and permanent support are both needed if we, whether in England, her Colonies or the United States can hope even to approach the stable prosperity of the Deaconess Institutions on the Continent of Europe.

The Rev. T. T. Carter is perhaps the greatest authority on sisterhoods in the Anglican Church. A paper delivered by him at the Session of the Church Congress in 1875, is very interesting. He pleads for a recognition by the Church of a sister's vocation as "a calling of the grace of God." To some features of his system many might object as e.g. the existence of a body of penitents called Magdalen, consecrated for life under a penitential rule. But the tone of his remarks is beautifully spiritual and few can take exception to the following: "Sisterhoods are not to be regarded as casting reflection on other forms of life or service, least of all on family life, which is the source and nurse of all that is pure and beautiful in human society, but as a distinct state to which some are called, partly

for their own greater personal holiness, partly for the sake of their fellow creatures, whom, in the love of Christ they can better serve when thus set free from other claims." We shall now see its possible risks. We may assume as an axiom that Christian women must work under some system. Otherwise their action will be something like guerilla warfare, "*chacun pour soi*," as it were, instead of resembling the movements of steady and disciplined soldiers. And as the most thoroughly satisfactory personal exemplification of woman's work in the Church, the Deaconess, as it seems to me stands preeminent. It possesses the highest authority. It existed and was found to be beneficial in the earliest and purest ages of Christianity and it has been revived since the Reformation with signal success and perceptible progress. It possesses to my mind all the advantages without the risks that attend the Sisterhood. The latter in its present form is comparatively modern, and sprang into existence when the life of the female Diaconate had been smothered by the growth of Monasticism, Sacerdotalism, "*et hoc genus omne*." The Deaconess is the minister of the Church—she submits to the chief Pastor, from whom she receives her authority, and to the Parochial clergyman. But the ministering priest of the Sisterhood is the sister's spiritual adviser. He may, or may not be the Priest of the Parish. If the sanction of the Diocesan is sought for a Sisterhood, it is for his Episcopal blessing on the work done according to the fixed rules of the Sisterhood. Also the sister is submissive primarily in every sense to the Lady Superior, and is both responsible to her, and obedient to her. Of course in the case of a Community, there must be for the sake of order and general convenience a head, who should be recommended for the office by personal capacity, and by age and experience. But, though this is the inevitable result of the spirit of association and co-operation innate in man, and would approve itself to every candid thinker, and though the head of a Community of Deaconesses must wield some authority and receive respect, yet her rule would be a very different matter from the despotic power enjoyed by the Mother Superior of a Sisterhood.

Whatever therefore may be the estimate as to the relative value and usefulness of the two orders, there can surely be no doubt that they are distinctly different the one from the other. The Parish Deaconess who is perhaps the most useful embodiment of the principle is brought most directly under the jurisdiction of the Parochial Cler-

gyman. If he and she disagree, she must obey orders, and if the Diocesan is appealed to, he would, if in his judgment sufficient cause existed, revoke her license. Deaconesses are at present at work in several of the English Dioceses under Episcopal authority. That she can be a centre of helpful blessedness we should naturally expect, and the following tribute has been paid her by one conversant with the system. "Without her the labors of visitors, however diligent are uncertain. She supplies deficiencies by experience and knowledge. She has her place among all classes. Her Parish room is a home for those sick in mind or body. Her utility to the pastor may be unbounded. She not only faces bodily disease in its deadliest form, but often by her gentle influence can grapple with sin in its most hideous phases. As seen in Germany she is an educated woman. The wealthy gladly assist her with their contributions, for they know that the money will be faithfully applied. The ladies who assist her, give their spare time the more readily to the work, since they feel that their labor is not misapplied, but employed systematically and turned to good account." On the other hand the sister recognizes as her lawful head the superior and practically under Heaven no one else. It is quite possible to conceive a conflict of authority in some Parish, when the behests of the superior would clash with the wishes of the Parochial authorities. Such incidents would be as unedifying as they would be inconvenient. I do not assert that they would frequently occur, but their occurrence is at all events a possibility, and one which naturally flows from the system. In such a contingency there is I presume no manner of doubt as to the sister's line of action. If neither of the contending parties enjoin that which is *per se* immoral or irreligious, the sister would without hesitation obey the orders of her superior. In my humble judgment the very possibility of such a scandal, for scandal it would be in the strict sense of the word is a serious difficulty. Mr. Carter before quoted perhaps at the time foreseeing complications, appeared to doubt as to whether Episcopal sanction for sisterhoods was especially desirable. Those *per contrâ* who uphold the Diaconate long for such sanction as essential to the perfect working of the system.

Persons desirous to become deaconesses should be trained for a fixed period, and should then be presented by the Clergy to the Bishop for his approval, and then under his authority should be sent forth to work in Parishes or Insti-

tutions, as a life work if possible, but without vows of perpetual obligation.

The following is the form of admission to the Diaconate for women authorized by the Bishop of Chester :

The Bishop standing, and laying his hand on the head of each candidate for the office of "Deaconess" pronounces this benediction.

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and sanctify thee ; and so fill thee with all faith, wisdom, charity, and humility, that thou mayest serve before Him to the glory of His great name, and the benefit of His Holy Church, and mayest in the end attain to everlasting life, through the merits and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Some sort of special dress is almost a *sine quâ non*. It would protect the wearer from possible insult and injury. It points out to all who she is, and what is her mission. It aids her own devotion to her duties, and acts like the uniform to the soldier, the academical robe to the University man, the surplice to the Chorister. But the dress need not be an imitation of the garb of a votary of Rome, and thereby breed the natural suspicion that in a case where the externals are well nigh identical, the principles, the *modus operandi*, and at all events the tendencies are akin. I say this without setting down aught in malice or desiring to belittle the self-denying lives of Roman sisters. In Canada generally, and lower Canada especially where the writer's lot is at present cast Anglican Sisterhoods do not apparently flourish. And here the dress assumes a greater importance than it would in most countries. There is a sharply drawn line between Romanism and Protestantism under its various forms. The social relations existing among members of all denominations may be and are in the majority of instances very harmonious and pleasant. But when the religious question rises to the surface, feelings are stirred to their very depths. The position of the Anglican Church in Lower Canada is analogous to that of the Disestablished Church in Ireland. She has on the one side a powerful, wealthy, numerous and organized body of Roman Catholics, and on the other a considerable section of various Protestant bodies, some of them intensely and actively anti-Roman. Again, many nominal Anglicans were originally non-conformists, but for one reason or another have conformed to the Church of England. They have however imported with them into their new commu-

nion a large proportion of their former prejudices, and even if they be lukewarm Anglicans, they are in the popular sense very strong Protestants. On this account, they regard with considerable dislike and suspicion any ceremony, any gesture, any vestment which may in their opinion indicate any approximation to the worship and the corruptions of the vast Latin Church. Granted that these prejudices may frequently be unreasonable inasmuch as logic finds little place in the composition of a prejudice, it is yet desirable from motives of Christianity and of policy, not to outrage such sentiments unless there be a grave necessity for so doing.

It is unobjectionable, nay more it is expedient that a Deaconess should be so attired that her vocation may be known to passers by, but it is neither necessary nor prudent for her to be dressed so as to be mistaken for a Roman Catholic nun or Sister of Mercy. In fact her power for good would thereby be much weakened.

Again no life vows should be required of a Deaconess. It is of course morally certain that no one would espouse the calling without prayer, heart searching and deliberation. Hence it is likely that as long as physical health is granted, and until the infirmities of age press heavily, a Christian woman who has chosen this holy and happy calling will not abandon it for more secular pursuits. But there should be no compulsion. Every one should be free to go, and I venture to think that the tie which retains them will be the more acceptable, because purely voluntary. I quote in this connexion the substance of the words of the great Bishop Wilberforce uttered at Oxford in 1862, he though dead, yet speaketh on many momentous questions. "I discourage life-vows, because firstly I see no warrant for them in the Word of God; secondly, because it appears to me that our Church has certainly discouraged such vows; and thirdly, because it seems to be really of the essence of such a religious life that it should be continued not because a vow was made in a moment of past fervor, but because by a continued life of love, that life is again freely offered."

But the member of a sisterhood is bound by a vow, and the compulsive power to a sensitive and highly conscientious mind is not the less strong because the compulsion carries no legal weight with it. I grant that an intending sister has to go through a preliminary novitiate, and it may be supposed has plenty of time wherein to make up her

mind, and know her own real tastes. But in the end, if she remain long enough a member of the Community, she will be under a life obligation, and such vows carry with them the approbation of a man so eminently esteemed as the Rev. T. T. Carter. This system of life-vows has been borrowed from Rome and has been abused by that Church to a most pernicious extent, in no instance perhaps more flagrantly than in the case of candidates for Holy Orders.

Then again the Deaconess should if possible belong to no party in the Church. She should be above and beyond such narrow divisions, and men of all views admissible within the lines of our Church can well combine in this work under the direction of their Chief Pastors. Whereas it is almost certain that Sisterhoods will be connected with one section of Anglicanism, since they are mainly the offspring of that particular school.

Bishops ought not to be partizans, and whatever be their own particular bias, in their dealing with their Clergy and Laity they ought to be as comprehensive as the Church herself. It is partly to ensure this non-party character and partly to give more permanency to the work, that I advise Diocesan rather than parochial organization for the training of Deaconesses. And this principle can be extended, for indeed there is no position in which the gifts and labors of the Deaconess can find more abundant and useful scope than in the Foreign Mission Field.

Thus Boniface, one of the greatest of early Christian missionaries, who converted the greater part of Germany, felt the great need of women to teach women and girls in Germany, and he obtained them from England.

Happily there is one good quality which can be predicated both of Deaconesses and Sisters, viz., that their duties are eminently practical. They have work to do, work of the best and most Christian kind, and many, may I not say most of them do it as to the Lord, with singleness of heart, with loving and pious conscientiousness.

Thus their condition is in every way superior, better for themselves and for others, than that of a nun of the purely contemplative order immured in a convent, dead while living, with no healthy occupation, dividing her time between prolonged devotions (many of them of a morbid and over-strained character) and perhaps the making of confectionary and preparation of liqueurs. If we may trust the author of the once celebrated "*Le Maudit*" and other cognate works, the minds of these poor creatures being

forced to feed upon themselves become enfeebled, and their conversation turns on the most trivial subjects. Nay, since wholesome and rational occupation, one of the best safeguards against the intrusion of sin has been denied them, it is much to be feared, that Satan, who could enter Paradise and who could return to the house of the soul though swept and garnished, but empty, may find an entrance into the most securely guarded convent, and find a foothold in the cell where no human being dwells save its forlorn and solitary occupant. How wise are John Keble's familiar words so often quoted, yet so aptly appropriate to this our XIX. Century :

We need not bid for cloistered cell
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high,
For sinful man beneath the sky.

Women need employment every whit as much as men. If they are afforded some healthy outlet for their energies and their loving kindness, they will cease to be merely emotional, and to feel as some do that their lives are being wasted.

It is not that the Church and her members should be without times of devotion, of penitence, of meditative contemplation of God and spiritual refreshment. The *bios theoretikos* is needed as well as the *bios praktikos*. It is not that we should for a moment even in appearance undervalue the power of prayer. It was the weapon of the early Church, and probably many of us, in these days of restlessness, allow that precious weapon to lie too long disused, and to rust in our armory. But we find that the Lord and His Apostles showed forth prominently the practical as well as the contemplative side of life, and if we desire to preserve our spiritual nature in due and symmetrical proportion we shall also endeavor to combine the two. Also work, real work is required as much as ever. Nunneries are anachronisms. Their day at all events is past, and they are now only a misemployment of the material that might be transformed into workers for Christ. I might advance worse charges against them. They are the shrines at which are immolated young and loving hearts, and I devoutly trust that monasteries and nunneries may never find recognition in the Anglican Church and her daughter Churches. That religious communities for practical ends are not alien to the spirit of the Reforma-

tion can be attested by the longing desire of good old Latimer that some of the Brotherhoods should be spared. These were institutions established and organized for the benefit of hospitals and infirmaries. He pleaded for them, but we all know that he pleaded in vain. Also Bishop Burnet, who certainly cannot be accused of any inclinations Romewards urged the founding of "something like monasteries for women," and Robert Southey expressed himself strongly to the same effect.

I have in previous pages, at the risk I fear of wearying my readers, devoted much space to the consideration of the Female Diaconate, which I desire to see an accomplished and vigorous fact. But it may be said, that only a limited number of Christian women would be able to devote themselves entirely to good works, and that in treating so fully and at such length this branch of my subject, I am only aiding the few. Be it so. I have fairly laid myself open to criticism. But there is assuredly work for all Christian women disposed in their heart to do something for Christ and for the brethren. Women must not rob Peter in order to pay Paul. They must not abandon plain home duties in order to search for employment outside their domestic circle. The influence for good of a Clergyman's family may be very great. The quiet parsonage is often the attractive centre of a community and in the influence therein gendered of Christian wife, sisters, daughters, what would perhaps otherwise be a moral desert is made to blossom as a rose. A Clergyman's wife should take a kindly interest in all the good works of the Parish, and in public charities; but not the least way in which she can help her husband is by looking after her family and her household, with care and good management. That household is likely to have many eyes upon it, and it should be the model of the Parish.

Sunday School teaching is a most important branch of Church work. There is no Parish, I am confident, in which there are not some ladies, I use the term in the widest sense, who have an aptitude for teaching. These may be able to control with comparative ease a class of boys that men would be unable to interest or to manage. The influence of such ladies would be most potent and valuable. Again in country-parts where there are day schools ladies can be of very great service by taking part in religious teaching. Also in the case of Church schools, the Catechism may well be taught on week days, and not be

relegated entirely to Sundays, each of which ought to have its own special subject. Also every child preparing for Confirmation should have some knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer. The ignorance on this subject that prevails in the families of Church people is greater than most of us suppose. Again a refined Christian woman can wield most admirable influence over young girls about to be launched into life, to enter factories, or undergo the numberless trials of domestic service. With rough lads on the verge of manhood a lady's training may be most efficacious. A Bible class for such boys on Sundays might prove a great boon to them, and would help to keep them out of mischief. Again in day schools, where the energies of the master or mistress are heavily taxed, a lady could be of great service on such subjects as class singing, French, Botany. The element of uncertainty must of course attach to such voluntary aid, but it should not on that account be despised, nor should volunteers refrain from giving their services. For the remarks immediately foregoing I am indebted to a great extent to a paper written by Miss Yonge.

Also, whatever may be our idea of female rights, there are some branches of work in which woman's efficiency is pre-eminent, and one of these is nursing. It is surely but just that the liberal professions should be thrown open to woman, and that she should not feel herself excluded from any legitimate calling. But it is not likely that any but very exceptional women should avail themselves of many of these opportunities. Some vocations in life seem to run counter to our pre-conceived ideas of woman's tenderness, delicacy and reserve. I cannot think that there will be many female medical practitioners, certainly female surgeons, for the training and the pursuit of the profession seem to outrage what is womanly. But in the sick room, where gentleness, patience, compassion, unselfishness, neatness and dexterity are needed, there is woman most at home. Women have plenty of courage and self-command, when the necessity arises, and perhaps of all the improvements which show forth the growing good in the world, there is nothing for which we should be more devoutly thankful than the change for the better in the quality of nurses, whether sent forth by Sisterhoods, or Training Institutions. I remember some years back hearing of a Children's Hospital and training place for nurses at Rhyl in North Wales. It was highly successful, and many

•

Clergymen wisely sent their daughters to this Institution in order to learn the first principles of nursing. Women are emphatically healers, and if they who have a vocation for the work will really and thoroughly cultivate their natural instincts, and learn what to do quietly and expeditiously at some critical moment, I cannot think of a more blessed work.

Also, some ladies who have no inclination in that direction, for "*non omnia possumus omnes*," can yet be of great service as District Visitors, and they can exercise untold influence in the promotion of cleanliness, sobriety and industrious habits. They can aid parental authority and encourage filial obedience. It must be remembered however that in the not infrequent visitations of infectious disease, a District Visitor, living with relations in her own home, cannot rightly attend on the sick person. In that case the Deaconess or Sister would be able to step in and supply the want.

Then again there are Mothers' Meetings, at which kind and seasonable words can be spoken, refreshing to many a weary heart, and at which salutary counsel can be imparted, which, if followed, would increase the decency, comfort and economy of many an humble home. Then there may be Institutes for young women which can afford to many hard-worked in shops, stores, offices, etc., during the day, the sympathetic help of those somewhat removed from them in social status and education. Where these are connected with the Church, the process of carrying them on is more simple, and the results more satisfactory. But in a new country, except perhaps in densely populated cities it is almost hopeless to attempt to carry on philanthropic works on a large scale, unless on a non-denominational basis. In that case however loyal we may be to our Church, and however strong our belief in the truth of her system, we should do wrong to hold back, and refuse to share in works of a purely benevolent character. The circumstances are not of our own creation, and for the sake and in the cause of charity we should co-operate with other Christian bodies. There is in the city of Montreal a young women's Christian Association carried on upon non-sectarian principles. Among their works I would mention the following: "finding suitable situations for young women as governesses, housekeepers, and domestic servants, holding classes for religious instruction, visiting the sick and the poor, work among the Sailors in port, holding sewing

meetings for the poor, supplying nourishing diet for weak and sickly members of needy families. Any physician or clergyman can obtain for any poor person, beef tea, jellies, broth, etc., on a written order from himself. Then there is the helping hand Society, in which the poorer class of children are taught sewing, so as to be useful to those hard-working mothers, who have no time to instruct them themselves. Much collateral good is done by this society." Surely there is in this organization much to admire and a promise in it of solid and permanent good.

Again, Bible women can be of great benefit among the ignorant poor, and a class called Parochial Mission women, members themselves of the working classes have proved most serviceable at different times in England, especially during the terrible visitation of Cholera. Lord Hatherley, no mean authority on such matters, and who was a Sunday School teacher from youth to age, strongly advised the formation of such a body. Again, among the families in every Church Parish there must be unbaptized and neglected children, not to mention adults. These can be prepared for Baptism if old enough for instruction, and under any circumstances, a Christian woman, District Visitor can act as Sponsor. I know of few more important works than this. It is one which can in part be performed by the senior members of a Sunday School or Bible Class, whether girls or youths. The act itself and the interest shown, would create a tie of long duration. It would superinduce thoughtfulness in the one filling the part of Sponsor, as it would recall his or her baptism with all its holy privileges and grave responsibilities. It would tend to prevent the hasty assumption of the office of Sponsor by the undesirable or irreligious, rendering thereby the whole proceeding absolutely nugatory, if not scandalous.

Then there are Orphanages, Benevolent Societies, for the aged and infirm, Homes for those of a somewhat better class, who need care, nursing, kind ministrations, religious help and means of grace, and who may be able to contribute a small sum towards their own support. Also there are Foundling Hospitals, a necessary evil to meet a still worse evil, and which is in part the fruit of an artificial state of society. These last afford abundant opening for woman's kindness, but their management calls for special watchfulness and discretion. Then there may be Penitentiaries, places of refuge for the reform of fallen women, the hand of help held forth to a female prisoner whose

sentence has expired, who comes forth to a nominal liberty, who is ostracized by the respectable, and who, but for such aid promptly proffered, would have no alternative but to seek the company of sinners, and to sink lower in the depths of criminality. We have not exhausted the catalogue. In these and other works of mercy the sympathetic aid of the pure Christian woman might be of the most inestimable service. It is also the writer's experience that women are remarkably successful in the management of charitable institutions. Instead of being unbusiness-like, unsystematic, extravagant, they prove to be the very reverse. The public charities of Montreal, whether undenominational, or under the direction of the Church people, carried on almost exclusively by ladies, at least under their management, are worked most economically, methodically and successfully. Too much praise cannot be awarded to the Christian ladies of Montreal in this connection.

I have surely said enough to indicate the vast field open to women who desire to minister to the Lord by serving those who are His representatives in that they are poor, suffering, sorrowful. There is ample work for all who have the will and the heart to imitate the Divine Master, however humbly and distantly, by lessening the amount of sin, misery, ignorance, that still disfigure the face of God's creation. Mrs. Fry, Miss Sceirking, Miss Nightingale are known and honored names, but there are many more whose names are written in the book of life, yet who when living were unknown to fame, were only appreciated in a small circle, and who to use George Eliot's words, "rest in unvisited tombs." They did good in their generation, and so can every daughter of the Church. May all such remember the warning words of Holy Writ—"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

R. W. NORMAN.



BISHOP BERKELEY.*

THE new life of Berkeley, by Professor A. C. Fraser, of the University of Edinburgh contains some interesting facts not to be found in his larger work first issued from the Clarendon Press ten years ago. His father, William Berkeley, an Irishman by birth and an Englishman by descent, is said to have occupied a cottage attached to the ancient castle of Dysert in the County of Kilkenny, but no particulars of his lineage and very few of the boyhood and early education of his philosophical son, who was the eldest of six brothers, can now be gathered. George was for four years a pupil in the Kilkenny school, noted for its learned masters, and had among his companions Thomas Prior, the philanthropist, who continued without interruption to be his friend and correspondent for a half century.

Kilkenny was a picturesque region, watered by the river Nore, and he left it in March, 1700, when he was fifteen

* BERKELEY, by A. Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in The University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London. William Blackwood & Sons. 1881. pp. 234.

Life and Letters of GEORGE BERKELEY. D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne ; and an account of his Philosophy, &c. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo. pp. 672. 1871.

years of age, to matriculate at Trinity College, Dublin. Here he passed the next thirteen years of his life and was busy in the preparation of works which laid the foundation of his future fame. He was made Bachelor of Arts in 1704, and took his Master's degree in 1707, being admitted in this same year to a junior fellowship. He discharged the duties of a tutor, Greek lecturer, and junior dean, and whether it entered into the design of his friends in educating him at the University that he should pursue theological studies does not appear. But on the 1st of February, 1709, with six other candidates, he was ordained a deacon by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, "in the old chapel of Trinity College." He took no parochial charge but remained at the University and limited his ministerial service to occasional sermons on subjects connected with his moral and philosophical studies. "As a preacher," says his biographer, "his discourses were carefully reasoned and in beautifully simple language they occasionally present great thoughts without any marked theological bias."

During his residence at the University, Berkeley was brought in contact with men of distinguished culture and noted philosophical genius. The head of the Institution, Dr. Peter Browne, afterwards Bishop of Cork, was a vigorous antagonist of the free-thinking Toland, and examined critically the celebrated "Essay on the Human Understanding," by John Locke, a work introduced in the course of study at the University and well known to philosophical readers in the under-graduate days of Berkeley. William King, translated from the See of Derry to Dublin in 1702, and made Archbishop, was another eminent inquirer into speculative science and the laws of thought, and became famous as the author of the treatise entitled *De origine mali*, which was sharply controverted by the pens of Bayne and Leibnitz. Surrounded by these and other intellectual lights it was no wonder that Berkeley lingered in Dublin and nurtured his ideal philosophy. His first publication with his name attached appeared in 1709, and was modestly entitled an "Essay towards a New Theory of Vision." "It was an attempt," says Prof. Fraser, "towards the psychology of our sensations, but directed immediately to the most comprehensive sense of all and intended to eradicate a deep-rooted prejudice. If it halts in its metaphysics, and if its physiology is defective, it proclaims in psychology what has since been accepted as a great discovery, which involves subtle applications of the

laws of mental association in the formation of habits."

A second edition of it was issued before the end of the year, which was shortly followed by a "Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge;" and Berkeley, anxious to make his discoveries known and not satisfied with the provincial audience of Ireland, courted the opinion of the great thinking men in London, and sent copies of his latest work to several of them in the hope that it might draw forth their criticism, if not their approval. It was not a time when subjects of this nature were discussed in literary periodicals as now, and hence in putting forth his bold speculations and inviting the philosophical world to new conceptions of the substance of Matter, he had no other way of getting at the opinion of men than by private correspondence and the intervention of personal friends. He deprecated the idea of being confounded with the sceptics who doubt the existence of sensible things; and writing to Sir John Percival in 1710, he said with a keen foresight of objections that might be raised: "If it shall at any time be in your way to discourse your friends on the subject of my book, I entreat you not to take notice to them that I deny the being of Matter in it, but only that it is a treatise on the principles of human knowledge, designed to promote true knowledge and religion, particularly in opposition to those philosophers who vent dangerous notions with regard to the existence of God and the natural immortality of the soul, both which I have endeavored to demonstrate in a way not hitherto made use of."

Berkeley was disappointed at the reception of his work by the highest English authority in metaphysics then living—Dr. Samuel Clarke—and by William Whiston as noted afterwards for his religious heresies as at that time for his mathematical genius,—each of whom he had complimented with a copy. He would have gladly drawn them into a correspondence or dispute with him, but they declined, especially Clarke, who, though not appearing to believe his conclusions, was yet reluctant to write out his thoughts and "shock any one whose opinions on things of this nature differed from his own." Feeling that he had been misunderstood, and annoyed by objections to the theory of immaterialism which had reached him through his friends, he began, not long after the publication of the *Treatise on Human Knowledge*, to prepare a volume entitled "*Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*, the Design of which is plainly to demonstrate the Reality and

Perfection of Human Knowledge, the incorporeal nature of the Soul, and the immediate Providence of a Deity, in opposition to Sceptics and Atheists."

In the beginning of the year 1713, Berkeley took his departure from Dublin and appeared in London where his Dialogues were published the ensuing summer. This was a new intellectual world to him and brought him into association with some of the distinguished wits of the age of Queen Anne. Richard Steele and Dean Swift, both countrymen of his, welcomed him to the metropolis and sought opportunities to introduce him into the society of their literary friends. Swift presented him at Court to Lord Berkeley, for whom he had been private chaplain and secretary, and in doing so, he is said to have used these characteristic words: "My Lord, here is a young gentleman of your family. I can assure your lordship it is a much greater honor to you to be related to him, than to him to be related to you."

He was brought in contact with Anthony Collins and heard him announce at one of the infidel clubs that he was able to demonstrate the impossibility of the existence of God—a strange announcement which Berkeley, who was there as an observer, subsequently controverted when he was writing satirical essays against the free-thinkers in Steele's new paper called the *Guardian*. Pope and Addison were among his London acquaintances, and the circle of wits and politicians who mingled freely together at that time was widened by other names which hold a conspicuous place in the history of English literature. Addison arranged for a meeting between him and Samuel Clarke, the metaphysical divine whom he had in vain tried three years before through Sir John Percival to draw forth into a refutation of his arguments, or rather into a statement of the objections which might be raised to his Treatise on Human Knowledge. The issue of the meeting was unsatisfactory and the Berkeleyan philosophy appeared to be coming more and more a subject of ridicule with some of the London wits.

What he could not gain however for his idealism, he readily gained for himself—a favorable reception among those who formed his acquaintance. He had a magnetism about him which few were able to resist. The kindness of his heart and the fascination of his manner were indescribable. When Lord Berkeley introduced him to Francis Atterbury, and after the interview asked the Bishop,—“Does my cousin

answer your expectations?" Atterbury lifted up his hands in astonishment and said—"So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman."

Through Swift he was probably made known to Mrs. Vanhomrigh and her daughter, the famous and unhappy Vanessa who were settled in their house in Bury Street, near the lodgings of the eccentric Dean, and where the romance commenced which ended in a material improvement of the fortunes of Berkeley. It does not appear that he took him to see the ladies, at whose residence as he wrote to Stella, he himself, "loitered hot and lazy after his morning's work," and frequently dined "out of mere listlessness." He could only have mentioned his name to them as a man of remarkable wisdom and power.

The spring and the summer had passed away and his leave of absence from the University had expired when the Earl of Peterborough, then one of the most illustrious characters in Europe was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Sicily, and offered to Berkeley the place of private chaplain and secretary. He gladly accepted it, and a dispensation, which was necessary for a longer absence from Dublin, was granted by the Crown for leave to travel and live abroad two years without forfeiting any rights and advantages belonging to his fellowship. His first letter from the Continent was dated November 25, 1713, and addressed to his Kilkenny friend, Thomas Prior. But the mission was suddenly terminated by the death of Queen Anne, on the 1st of August, 1714,—an event which changed the whole aspect of political affairs in England and led to the dissolution of the Tory ministry and the recall of the Earl of Peterborough. It destroyed, too, all chance of Berkeley's preferment in the Church through his lordship or Swift, and he returned to London and spent the next two years in the metropolis "with congenial retreats now and then into the soft scenes of the midland and southern counties."

Late in the autumn of 1716, he was again on his way to Italy,—this time in the capacity of a travelling tutor to the son of Dr. Ashe, the Bishop of Clogher, by whom nine years before he had been admitted to holy orders. He now, to some extent, suspended the pursuit of philosophical studies and turned his thoughts to Italian scenery,—to medals and statues, pictures and architecture which every-

where met his view. His biographer says—"He was particularly interested in Sicily and collected materials for a natural history of the island, which were lost with other manuscripts on the passage to Naples." After an absence of almost a lustrum he returned to England, and if he set out on his travels immediately after the issue of his three Dialogues on the nature of the material world, he ended them with the publication of a Latin dissertation *De Motu*, which he finished at Lyons, on his way home from Italy, and which may have been directly prompted by the proposal of the French Royal Academy of a prize for the best essay on the "Cause of Motion,"—a subject suited to the taste of Berkeley, and exactly in the line of his early speculations. Whether it was presented to the Academy is not known, but it is certain the prize was given to another.

On reaching London he found the nation plunged into the confusion and distress that followed the bursting of the South Sea bubble—a wild commercial scheme which excited the most surprising expectations of a secular millennium and was indirectly endorsed by both Houses of Parliament against the solemn remonstrances of Walpole. "He now threw himself" says Professor Fraser, "with his usual impetuosity, but with a direct practical purpose into the social and economical difficulties of the time, and the condition of England became his dominant interest. He was shocked by the prevailing tone of social morals. He seemed to see himself living in a generation averse to all lofty ideals with whom the extreme of prudential secularism had superseded the fanatical spiritualism of the preceding age. He was in collision with the bad elements of the XVIII. Century. A commercial crisis had brought them out and this was then a novelty." He wrote an "Essay towards preventing the ruin of Great Britain," which was published in 1721, and gave in it the first intimations of his longing for a state of society nearer that pure ideal which afterwards intermingled so largely with what he thought and attempted. Some changes among his London acquaintances had taken place during his absence. Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, had read the funeral service at the burial of Addison in the Chapel of Henry the VII., Swift was in Dublin, and Steele, with broken health and fortune had retired to his country seat near Carmarthon in Wales. But Pope was in Twickenham and invited him to his residence. Clarke was still

attracting attention by discoursing on philosophical theology in S. James's, Westminster, and Sherlock and Butler were both rising to higher and more honorable positions in the Church.

In the Autumn of 1721, he was back at his old academic home in Trinity College after having been away from Ireland for a period of more than eight years. "I had no sooner set foot on shore" he wrote to Lord Percival "than I heard that the Deanery of Dromore was vacant, with £500 a year and a sinecure—a circumstance that recommends it to me beyond any preferment in the kingdom, though there are some deaneries of twice that value." Through the influence of friends his patent for its possession passed the great seal in February, but the Bishop of the Diocese claimed the right of nomination, and a law-suit ensued which Berkeley engaged in with small chance of winning his case—employing "eight lawyers" and going to London to inform himself on some legal points not well understood in Ireland. The suit dragged its slow length along and was still undecided in May 1724, when by the good offices of Lady Percival he was presented with a more valuable living than Dromore. "Yesterday" he said, writing under that date to a friend, "I received my Patent for the best deanery in this kingdom, that of Derry. It is said to be worth £1500 per annum, but I do not consider it with a view to enriching myself. I shall be perfectly contented if it facilitates and recommends my scheme of Bermuda."

The "scheme of Bermuda" had taken shape in his mind two years before and was nothing less than a plan to found a College in some convenient part of the West Indies where English youth of the plantations might be educated to supply their churches with pastors of good morals and good learning," and where a "number of young American savages might also be educated till they had taken the degree of Master of Arts." He put his thoughts upon this scheme with wonderful intensity and turned every personal advantage in the channel of its support. It set him above soliciting with earnestness any preferment in Great Britain. Shortly prior to being made Dean of Derry a curious piece of good fortune befell him in an unexpected way.

After the death of her mother in 1717, Hester Vanhomrigh, the unhappy Vanessa of Swift, settled upon her estate at Marley Abbey, ten miles from Dublin, and discovering that the Dean had disappointed her and privately

married Stella, she revoked the will which made him her heir, and dying broken-hearted in May 1723, left her property to be divided between Berkeley and a gentleman who afterwards became an Irish judge. This was a new stimulant to the Bermuda enterprize and providentially relieved him of any pecuniary anxiety. He wrote to Lord Percival a few days after learning of the bequest : " Here is something that will surprise your lordship, as it doth me. Mrs. Hester Vanhomrigh, a lady to whom I was a perfect stranger, having never in the whole course of my life exchanged a word with her, died on Sunday night. Yesterday her will was opened by which it appears that I am constituted executor, the advantage whereof is computed by those who understand her affairs to be worth £3,000 ; if a suit she had be carried it will be considerably more."

With the deanery of Derry which, as before shown came the next year, he was now prepared to urge his favorite scheme and went to London to solicit subscriptions and the protection and patronage of the Government. Swift recommended him to Lord Carteret, who was soon to become Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in a characteristic letter which thus describes the zeal and purpose of Berkeley : " He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power ; and for three years past he has been struck with a notion of founding a University at Bermuda by a charter from the Crown. He has seduced several of the hopefulest young Clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all in the fairest way of preferment ; but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He showed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life, academico-philosophical (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a Fellow, and ten for a Student. His heart will break if his Deanery be not taken from him and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision ; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design."

Berkeley was eminently successful in presenting his scheme in London and winning for it favor from all classes of persons. The members of the Scriblurns Club with whom he dined one day at the house of a friend, agreed among themselves to have a little sport at his expense about Bermuda, but finally after listening to the many witty things which had been said, he asked to be heard in his turn, and "displayed his plan with such an astonishing and amazing force of eloquence and enthusiasm that they were struck dumb, and after some pause, rose up all together with earnestness exclaiming, 'Let us set out with him immediately.'" Bolingbroke wrote to Swift that he would "gladly exchange Europe for its charms, only not in a Missionary capacity."

The subscriptions went up to £5,000, including one from Sir Robert Walpole himself, then the Prime Minister, but not satisfied with these, he sought a royal charter and a grant of £20,000 to endow the College, which George the I. had encouraged him to believe might be allowed out of the monies to come from ceding S. Kitts to the British government according to the Treaty of Utrecht. Berkeley is said to have canvassed every member of both Houses of Parliament to secure his object, and when the vote was carried in the House of Commons, May, 1726, only two voices were heard in the negative. Walpole did not oppose the bill but secretly hoped that it would be rejected, and on being remonstrated with after its passage for allowing such a proposition from the Crown, he replied with sarcastic serenity,—“Who would have thought that anything for promoting religion or learning could have passed a British Parliament.”

He had now been in London from September 1724, urging his Bermuda scheme and attending the court of Queen Caroline, “not,”—he says, “because he loved courts but because he loved America.” It was in this period that he engaged in theological and political discussion, and met for this purpose among others such master minds as Clarke, Sherlock and Hoadly. We are told that he was idolized in England before he set off for America. He used to go to S. James's two days a week to dispute with Dr. Samuel Clarke before Queen Caroline, then Princess of Wales, and had a magnificent gold medal presented to him by George II. but he complained of the drudgery of taking part in these useless disputes.”

On the 4th of September, 1728, in the forty-fourth year

of his age he sailed down the river Thames in a "hired ship of 250 tons," full of glowing hopes and eager to begin, as Sir James Mackintosh termed it, "a work of heroic or rather God-like benevolence." This is his own account of the embarkation in a letter to Lord Percival, written September 3d: "To-morrow we sail down the river. Mr. James and Mr. Dalton go with me, so doth my wife, a daughter of the late Chief Justice Foster, whom I married since I saw your lordship. I chose her for her qualities of mind, and her unaffected inclination to books. She goes with great thankfulness, to live a plain farmer's life, and wear stuff of her own spinning. I have presented her with a spinning-wheel. Her fortune was £2,000 originally, but travelling and exchange have reduced it to less than £1,500, English money. I have placed that and about £600 of my own in South Sea annuities."

After being tossed on the ocean for a long time, and touching at Virginia by the way, the vessel arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, near the end of January, 1729, and Berkeley was as much surprised at the sight of the town and harbor as the people of Newport were surprised at the appearance among them of so great a dignitary of the Church of England. He was received with demonstrations of high respect, and ushered into the place by a number of gentlemen "to whom he behaved himself after a very complaisant manner." He was charmed with what he saw. The grand ocean scenery, the delightful breezes, and the gorgeous sunsets filled him with admiration, and he would have been glad to fix the College here rather than in Bermuda, but the consent of the Crown must be given to any change, and he must receive the Royal grant before he could proceed farther in the enterprise for which he left his country. In the summer succeeding his arrival he purchased a farm of about one hundred acres in a sequestered spot, under a hill which commands a wide view of sea and land, and built a house, still standing, which in a loyal spirit he named Whitehall to keep up his remembrance of the palace of the British Kings. The farm as he said in a letter to Thomas Prior "is fit for cows and sheep, and may be of good use for supporting our College at Bermuda." It adjoined one of about the same extent belonging to the Rev. Mr. Honyman on which he resided. The friends with whom he had crossed the ocean fixed their abode in Boston, but he preferred the quiet of his new home, and while waiting for the government grant,

the rocks that skirt the shore and the neighboring groves afforded the silence and solitude so well suited to his philosophic meditations. "After my long fatigue this retirement" he wrote Lord Percival "is very agreeable to me, and my wife loves a country life and books, as well as to pass her time continually and cheerfully without any other conversation than her husband and the dead."

The society of Newport at that time was composed of gentry, lawyers, physicians, and merchants who retained very many of the customs and manners of the old world, and Berkeley mixed with them, preached often in the Episcopal Church for Mr. Honyman, the Rector, and drew "a strange medley of different persuasions" to hear his logical and eloquent discourses. He had time to think over his movements and mistakes, and to use a great deal of philosophy while Walpole was withholding the government aid and giving no intimation of his ultimate intention to defeat the Bermuda scheme. The prospect, which was not altogether clear when he left England, grew darker after his arrival in Newport. He had run the risk of a tedious winter voyage to convince the world that he was in earnest, but the suspense in which he was now held was something he had not anticipated. "The truth is," he wrote Lord Percival in June 1729, "I am not in my own power, not being at liberty to act without the concurrence as well of the Ministry as of my associates. I cannot therefore place the College where I please, and though on some accounts I did, and do still think, it would more probably be attended with success if placed here rather than in Bermuda, yet if the Government and those engaged with me should persist in the old scheme, I am ready to go thither, and will do so as soon as I hear the money is received and my associates arrived."

The beautiful vision which he had hoped to realize was now fast melting away, and in Whitehall, where he had begun domestic life, a son was born to him whom the father baptized in Trinity Church, September 1, 1729. Letters from England reached him irregularly and after many delays, one from Thomas Prior was six months on its passage, but the crisis of his scheme at last came when Sir Robert Walpole, in an interview with the Bishop of London held for the purpose of getting definite information about the grant, said: "If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience ;

but if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means, to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations."

This was the treacherous blow which felled to the dust the hopes of Berkeley. It left him no alternative but to make speedy preparations for terminating his stay in this country. He had not been idle during his recluse life at Newport. Men who had studied his philosophy and imbibed his principles formed his personal acquaintance and sympathized with him in his benevolent enterprise.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, a Missionary of the Church of England in Stratford, Connecticut, distinguished for his theological attainments and philosophical investigations, weighed his works with singular care before his arrival in America and became so much interested in them and so much of a convert to his system that he opened a correspondence with Berkeley and visited him at Whitehall, when not only great metaphysical questions were discussed, but other subjects considered, bearing on Christian education and on the way to do something as a partial remedy for the failure of the Bermuda scheme. Johnson had been a Tutor in Yale College and an important one, but he retired from that office in 1719, and devoting himself to the study of theology, was ordained the next year a Congregational Minister and appointed to officiate for a little flock in the vicinity of New Haven. His inquisitive mind led him to read the books on the shelves of the well-selected library of the College, and to examine most thoroughly the doctrines and usages of the Primitive Church as compared with the Presbyterian system; and the result was that he and the head of the Institution and one of its Tutors relinquished their positions and crossed the ocean to obtain holy orders in the Church of England. He had been settled in Stratford more than five years when Berkeley landed at Newport, and though a strong Churchman, he had not ceased to be interested in Yale College and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with its principal officers and with the best educated men in the Colonies.

It has been said that he taught the Berkeleyan philosophy while a tutor and that Jonathan Edwards, one of the most acute metaphysical reasoners the world has ever seen, became a convert to the system through his instructions, but neither of these statements can be true. Edwards, who graduated in 1720, was not a reverent pupil of Johnson,

if he did become a Berkeleyn, for according to his own account, he left in 1717, with a number of disaffected students and went to Wethersfield where an irregular branch of the College was set up and where he remained for two years, until the Trustees and Council met and "removed," as he wrote in a letter to his sister, "that which was the cause of our coming away—namely, Mr. Johnson from the place of tutor,"

The departure of Berkeley from Rhode Island was delayed more than a year after he learned that the faith of the Government as to the promised aid was really broken. It was in this period that he devoted himself with much thoroughness and singleness of purpose to the chief studies of his life and prepared *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher*, the most popular at the time of all his works. It contained graphic pictures of the charming scenery around Whitehall, and of the overhanging rocks underneath which, according to tradition, he often sat and wrote and meditated. In the introduction to the work he speaks of the "miscarriage" of the "affair which brought him into this remote corner of the Country," and proceeds: "Events are not in our power, but it always is to make a good use even of the very worst. And I must needs own, the course and event of this affair gave opportunity for reflections that make me some amends for a great loss of time, pains, and expense. A life of action which takes its issue from the counsels, passions and views of other men, if it doth not draw a man to imitate, will at least teach him to observe. And a mind at liberty to reflect on its own observations, if it produce nothing useful to the world, seldom fails of entertainment to itself. For several months past, I have enjoyed such liberty and leisure in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of that whirlpool of business, faction and pleasure, which is called *the world*."

Johnson paid Berkeley a final visit in the summer of 1731, and received from him many valuable books, and interested him deeply in the College with which he had himself been connected. The Dean was then preparing to break up and leave Whitehall and the Country, and it was natural, under the circumstances, to be concerned how to dispose of those books in his library which he did not wish to take with him, and of the farm so as best "to promote religion and learning in this uncultivated part of the world." On the 7th of September, two days after the death of an infant daughter, buried under the shadows of

the venerable Church where he had often preached, he wrote to Johnson that he was "upon the point of setting out for Boston in order to embark for England," and said, "the hurry he was in could not excuse his neglecting to acknowledge the favor of his letter." "My endeavors," he added, "shall not be wanting, some way or other to be useful; and I should be very glad to be so in particular to the College at New Haven, and the more so as you were once a member of it, and have still an influence there."

How long he lingered in Boston before the embarkation has not been ascertained, but he reappeared in London in February 1732, and on the 18th day of that month preached in the Church of S. Mary-le-Bow the anniversary sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was well fitted to deliver such a discourse by his sojourn in America and his association with leading Missionaries of the Church of England in the neighborhood of Newport who, according to the testimony of Mrs. Berkeley, "agreed among themselves to hold a sort of Synod in Whitehall twice in a year in order to enjoy the advantages of his advice and exhortation." Four such meetings are said to have been held.

The absorbing dream of his manhood was over, and when he returned to London for the fifth and last time, few of his old and most intimate associates were there to make mention of his disappointment. Clarke and Collins and Steele had descended to their graves; Swift had left the metropolis forever, and Butler, as Prof. Fraser states, "was buried in the seclusion of his northern rectory at Stanhope, pondering the thoughts which four years later found expression in the *Analogy*." Still Berkeley was welcomed home by the great and good of the realm, and if on account of the failure of his scheme he seemed to be less buoyant of spirit, it did not diminish his zeal to preserve and propagate the truth. One of his earliest biographers (Bishop Stock) relates that after his return from Rhode Island, "the Queen often commanded his attendance to discourse with him on what he had observed worthy of notice in America." But Courts were no more his pleasure now than they had been in former days, and his attention was chiefly occupied with his *Alciphron* or the *Minute Philosopher*, a work in seven dialogues, designed to meet the questionings of the free-thinkers with whom he had been personally acquainted and to

check the increase of irreligion and scepticism. It was first published in London, in the Spring of 1732, and a second edition of it appeared in the same year,—a neat copy of which on thick paper lies before me as I write these pages. The picture in the title page of the first volume, of a broken cistern, with water running out as fast as the stream pours in, is significant of the arrogant attempts to overthrow theological beliefs and construct a system contrary to the laws of natural and revealed religion.

The next business of Berkeley was to set himself right about Bermuda College and make an adjustment or a satisfactory disposition of the private subscriptions which had been received in its support. And now he remembered his promise to Johnson and his own prediction in the poem, beginning,

“Westward the course of Empire takes its way.”

He wrote to him on the 15th of July, 1732, inclosing a deed of his farm in Rhode Island to the President and Fellows of Yale College, and opened his letter with words which show the singleness of his intentions and the forecast of his mind as to a post-graduate course: “Some part of the benefactions to the College of Bermuda, which I could not return, the benefactors being deceased, joined with the assistance of some living friends, has enabled me without any great loss to myself, to dispose of my farm in Rhode Island in favor of the College in Connecticut. It is my opinion that as human learning and the improvements of Reason are of no small use in Religion, so it would very much forward those ends, if some of your students were enabled to subsist longer at their studies, and if by a public tryal and premium an emulation were inspired into all. This method hath been found useful in other learned societies, and I think it cannot fail of being so in one where a person so well qualified as yourself has such influence, and will bear a share in the elections.”

Twelve months later he had interested some of the Bermuda subscribers to such a degree in Yale College that he was enabled, with their assistance, to send over a donation to the library of nearly one thousand volumes, valued at about £500: “The finest collection of books,” according to President Clap, “which had then ever been brought to America.” He sent a valuable collection of

Greek and Roman Classics to Harvard College also, but this was destroyed when Harvard Hall, where the library was kept, was burnt on a tempestuous winter's night in 1764.

A singular fatality seems to have attended the designs of Berkeley for the good of America. His benefactions to Yale College,—especially Whitehall and his farm in Rhode Island—have not produced the sure helps to classic learning which under other circumstances might have been secured. The farm, situated three miles or so from the present centre of Newport life and summer gayety, is now computed to be worth thousands of dollars, but in 1763, it was leased for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, which was virtually a sale of the land, and the rent for all the remaining time is barely nominal, only \$140.00 per annum. If the appreciation of the property could have been foreseen and no long lease given, what an income would have been secured for distribution to "the Scholars of the House" according to the design and conditions of the pious founder!

Berkeley was not set aside and forgotten after his return to England. His goodness and greatness were recognized, and it was some compensation for the disappointment of his cherished hopes in regard to Bermuda that he was nominated early in January, 1734, to the Bishopric of Cloyne, in succession to Dr. Synge, a college friend who was translated to the See of Ferns. The acceptance of this position made it proper that he should vacate the Deanery of Derry, which had been retained by him since his appointment to it in 1724. His health at this time was not good and his system seemed to be much disordered. "Of late," he wrote to his American friend Johnson, "I have been laid up with the gout which hath hitherto hindered me from going to Ireland to be consecrated Bishop of Cloyne, to which his Majesty nominated me near three months ago." He commissioned his correspondent, Thomas Prior, to look out a lodging for himself and family in Dublin, "to be taken only by the week,"—as it was not his design to tarry there longer than was absolutely necessary—and when his library and furniture were again packed and shipped to that city, he took his final departure from London and proceeded to Dublin, where he was consecrated on Sunday the 19th of May, 1734, Bishop of Cloyne.

He was now once more in his native island, and having become settled in his See House, with his wife and two

infant sons,—the youngest, George, who lived to perpetuate his name, was born in London—he began to resume by degrees his philosophical investigations and at the same time to apply his vigorous and original intellect to the fulfillment of his Episcopal duties. Cloyne was one of the smallest Irish Dioceses, with forty-four churches and fourteen thousand Protestant inhabitants, and while he might have been elevated to a richer and better See, Berkeley preferred the quiet and retirement of this remote corner, away from courts, from men of thought and letters, and here he dwelt among the simple people and illiterate squires for eighteen years without seeming to have impressed them at all with the greatness and benevolence of his character. One of his successors called the place “a dirty Irish village”; and it lies in the centre of a valley a few miles east of Cork harbor, and presents to-day many of the peculiar features of scenery and civilization which it possessed one hundred and fifty years ago. A visit to it in 1870, and a walk through its streets and under the ancient elms that overshadow its humble dwellings made me think of Berkeley at every turn, and inclined me to accept the concise description of an acute observer: “if you survey this place with an English eye, you would find little to commend, but with an Irish one nothing to blame.” Cloyne has ceased to be a separate Diocese, and is now a part of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cork and Ross, but the Cathedral, mantled with luxuriant ivy, remains, and so do the Cave, the See House and the Palace Garden, and a few rods distant from these rises one of those mysterious and picturesque Round Towers of Ireland whose date and design no one has ever unfolded. What seems strange to the visitor is that he can find no memorials of Berkeley,—no tablet in the Chancel, or monument of any kind within or without the Cathedral to show respect for the memory of the greatest name associated with its history.*

* A movement has recently been made to erect a suitable monument in the Cathedral, and the Bishops of the Irish Church, noblemen, and professors in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, have become interested in procuring a fund for this purpose, and sent their circulars to a few Americans for aid. The Bishop has not been forgotten at Dublin University. The first thing which attracted my attention as I entered the Chapel was a Chancel window with the simple inscription: “In Memoriam—The Rt. Rev. George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, sometime Fellow of this University.” When

Berkeley was surrounded in his See by a strong Roman Catholic influence, and in his first visitation charge to the Clergy there are wise suggestions how to deal with it and yet be true to the Church. A brief extract from this charge will show his Christian spirit: "There is, doubtless, an indiscreet, warm, overbearing manner; and in the hands of those who have it the best arguments are weak, and the best cause will suffer. There is, on the other hand, a gentle, prudent, and obliging way which would be an advantage to the worst, a way that softens the heart and prepares it for conviction. Would you in earnest make proselytes, follow S. Paul's example, and in his sense become all things to all men, that you may gain some. Adopt as much as you conscientiously can of their ways of thinking; suit yourselves to their capacities and characters; put yourselves in their places, and then consider how you should like to be dealt with, and what would offend you. If your intention is rather to gain a proselyte than to triumph over him, you must manage his passions and skilfully touch his prejudices. To convince men, you must not begin with shocking, angering or shaming them."

The life at Cloyne was almost as much that of a recluse as the life at Newport. Travelling had become a weariness to him and his increasing ill-health kept him chiefly at home and led him to find renewed enjoyment in his books and philosophic meditations. The family was a centre of happiness into which he infused his own love of truth and of art, and though without any ear for music himself, he made it a study with his children and retained for years as their teacher the celebrated Signor Pasquino, the embarrassed Italian gentleman who, according to Prof. Fraser, had been learning English from a Dictionary, and in an outburst of gratitude to his patron for an unexpected favor exclaimed: "May God *pickle* your Lordship!"

Among the works which he produced during his Episcopate were the *Querist* and *Siris*,—the first published anonymously in three parts, and containing original and valuable hints on social and political economy. *Siris* was issued under his own name and, while breathing the phi-

the new Battell Chapel of Yale College was completed, in 1876, a fitting window, recognizing him as an early benefactor, was placed in it with subscriptions obtained from graduates and undergraduates of the Institution who desired to hold in honor the memory of Berkeley.

losophic spirit more perhaps than any of his publications, was the direct fruit of his enthusiasm about Tar-Water, which he recommended as a universal medicine and which was becoming quite the rage both in England and Ireland. Manufactories for it were established in different places, and he himself set up an apparatus for making it in Cloyne, and was such a believer in the virtues of tar that he put large balls of it at the roots of the myrtle which he planted with his "own hands" to adorn his garden walks. A tar-water controversy ensued as prolific in pamphlets as the controversy with the free-thinkers ten years before. With Berkeley it took a metaphysical turn and gave him an opportunity to weigh and revise in his contemplative old age the adventurous speculations of youth. He frequently spoke of his favorite medicine in letters to his correspondents and, having a vein of humor in his composition, he prefixed to one addressed to his friend, Prior, a playful stanza which ended :

———"the doctors are men ;
Who drinks tar-water will drink it again."

Efforts of friends to withdraw him at this time from the seclusion of Cloyne and get him promoted to a better See were of no avail. He could not be tempted by a larger income or higher honors. "I am not in love," said he to Prior, "with feasts, and crowds, and visits, and late hours, and strange faces, and a hurry of affairs often insignificant. For my own private satisfaction, I had rather be master of my time than wear a diadem. I repeat these things to you, that I may not seem to have declined all steps to the primacy out of singularity, or pride or stupidity, but from solid motives. As for the argument from the opportunity of doing good, I observe that duty obliges men in high stations to decline occasions of doing good, but duty doth not oblige men to solicit such high stations." He had conceived a plan, which he called his "Oxford scheme," of exchanging his bishopric for a canonry, or headship in the University, whither he had decided to send his son George rather than place him in his own *Alma Mater* at Dublin. When he found the exchange impracticable, he tendered a formal resignation of his See, for he had strong objections to non-resident Bishops. The singular proposal excited the curiosity of George II., and on discovering by whom it was made, he declared

that Berkeley should die a Bishop in spite of himself, and that he might live wherever he pleased. This left him at liberty to execute his purpose of removing to Oxford, but the sickness of a favorite son (William) prevented him until the death of the youth, in 1751, at the age of sixteen. The event threw a shadow of deep gloom over the household in Cloyne and touched sensibly the paternal heart. It was the first great break in the family which had found so much real enjoyment within its own circle. "I was a man," he wrote to a friend, "retired from the amusement of politics, visits, and what the world calls pleasure. I had a little friend, educated always under mine own eye, whose painting delighted me, whose music ravished me, and whose lively, gay spirit was a continual feast. It has pleased God to take him hence."

The later years at Cloyne were those in which he affectionately remembered his transatlantic friend, Rev. Dr. Johnson of Stratford; and he was glad to hear through him of the "prosperous estate" of learning in the College to which he had sent his benefactions. For a quarter of a century their Correspondence had been kept up with tolerable regularity, and several things concerning it were first brought to light in my own volume,* which give added interest to the romantic episode of Rhode Island as well as to the retired life in the "serene corner" of Cloyne. So late as July 25th, 1751, he wrote to Johnson, and this was probably his last letter to him; but his great American friend, who never ceased to love him for his virtues and honor him for his learning and philosophy, published about the same time a work entitled "*Elementa Philosophica*," which, "from the deepest sense of gratitude," he dedicated to the Bishop of Cloyne, and not knowing that he had broken up and removed to the fair vale of the Cherwell and the Isis, he sent him a copy accompanied by a letter, neither of which was received in time for the eyes of the patron.

His son George had been entered a student at Christ Church, and ill-health prevented the father from going on with him in May, 1752, but in the middle of the ensuing August he left Cloyne forever with his wife and daughter,—his eldest son Henry, born in this Country, had been abroad for his health in the South of France nearly two years,—and when the party reached their destination, the

* *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, 1874.

Bishop was so prostrated that he had to be "carried from his landing on the English shore, in a horse litter to Oxford." He had scarcely had time to be settled in a house in Holywell Street, and form the acquaintance of a few of the heads of the Colleges, and give attention to the reprint of one or two of his works when a change came to him greater than all before. If he had begun to realize his dream of repose in this Classic Seat where the memories of a thousand years are gathered, it was not long that he did so, for his "removal to eternal rewards," as his son wrote to Dr. Johnson, "happened suddenly and without any previous notice or pain on Sunday evening, January 14th, as he was sitting with my mother, sister and myself, and although all possible means were instantly used, no symptom of life ever appeared after, nor could the physicians assign any cause for his death, as they were certain it was not an apoplexy He arrived at Oxford on the 25th of August, and had received great benefit from the change of air, and by God's blessing on Tar-Water, insomuch that for some years he had not been in better health than he was the instant before he left us."

Berkeley provided in his Will that his body, after being "kept five days," should be buried in the church-yard of the parish where he died, and accordingly his remains were interred in the Cathedral at Oxford, and a monument was placed over them with a Latin inscription commemorative of the virtues of his pure and beautiful life.

Let us leave him here and look for a moment in conclusion at the revival of an interest in his works and philosophy. Prof. Fraser in the little volume named at the head of this article, makes "an attempt," as he says, "to present for the first time, Berkeley's philosophic thought in its organic unity." He had previously done an admirable service in gathering and editing his Works in three octavo volumes, with his Life and Letters, and an account of his Philosophy in a fourth, to which the last publication, forming one of the Series of philosophical classics for English readers, is but supplementary. No one coming after him will find many facts to glean in regard to the mitred Saint of Cloyne. His excellent and catholic spirit comes out not more in his Missionary deeds than in the letters and papers which have now been rescued from oblivion and committed to the press.

Want of clearness is incident in some degree to the study of metaphysics, and Prof. Fraser is not always per-

fectly lucid in his explanation of the ideal system or of the dividing line between true and false philosophy. But he is to be congratulated for having done so much to perpetuate a great name known and honored in Europe and America. He is an ardent admirer of the character he portrays. "Of the various imperfect thoughts," are his words, "about our mysterious life, that of Berkeley—wrapped up in his conception of the material world—seems to me, when truly understood, to be among the simplest and most beautiful in the history of philosophy." Scant mention is made of his theological discourses because his high reputation was won in other fields of thought, but judging from those delivered at Newport, he was a Scriptural, calm, unimpassioned preacher who took the common doctrines of the Church as the framework of his instruction and applied them to the practical duties of the Christian life.

A few domestic relics of Berkeley, given by him to friends in this country, when he left for England, are still carefully cherished and preserved. One of these of special interest for its associations, is the chair in which he was accustomed to sit at Newport, and in which he is believed to have written out "*Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*." It descended to the Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Coit of Middletown, from his grandmother—a Newport lady who received it from her father, to whom Berkeley had presented it, and the chair was given her to help furnish a new house on her marriage and removal to New London. It has been committed to the custody of Trinity College, Hartford, and on each occasion of the annual commencement of that institution, the President sits in it and confers the degrees upon the graduating class. In itself it is of little worth, far less valuable than the oak chair in Westminster Abbey—"where kings and queens are crowned,"—but time and historic associations have surrounded it with an interest and made it precious to the student, the scholar, and the philosopher.

E. E. BEARDSLEY.



LITERARY NOTICES.

CORRESPONDANCE DU PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND ET DU roi Louis XVIII. pendant le congrès de Vienne. Paris : publiée par G. Pallain. Gr. in-8.

American Edition (translated into English). New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

The past year has been enriched by much new and important material for the coming historian of the first Empire and the Restoration. We have already had Madame De Rémusat's reminiscences of the Court of Napoleon and the autobiography and letters of Metternich. In the book whose title we give above, we have a fresh contribution of the greatest historical interest and value. The French Editor, Mr. G. Pallain, takes care, in his able preface, to inform us, that it has no connection with the expected publication of the "*Memoirs*" of Prince Talleyrand. He gracefully intimates, that it would be out of character with the great Diplomatist not "to have most skillfully arranged the conditions of perspective, under which he should choose to be seen by the generations which should come after him." These letters must be free from the slightest suspicion of such secret and delicate manipulation by their author for such an end, inasmuch as until now, from the time they were written, they have slept forgotten in the Archives of the French Ministry for

Foreign Affairs. They cover but a brief space of the long political career of Talleyrand, but one so crowded with great issues, as perhaps to constitute its climax. It is the time, the occasion, the manifestation of the personal character and aims of kings and statesmen, the unexpected lights (never intended for the vulgar crowd without) thrown into the Green Room of the Diplomatic stage—that make it, to the historian, such a veritable “find.” The allied Powers, which after an exhausting struggle had consigned the fallen Bonaparte to Elba and set the Bourbon, Louis the XVIII, on the throne of France, have now to face the paramount question of the permanent pacification of Europe—a question, which as involving the reconstruction or absorption of so many ruined kingdoms and the satisfactory division of the spoils of victory, was attended with stupendous difficulties.

The position of France especially was in the highest degree critical, as the safety of the Bourbon against the outbreak of popular revolution and the possible return of Napoleon, could only be guaranteed by a foreign alliance most embarrassing to select amid the fierce jealousies of many States. It is for the settlement of these vital issues, that the Great Powers resolved upon holding a Congress of nations at Vienna. Talleyrand was selected by Louis the XVI as the representative of France, and his letters to the monarch are his private record of the transactions of the Congress, and his own personal opinions and observations during its session. We can only add, for want of space, that the pole-star of Talleyrand's diplomacy was “Legitimacy.” A Dynastic Bourbon on the throne secured by an alliance with England and Austria, he regarded, as M. de Beau before him, the only possible safeguard of the integrity of France and peace of Europe. So much, in brief, for the situation, which gave birth to this remarkable correspondence.

These letters of Talleyrand are as unlike diplomatic correspondence of the dry-as-dust and red-tape order, as possible to conceive. The impressible French vivacity and grace make the proverbially dull routine of congressional action, sparkle all over with epigram and anecdote. We must beware, however, of the assurance, that we have even these confidential letters to his sovereign, the *bona-fide* Talleyrand. Contrary to the vulgar estimate of Diplomats, they appear, if these letters of Talleyrand and those of Metternich are to be the basis of our judgment.

endowed with an abnormal development of conscience. The latter often provokes a smile by his sublime and serene consciousness of perfect moral rectitude, even in his most astute diplomatic successes. This quality, least of all, did we expect to find in Talleyrand, who has always appeared in history as the typical "man of the world," the man who realized the popular idea, that he is the most accomplished diplomatist who can lie with the easiest grace. But Metternich himself seems to be not more absolutely convinced of his invariable purity and integrity of act and motive, or more disposed to habitually appeal to the abstract rule of "the Right" and the sacredness of moral obligations. We commend our readers to the study of this strange game for States and Crowns, told in all the swift fluctuations of interest and passion, by the cleverest of the players. What names gathered round that famous council-table of the Vienna Congress!—Metternich—Nesselrode—Von Humbolt—Talleyrand. Looking in—their hands on their swords—Austria, Russia, Prussia, France!

THE VARIORUM EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, with Various Renderings and Readings from the best authorities. Edited by Rev. R. L. Clarke, M.A., Alfred Goodwin, M.A. and W. Sanday, D.D. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.

The New Testament. Translated out of the Greek. Being the Version set forth A.D., 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised 1881. Together with King James' Version, arranged on opposite and corresponding pages. New York: James Pott.

The issue of the Variorum New Testament, —incalculably rich in contents and a marvel of compression,—is about as characteristic of the time as the issue of the Revised Version itself. They have appeared almost together, and would seem to have been part of the same great movement, though as undertakings entirely independent of each other. It is certainly a striking fact that the age has not only called for the Revision, but that there is intelligence enough abroad to encourage such a publication for circulation among the people of the scholarly material from which it sprang. This is intended to be a popular work, and it is so ingeniously and lucidly arranged that any one equal to the study of the English New Testament may now go back into the mysteries of its formation, both as a text and a translation, and put himself at the point of view occupied by the Revisers themselves. It is the only way in which he can fully appreciate their work, and qual-

ify himself to judge whether the variations from the Old Version are really in better correspondence to the original.

This is its plan. Wherever there might be a variation, from the A. V., whether in a word, or a phrase, or a whole passage, that particular expression is flanked on both sides by a sign (either twin letters or twin numerals, as the case may be), which carries the reader's eye down to the foot of the page, where it accounts for itself either as pointing to a change so fundamental as to be in the Greek text itself, or as one called for because a more accurate translation of the text. Sometimes the text has been only questioned, but manifestly ought to remain as it has been; then the manuscript and critical authorities are given for leaving it as it is. Sometimes the text ought to be changed: then these authorities are assembled to justify the change. In the same way wherever there has been a questioned *rendering* of the Old Version which manifestly ought to remain undisturbed, it is bolstered by the names of various translators. On the contrary, wherever various renderings have been suggested by Biblical expositors of great reputation, a choice of several of them is made, if variant enough to throw cumulative light upon the word or phrase, and the name of the translator is appended to each.

Let it be remembered, that it is the familiar Authorized Version, with its double columns to the page, its chapters and verses, which is here so annotated, or rather illustrated, at the foot. The side margins are filled also with the well-known "references." It may be judged, then, what extraordinary ingenuity has been employed in maintaining these three forms of notation all the way down each column, and in keeping them so distinct and apart that each one carries the reader's mind into its own class of associations.

As to the two points indicated, of various readings and various renderings, both have been thoroughly done. The student has at his hand the identical material, the very tools, with which the late Revisers worked, and he can curiously turn to the Revision itself, and find out the result to which their counsels came in every instance. With all the labor, scholarship, and skill which have been expended upon it, the book remains a duodecimo at the usual small price of a New Testament. In intelligent hands it is more suggestive than any commentary, and ought to accompany every copy of the Revised Version.

Nothing, as we have already intimated, could so well put the reader at the point of view from which to see the working out, not only of the New Revision we have, but of the whole movement toward a still more perfect one than this can claim to be.

For, if widely circulated, this one thing it will certainly do, and will also move hand in hand with the New Version, in doing: It will destroy, utterly and finally, the illusion which has given to the Authorized Version such a superstitious identification with the original as has all along hitherto prevailed. It will break through the web of sentimentality which has led to a preference for the felicitous English of Tyndale, or Coverdale, or Cranmer, or the later translators, over what was actually written by the Evangelists and Apostles. *This* "well of English undefiled" will be acknowledged to be not quite as crystally pure as "Siloa's brook which flowed fast by the oracles of God." The more Divine truth is known to come percolating down from the "distant hills," the more will it really be the water which He has given us, springing up unto everlasting life. It is all-vital, so at least it seems to us, that the consciousness of the student of the Scriptures—and every reader should be a student—should not be so intercepted or circumscribed by a translation that the sense of the existence of an original, of which it is only the dim reflection or shadow, should be blunted or dulled. It is curious, even now, to hear people talk about and criticise the New Version. One would suppose that a choice and ancient English work had been tampered with. The emendations are spoken of in the same breath with those of the text of Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. The public cannot seem to get it out of its head that the truth itself has been either damaged or altered for the better, by the reopening of the vernacular casket it has been locked up in and limited by during these two hundred and seventy years.

The best work yet achieved by the New Version is the partial destruction of this extraordinary prejudice, and the substitution of the true impression that the English Bible is only a derived book, in which an authoritative alteration is to be greeted as a step nearer its original, and therefore nearer perfection as the Word of God. But what the Revision has incidentally done, the Variorum, we hope, is destined to more directly and effectually do. For, in it, the vision extends far back, even to the furthest bounds of

scholarship in this field. It reaches almost to the era of sacred autographs themselves; and all this side of that era the English is seen struggling, not in one, but in manifold forms of speech, to make their meaning manifest.

The most perfect version of the New Testament that could be made would be a Variorum Version; and this work foreshadows, we believe, what will some day be done on a larger scale. Its idea is here realized, but not exactly its most available form. At present it needs a more alert and microscopic eye, than most people are gifted with, to use it.

Too much matter is crowded upon the page, and the foot-note arrangement is too far removed from the points that are opened. A better arrangement would be one in which the text should be in a single broad column at the right, and, in a narrow left column, directly opposite and abreast, the Variorum of readings and renderings. Every passage would then have its side light, which, as we know, is all-illuminating to an interior from outside, when the front windows are also wide open.

Such a Variorum—we now speak especially of renderings—is all-essential in drawing the meaning exhaustively from the original. No *one* English text can do it, for any such single text can only be attained by compromise. Every word must be voted in, and where only one can be allowed many another must be left out. The partial overflow into the margin is an evidence of this difficulty as it beset the late Revisers—and indeed King James' Revisers also. Mingled with, and partly leading to, this desire to attain one standard version has been a salutary terror of many versions, none of which could be standard. It is, no doubt, exceedingly desirable that there should be but one standard, acknowledged always, everywhere, and by all, but it is also equally desirable that the *entire* scholarly and spiritual impression received from a passage should be represented. It is not only a body of Revisers that can contribute various suggestions, but the whole body of Biblical expositors for ages, and in many languages, can furnish a very thesaurus of such. The book before us has made its selection out of just such a mass of authorities, these selections limited only by the power of every suggestion to throw additional light. It may be judged what tact and delicacy of judgment its editors had to exercise in order not to overload their page, and yet not lose sight of anything really important. They are to be honored for their laborious ex-

cursion into many fields, and for the treasures which they have brought back. But we more than suspect that they have by no means exhausted them. The variety of such is great. One expositor or translator is strong in grammar, another in philology, another in archæology, another in spiritual insight, another in felicity of English speech—let each be heard, subject only to the limitations referred to. In this way we shall get many versions in one, throwing their illustrative light into the text which all have agreed upon as the main and current version. But it is only all this together that should be looked upon as “the Version,” and therefore the margin should never be left out.

These are the only conditions upon which the depth of the original can be *turned* into our native tongue. The “letter” will then exhibit “the spirit.” The whole flavor of a passage will be extracted. Every paragraph will be a prism revealing the many colors of the pure white ray. Even if the renderings be occasionally variant to diversity; ’twere better so than that all authorities should not speak. In that case let the original be given also, and the reader be left to choose. What we say refers as well to various *readings*, if there cannot be unanimity in the decision of which is the best; for better were it that the diversity be an open one than that anybody should feel that something has been suppressed. The example of this frankness is already before us, to some extent, in the New Version.

There is also another point which should not be forgotten in such a scheme. There are certain cardinal or pivotal words—like the one to which a Paper in the last number of the *Review* was devoted, and like some others mentioned in it—to whose fullness and subtle depth of meaning, or shade of meaning, nothing but a dense glossarial note can do justice, and at the marginal side of which, on their first occurrence, such a note should appear once for all.

People will say that this is the office of a commentary, but such as these are not comments; they are the extracted truth: the truth in its native essence, exhaustively drawn from the original source; and nothing less than this should a Version of the Scriptures undertake to be.

We have coupled with the book under review another, somewhat in the same line. It is a double New Testament: The Revision of 1611 illustrated by the side-light of the Revision of 1881. Page for page the one stands over against the other. This was done by the publisher to facilitate the comparison of one with the other. It will be

valuable to those who are ready for the New, and anxious to see its superiority over the Old, and it will be equally valuable to those who, preferring the Old, are yet willing to receive into it the illumination of the New.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SATAN.—BY STANDISH Grey, M.A. 4th Edition. pp. 167. London: Kerby & Endean. New York: James Pott. 1881.

A wicked looking little book, flying the Devil's colors: bound in vermilion, with the title stalking across the red broadside of the cover in as crooked black characters, and in as disorderly a manner as could be, consistently with art decoration. Even the innocent initial of the diabolical name is transformed into a hissing serpent, dancing on its tail. The buyer, if he looked no further than the title and the cover, would be led astray. If he were good, he would hesitate to open, for fear of the adversary. If he were a little disposed to be bad, he would lift the lid to catch a whiff of the mischief that might be brewing within. But it is the pious and excellent author who turns out to be, thus far at least, the arch-deceiver. It is all pure within. This time it is an angel of light which has clothed itself in the livery of darkness. But not until we begin to read do we lose the impression that it sets out to be, at least, an insidious attack upon the Devil, and we are, therefore, quite unprepared for such an honest, straightforward and unsensational presentment, as appears, of the Gospel according to the author's earnest convictions.

We could pardon the sensationalism of hanging out such a signal, if the contents bore out the promise of its ingenuity; but the incongruity is as great between the outside and the inside, as a conventicle with a flaring transparency of the Great Serpent over the portal, and the vision within of the most proper of preachers in gown and bands, showing it up in the old-fashioned way. It looks as if the author, in his zeal to warn against some of the subtle perversions by Satan of the religious instinct in man, had, by employing such a method of attracting attention, come under a slight "instigation" himself in the very outset. The contest does not look equal from the start.

Nor is it. He does not avail himself judiciously of the very striking opportunity with which he has supplied himself. The reader cannot but be touched with his evangelical sincerity of feeling, but he cannot be

equally impressed with the soundness of his judgment in questions requiring the wisest discrimination. He utters warnings of Satanic agency in fields of human activity where many reasonable and conscientious people cannot smell sulphur at all. In some cases they are the palpable outcome of his own prejudices, or of views into which he has been educated. In the interest of that very class for whom the work is intended we could wish that the ground could have been more common, and the specific applications been made at those subtle points where Satanic danger is really imminent, namely, the point where the good ends, and the evil behind the good begins. He will not make a favorable impression, for instance, when he jumbles together Positivism, Pantheism, Rationalism, Materialism, Atheism, Agnosticism, the Eastward Position, the Adoration of the Elements, the Worship of the Virgin, Mesmerism, Electro-biology, table-turning, fashionable church-going, the pursuit of wealth, fame, power, pleasure, in the same chapter, as all and equally representing the active agency of the Prince of this world in trying to pervert the religious instinct in man. Here was an opportunity of making some very wise and liberal discriminations and of waving the red flag in the right place, but he does not do it. Again, to mention another instance, he speaks of the conventional courtesies of life, which do so much to keep society outwardly sweet, though only left-handed forms of Christian charity, as the necessary offspring of the Devil, because they do not spring direct from the spirit of Christ.

It gives one an uneasy feeling, too, to see him, in his anxiety to throw a Bible-hue over his statements, or to make a point, straining passages—he quotes profusely and often fancifully—into an allusion which they will not bear, in fact, “quoting Scripture to suit his purpose.” It is done with all sincerity, but it looks again as if the Adversary was too much for him. It behoves a Christian teacher, if he would not invite the Devil on his own ground, to be as wise as the Serpent himself when he would make special applications of unquestionable principles, or draw the line between what is permitted of God for good and what is the temptation of the devil.

The book will send a glow through many a sensitive conscience—it is too earnest to fail in that—but we fear that in rousing prejudice in other quarters, and in giving wrong ideas of the cause he advocates, it will defeat its

where, and travel, in this respect, the last thing he would desire. 'The Devil according to Satan.'

ANTON GUENTHER. GUENTHER. EINE BIOGRAPHIE VON
Herrn Anton Guenther, mit einem Bismarck-Guenther.
Von Dr. Wilhelm Braumüller.

Dr. Peter Kirsten, a disciple of Doellinger and a Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn, gives in Anton Guenther's biography a most interesting picture of the movements and activities in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany which began in the first quarter of this century and culminated in the consummation in the present age. Guenther was born in 1791 at Lindenberg, a little village in the Sauerland part of Prussia, settled mostly by Germans. His parents were not the most educated people, and of anti-religious views, but their piety and fidelity to church and state won the approval. In his thirteenth year he was sent into the world, strong enough to follow the trade of his father who was a blacksmith. Moreover, Anton had a strong desire for higher studies and shared also the wish of his father to enter the priesthood. Through the assistance of some relatives and friends he succeeded in being admitted to the Lyceum of the Jesuits at Bonn. Here he was the first there who was prepared for the priesthood. The Jesuits, however, were not inclined to receive a student coming from the Sauerland and even refused to admit him after his preparation was complete. He then went to Münster, where he studied for two years, and then to Bonn, where he spent the first three years of his Jesuit career. Then, however, his conduct attracted the attention of the Jesuit superiors, and he returned to his native village, where he continued his studies, and became a member of the Jesuit community. One of the Jesuits, however, who was not satisfied with his conduct, wrote him a letter, in the same time making a suggestion to leave the Society, as he felt that his independence was necessary. But he did not do so until the fourth year of his Jesuit career, when he became very anxious and restless, feeling that he was not doing what he ought to do. He then left the Society. The rest of the history of Guenther's life, from his departure from the Society to his death in 1861, is a story of his struggles and his influence in the Sauerland and in the Rhine-land. He was a man of great energy and of great independence of mind. He was attracted by his intelligence in the exercises of the

class the Commissioner's attention, who sought an opportunity to learn more about this bright specimen of a convent school, and asked the Superior of the House to detail Anton as his guide to a neighboring village. On the way the good man asked him many questions about his family, means of subsistence, plans of future life and matters relating to the people of the vicinity. He tried to dissuade him from his purpose to become a Piarist, and suggested a secular profession. At last a conversation took place in which the gentleman drew out something of the fine mind of the young villager. The Commissioner asked Anton what place the late Emperor Joseph held in the memory of the people of that region? He answered, there were many who maintained that Emperor Joseph was not dead but lived and would come forward at the proper time. Such could be the belief only of a people to whom their ruler was ever unforgotten. "Quite right," the Commissioner interposed, "but do you believe yourself that he is living still?" "Certainly," the boy answered, "but in another way than the common people believe, he lives now in his immortal works and laws." "Truly spoken, my boy," was the good man's last remark. But it was not the last Anton should hear and see of his newly-acquired benefactor. He was sent with a message from the Commissioner and with a letter from his Piarist friend to the wife of the former, an excellent Christian lady, who gladly consented to share in her husband's kindly endeavors in behalf of the young student who had shown so good a character and so much promise of higher accomplishments. When his admission to the fourth form of the Gymnasium at Leitmeritz had been secured, lodgings were provided for him and he was invited as daily guest to the table of his benefactors. This was a great change from his miserable state during the first years of his school life at Haida. Before Guenther's course was finished at Leitmeritz, his patron was transferred by the government to Prague, but at leaving he secured for his ward another benefactor in the person of the burgomaster of the town. This man, while showing his young guest much personal kindness, did him some harm by rationalistic table talk about the miracles of the Bible. It took Guenther three years to complete the classical curriculum of the *Gymnasium* at Leitmeritz. He had entered the course with the beginning of the present century; in 1803 he went to Prague, to add University studies to his previous acquirements. For some time he was the guest of his old friends, who had

tainly most discouraging. Güenther says: "He did not enter into any religious doubts which were known to him. These doubts sprang from an uncertainty whether a supernatural revelation was necessary on account of the insufficiency of the natural religion as mere religion of the reason. It is not unlikely that Bolzano, being yet a young scholar, was acquainted at that time only with Kant's original symbolical conception of the Son of God as the Redeemer of the world, which could not have appeased my doubts. If the later views of that school, according to which even the moral man can never count on supererogatory virtue for the redemption of his former guilt, if these views had been known to him he would probably have taken this occasion of communicating them to me."

LETTERS, SPEECHES AND TRACTS ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

By Edmund Burke. Collected and Arranged by Mathew Arnold. With a preface. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1881. Price, \$2.00.

This book has a timeliness not always possessed even by works of sterling merit and designed to touch the present needs and interests. The Irish question has been the great climacteric in the legislation of the British Parliament during the past year, and Mr. Gladstone, through the passage of his Land Bill, has widened and solidified a reputation that had already been compacted by the fame of a large and successful statesmanship. We know of no single source of information from whence so trust-worthy and accurate a knowledge can be drawn of the past and present woes of Ireland. Mr. Burke was not only a brilliant writer but was a profound thinker and statesman. His familiarity with the political history of all nations was employed not to justify startling theories of reform, but to afford a basis for practical legislation in the removal of admitted evils, and to augment the forces of positive progress. In reading this book one is surprised that the day of Ireland's oppression has been so lengthened by the stolidity of British legislators; and there appears to be no imaginable excuse for the blindness or perversity that could so long and so stoically resist the loud and continuous cry for relief.

The only notice the book needs to commend it to thoughtful readers is a quotation from the preface by Mr. Arnold. "The writings collected in this volume cover a period of more than thirty years of Irish history, and show at work all the causes which have brought Ireland to its

present state. The tyranny of the grantees of confiscation ; of the English garrison ; Protestant ascendancy ; the reliance of the English Government upon this ascendancy and its instruments as their means of government ; the yielding to menaces of danger and insurrection what was never yielded to considerations of equity and reason ; the recurrence to the old perversity of mismanagement as soon as ever the danger was passed,—all these are shown in this volume ; the evils, and Burke's constant sense of their gravity, his constant struggle to cure them. The volume begins with the *Tracts on Popery Laws*, written probably between 1760 and 1765, when that penal code, of which the monstrosity is not half known to Englishmen, and may be studied by them with profit in the *Tracts*, was still in force, and when Irish trade was restricted, almost annulled, from jealousy lest it should interfere with the trade of England. Then comes the American war. In the pressure of difficulty and danger, as that war proceeded, Lord North's Government proposed, in 1778, to conciliate Ireland by partly withdrawing the restrictions on her trade. The commercial middle class—the class with which a certain school of politicians supposes virtue, abhorring nobles and squires, to have taken refuge—the men of Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Bristol, were instantly in angry movement, and forced the Minister to abandon his propositions. The danger deepened ; Spain joined herself with France and America ; the Irish volunteers appeared in arms. Then in 1779, the restrictions on Irish trade, of which the partial withdrawal had been refused the year before, were withdrawn altogether. But the irritation of his constituents at his supporting this withdrawal, and at his supporting a measure of relief to Catholics, cost Burke his seat at Bristol. Meanwhile, the Irish Parliament proceeded in establishing its independence of that of Great Britain ; Irish affairs were controlled by Irish legislators ; the penal laws were relaxed, the Catholics admitted to the franchise, though not to Parliament. The English Government had to govern Ireland through the Irish Legislature. But it persisted on leaning upon that party in the Irish Legislature—a Protestant Legislature, no doubt containing such patriotic and liberal Protestants as Grattan—it persisted on leaning upon that party which represented Protestant ascendancy and the rule of the grantees of confiscation in its worst form. In 1789 came the French Revolution. To

remove the disabilities under which the Catholics of Ireland still lay was a measure which commended itself to all the best politicians at that time. The English Government sent, in 1795, Burke's friend Lord Fitzwilliam, as Viceroy to Ireland. Lord Fitzwilliam was the declared friend of Catholic emancipation. It seemed on the point of being granted, when the Irish Protestant junto, as Burke calls it, prevailed with Mr. Pitt, and Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. In 1797 Burke died, full of mournful apprehensions for the future; in 1798 came the Irish Rebellion. But with the Rebellion we pass beyond the life of Burke, and beyond the period of Irish history covered by this volume.

"The rapid summary just given of that history, from 1760 to 1797, will afford a sufficient clue to the writings and speeches which follow. In my opinion, the importance of Burke's thoughts on the policy pursued in Ireland is as great now as when he uttered them, and when they were received, as he himself tells us, with *contempt*."

From the foregoing it will be seen that Mr. Burke, between the years given, had presented all the phases of the Irish question that had kept Parliament in a condition of chronic fear and witless subterfuge to lay the ghost. No approach to an adequate remedy was successful until Mr. Peel, in 1829, professed to adopt Mr. Burke's policy, but failing to understand either its motives or its comprehensiveness only measurably gained the end sought by Mr. Burke. In fact, no British statesman from Burke to Gladstone has properly estimated the grievances or suggested the remedies. Pitt lacked moral courage, while Peel was narrow in his views of statesmanship; and lesser personages, from Peel to Gladstone, have been struck dumb by the gigantic evil that clamored for redress.

Mr. Gladstone has done what no other statesman since the time of Peel has dared to do, but his bill only touches the question of land reform, while Mr. Burke was evidently in favor of home rule—and the concessions which that involves, will be the only measure that can heal the hurt and gain the heart of the people. *English laws*, for the rule of Ireland, is the galling and obnoxious assumption. It is based upon an original unrighteous and cruel invasion of national rights, and there will be no lasting pacification until Irish law and an Irish Parliament have the ascendancy in Ireland.

We commend the book to all lovers of good writing as

an English classic, and we can assure the students of legislation that nowhere can be found a truer analysis of the causes of social and political degradation or a more prophetic forecast and statement of the only legislative methods of remedy.

UNBELIEF IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS CONTRASTED with its earlier and later history—Being the Cunningham Lectures for 1880—By John Cairns, D.D., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in the United Presbyterian College. New York : Harper Brothers, 1881.

This work, like its predecessor by the same author, "An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," shows marked versatility of knowledge and exceptional analytic power. Every student whose researches have led him into the fields of Church history and apologetics, knows somewhat of the different heresies that have risen and disappeared or still exist in new forms. In the majority of minds however, even although entitled to be called scholarly, these unbeliefs or errors lie in indefinite shapes which can be seldom used for practical purposes of refutation or confirmation, and hence such knowledge is too often regarded as profitless lumber. Dr. Cairns has supplied two needs. The immature student may make this work the initiative to a broader and more specific examination of the topics treated, while the advanced scholar may find in it an important aid in establishing the genesis of variant, though essentially similar, errors and in securing a classification of all the out-cropping heresies from the first intimations of English Deism to its latest forms as exhibited by Strauss and Renan.

The book embraces six Lectures with an Appendix. They are as follows : Lecture 1st, Unbelief of the first four Centuries ; 2d, Unbelief in the XVII. Century ; 3d, Unbelief in the XVIII. Century—English Deism ; 4th, Unbelief in France—The Encyclopedists ; 5th, Unbelief in Germany—Rationalism ; 6th, Unbelief in the XIX. Century—Strauss—Renan—Mill.

The author can best state the subject he has chosen and his method of treatment. We quote from the first Lecture : "I have chosen as the main theme of discussion the unbelief of the XVIII. Century, because this period marks, in some sense, the culmination of unbelief in the history of Christianity, for it was then more widely diffused and with less vigorous resistance, than before or since ;

it was more radical in its antagonism, at least than in any former century ; and it enjoyed certain extraordinary advantages, both of a social and political nature, which put all its alleged powers of remoulding the world to the test of a conspicuous and decisive experiment. What the first centuries are in the history of Christianity, the XVIII. is in the history of unbelief, and hence its products and results are of the most typical and suggestive character. It would be impossible, however, within the limits of this course, either to narrate the history or examine the literary and other developments of XVIII. Century unbelief, when surveyed by itself, with any measure of fullness. Hence I have sought to contract, without obscuring, the field, by introducing the element of relation to other periods. And as even this is too large, and would demand a larger inquiry than is possible into relations of connection and dependence as subsisting between the unbelief of that century and what preceded and followed, I have confined the point of observation to contrast, including, of course, comparison, but laying stress upon differences, rather than upon what belongs to unbelief in all places and in all ages.

“We thus obtain a perfectly definite subject, and one which, by presenting this important century in the light of other marking periods, may cast illustration on the whole history and genius of unbelief.

“It needs only to be further premised that by Unbelief I mean in the Divine origin and claims of Christianity. It will be necessary to speak of unbelief in God, in moral order, in future existence ; but these are only considered as relative to, and associated with unbelief in the Christian revelation ; and the development of atheism, pantheism, or absolute scepticism that are to be taken account of do not enter merely or chiefly as chapters in the history of speculation, but as bearing upon the resistance offered to Christianity.

“Thus considered, the unbelief of the XVIII. Century seems to me to require to be estimated in the light of the period before itself, and of that which comes after. We cannot suddenly descend upon it, without considering the post-Reformation history and tendencies, out of which it grew, which lie mainly in the XVII. Century. And as little can we abruptly leave it, without reviewing its fruits, consequences, and real or supposed advances beyond itself, in the century to which we ourselves belong.

These foregoing and succeeding periods seem thus indispensable to a right and comprehensive estimate. But as there was an earlier unbelief in the world, largely different from any that succeeded, and yet bound to all later periods by the common attribute of rejection of Christianity—I mean the unbelief of the early centuries—it seems desirable not to exclude this from view; but as far as the great diversity of the grounds and principles of resistance allows, to exhibit this also in the series, and thus to introduce the earliest prototype of the XVIII. Century unbelief and of all besides.

“Our plan then will be to sketch rapidly the unbelief of the first Christian centuries, noting especially such features as contrast with later manifestations; then to trace the rise and growth of the post-Reformation unbelief, especially in such forms as do not yet reach the XVIII. Century mark; then more fully to dwell on this central part of our subject in its various national and other peculiarities; and to close by showing to what extent and in what fields of conflict unbelief has altered its ground since the XVIII. Century utterances and conclusions.”

We think we are warranted in saying that Dr. Cairns has done, in a masterly and satisfactory way, all that he promised. Leland has been the authority, hitherto, on the Deistical controversy in England, but we hesitate not to say that the book we are now noticing, small though it be in compass, is greatly superior, in every scholarly quality, to the standard large work. Dr. Cairns has a peculiar aptitude for such investigation. He is a constitutional logician and psychologist, with keen penetrative insight and a wary skill in analysis and generalization.

The history of any specific error from its first formulation, through its successive changes or progress, is an interesting study and shows conclusively how intimately associated are the philosophical or speculative tenets of a period with its theological or dogmatic beliefs. This is lucidly presented by Dr. Cairns in the comparison and contrast of Deism in England, France and Germany.

The author did not propose to write the biography of the typical deists whose work he has examined, but he gives such salient points of mental and moral character and such an insight to the educational and literary associations of each representative as to throw a strong light upon his mental idiosyncracies and habits, and thereby account for his theological and philosophical trend.

We regard this book as adding to Dr. Cairns' former well-established reputation as a staunch defender of the truth against error in its most insidious and chameleon forms, and as a most welcome aid to all students who are humbly pursuing somewhat the same lines of investigation with himself. We therefore most heartily commend it as a condensed thesaurus of philosophic religious learning. We promise appreciable profit to every reader who can put himself *en-rapport* with the author.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK.—

The text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. American edition, with an Introduction by Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1881.

The publication of this important work has long been waited for with the deepest interest, and now that it has at last appeared, the world of scholars and divines is abundantly satisfied that the present volume is to be ranked among the most valuable contributions of our Century to the science of theology in general, and of exegesis in particular. We shall best subserve the interests of our readers who have not yet seen the work, by stating briefly what are its contents, and its claims upon the attention of every one who desires to have the New Testament text in its purest form and nearest approach possible to the manuscripts of the Apostles and Evangelists themselves.

The first and most striking feature is, that the work is formed exclusively on documentary evidence, without reference to any printed text, however valuable and excellent some of these are (such as Lachmann's, Tischendorf's, and Tregelles's). It contains the results of twenty-eight years' combined labors of two of the most eminent and able scholars and critics which the English Church possesses, viz., Dr. Westcott, professor of divinity at Cambridge, and Dr. Hort, also professor of Divinity in the same ancient seat of learning. The notation in the text and margin is very ingeniously arranged, and points out various readings, where it is not possible to decide which of two readings is right, where the editors suspect the correctness of the text, and where interpolations occur in certain documents. Uncial type is employed for quotations from the Old Testament; metrical arrangement is used for poetical and rhythmical passages; and the orthography is taken from the best MSS. Following the Greek text

is some very useful supplementary matter, viz., a brief and general explanation of the principles of textual criticism, and a summary of the contents of the Introduction, which is soon to be published in a separate volume, and will contain a full exposition of the principles and results of textual criticism. We shall look for the appearance of this companion volume with the deepest interest, and doubt not that it will prove to be all that we have a right to expect.

In order to render the American reprint as serviceable as possible, Dr. Schaff has prefixed an Introduction of some eighty pages. In this he gives, in condensed but very readable shape, an account, 1st, of the sources of the Greek text of the New Testament, under the subdivisions, Greek MSS., Ancient Versions, Patristic Quotations; 2d, of the Variations and of textual criticism, such as the origin, number, value, and classes of variations, and the object and rules of criticism, with their applications; 3d, of the printed editions of the Greek text, beginning with the Textus Receptus (1516-1750); transition from the textus receptus to the Uncial text (1770-1830); and the primitive text (1830-1881), by Drs. Westcott and Hort. This Introduction of Dr. Schaff's will be found to be of great value, not only for this but in fact for any edition of the New Testament in the original.

A "List of Readings Noticed in the Appendix" (covering ten pages) closes the present volume.

THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA, CONFUCIANISM AND TAOISM, Described and Compared with Christianity, by James Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature in the University of Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881.

Prof. Legge, of the University of Oxford, has presented in these Lectures a comprehensive and popular history of the religions of China. It is highly creditable to the enterprise of the Presbyterian Church of England, under whose auspices it appears, that this timely and important subject should have been chosen for the "Spring Lecture of 1880."

The historical research into the origin of these ancient beliefs is so thorough, and the analysis of their leading principles so full and discriminating, that one cannot rise from the perusal of the volume without feeling deeply indebted to the author for having enriched our religious literature with a work of permanent value.

The general topics of which these lectures treat are: 1, Confucianism, its Doctrine and Worship of God; 2, Its Worship of the Dead, and Teaching about Man, with a Sketch of the Life of Confucius; 3, Tâoism, as a Religion and a Philosophy: And 4, The Chinese Religions as Compared with Christianity.

Confucianism is carefully defined and dealt with, not only as a system of ethics, but in its relation to the old religions of the country. With no claims to inspiration or to the power of working miracles, repudiating, indeed, all pretension to supernatural knowledge or prophetic foresight, Confucius sought simply to be "a transmitter, and not a maker." "I sit," he says, "in silence when I study the teachings of the past; I feel no weariness in these studies; I would communicate them to others without weariness." He professed, indeed, to derive all his authority from the instructions which had come down from preceding ages, sometimes correcting, but generally only absorbing the maxims of the sages who lived before him as he himself declares, "I revise and explain; I do not originate." Many of his teachings as to the Deity, and as to moral obligation are inferior only to Christianity itself. "Worship as if the Deity (Tien) were present; worship the Deity because he is everywhere present. If the mind be not in the worship, it is as if you worshipped not." "To seek the good of others equally with your own is to fill a large portion of the field of virtue;" and again, "As I would not that others should injure me, so would I not injure them." (Lum Yu.)

In marked contrast with Confucianism were the teachings of Lâo-Tsze, the founder of the Tâoist or Reason sect, one being the summary of good morals and practical wisdom, the application of common sense to the daily occupations of life; the other, an embodiment of mystical notions regarding the relations of Tâo and the universe, something analogous to the later vagaries of Manicheism. Confucius was a courtier and a statesman, and Lâo-Tsze a monk and a hermit. Consequently Lâo-Tsze's scheme of philosophy is stoical and ascetic, or according to the celebrated expounder, Chos He, "it consists in modesty, self-emptiness, in being void of desires, quiet and free from exertion, in being self-empty, retiring and self-controlling in actual life." While his scheme of religion comprehends the revelation of something that he terms Tâo (defined rather as a concept than a being) to

which he refers all things as the ultimate ideal unity of the universe. "All things originate from Tào, conform to Tào, and to Tào they at last return. Formless it is the cause of form. It is an eternal road; along it all beings and all things walk; but no being made it, for it is being itself, and yet nothing." Upon this indefinite and mystical foundation, it was not strange that many wild speculations and debasing superstitions were built in the succeeding centuries, until the religious teachings of Láo-Tsze came to be merged into the grossest idolatry, comprehending an indefinite multiplication of deities, fanatical and impure rites, the search after the philosopher's stone, the practice of necromancy, and self-torture—such as dancing in the flames and mutilation of the body.

Space does not permit us to enter upon any consideration of the influence of Confucianism, of Tàoism, and of the subsequent infusion of Buddhism upon the mind and heart of China; but it is not too much to say that religions which, with their various modifications, have moulded and regulated the life of untold millions of our race for the last 2,500 years, are deserving of careful study; and we know of no treatment of the subject which is at once so philosophical and so readable as this.

ANALYTICAL CONCORDANCE TO THE BIBLE, ON AN entirely new plan, containing every word in alphabetical order, arranged under its Hebrew or Greek original, with the literal meaning of each, and its pronunciation, exhibiting about 311,000 references, marking 30,000 various readings of the New Testament, with the latest information on Biblical Geography and Antiquities, etc. Designed for the simplest reader of the English Bible, along with the "Analytical Bible Treasury." By Robert Young, LL.D. Fourth Revised Edition. New York: L. K. Funk & Co. 1881.

Dr. Young's Analytical Concordance to the Bible is a work of immense toil, occupying many years. It evidences a persevering industry and zeal in a good cause which have no equal, hardly any parallel. In his prefatory note (of two pages) he gives a brief account of works of a similar kind, and renders due praise to them all, especially Alexander Cruden's. His design is, to give the unlearned reader a more correct understanding of the English Bible, by a reference to the original words in Hebrew and Greek, with their varied shades and niceties of meaning. Every word in the Bible is put in its proper alphabetical order, and then arranged under the respective original words, all in their own alphabetical order. To

each of these the literal meaning is prefixed, and pronunciation appended, and the various conjugations of the Hebrew verbs noted by letters from 1 to 7. Proper names of persons and places are inserted in the proper place belonging to them in the alphabetical arrangement; and geographical remarks are added, with chronological notation. Dr. Young claims that "the present work is an entirely independent one, and in no sense an edition of Cruden, either in its plan or in its execution." He avers that he has given 118,000 references not to be found in Cruden (whose references amount to about 193,000); that every doubtful passage and every various reading have been marked by brackets; and that, in the case of proper names, every person and place have been given, and the dates and topography specified. "But the predominating feature of this work is the *analytical arrangement* of each English word under its *own proper original* in Hebrew or Greek, with the literal meaning of the same. By this means the reader is enabled to *distinguish things that differ*, which are frequently confounded in the English Bible, and for the elucidation of which Cruden offers no real help at all, and which indeed have hitherto been the exclusive property of scholars. For our translation often renders *one* Greek word by *ten* or *twenty* English ones; and on the other hand, it sometimes employs one English word to translate *ten* or *twenty* Greek ones."

To some of Dr. Young's definitions and explanations exception might be taken, were we entering upon a detailed examination of the present volume, as not being quite satisfied in regard to their correctness and expediency on all occasions; but this does not detract from the value of the work as a whole. His practice, also, of making the accent always to rest on the ultimate or penultimate syllable of words (which, he affirms, is "according to the *principles* of Hebrew and Greek") is liable to confuse a mere English reader who attempts to pronounce certain Scripture words in accordance with the marked or accentuated syllable; *e.g.*, let any one pronounce Ephesus (Ephé-sus), Jerusalem (Jerusá-lem), Joshua (Joshu' a), Zebedee (Zebé-dee), etc., and he will realize what strange sounding words he is uttering. In the majority of cases, however, there is no difficulty of this kind in the way, because the English accented syllables agree mostly with those in Hebrew and Greek, as Jeremí-a, Jé-sus, Amphi-polis, Cyré-ne, etc.

The typography of the work is admirable, the book having been printed by "the Government Book Printers, Edinburgh." Though the page is very large, there being three columns on a page, the type necessarily small, and Hebrew and Greek words continually occur, yet the print is clear and distinct, and the accuracy very great. We cannot say that it is absolutely *perfect*. We have noted, in a few places, here and there, as we have investigated somewhat the book, an error in the print, chiefly in the Greek. But if any one will consider for a moment how exceedingly difficult it is to attain correctness, even in books only in the English language, he will readily understand how greatly this difficulty is increased by undertaking to bring out accurately and perfectly, several thousands of Greek and Hebrew words, and ten thousands of references to chapters and verses of the Bible. In fine, the present work is a marvel of patient devotion and skill, and it will prove to be a very valuable help to scholars, and to all who wish to study the Word of God, as it is, in its purity and completeness. The publishers also deserve to be thanked for placing copies of a work like this within the reach of Bible students in America, at a price so very reasonable.

THE OBER-AMMERGAU PASSION PLAY OF 1880. BY THE Rev. Wm. A. Snively, S.T.D., Rector of Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y. (Illustrated). New York: James Pott, 1881.

It is a little curious that all or most of those who condemn the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau never saw it. We can understand this from the fact of ourselves having done so it up to the moment it was our good fortune to witness it. The Passion Play, as given at Ober-Ammergau, cannot justly be condemned on general principles. We say as given at Ober-Ammergau, because after having seen it enacted there, and met some of those who took prominent parts in the Sacred Drama, we believe that in no other place, or by no other people, could it be given without profanation.

Doubtless Dr. Snively went to Ober-Ammergau, as many others did, with grave doubts, both as to the propriety of its being given and as to himself being a spectator. That he left that most charming spot in the mountains with entirely different views of the Passion Play, is very evident from his lecture before the Long Island Historical Society, now given to the public in a beautifully printed, illustrated and bound volume.

The lecture is divided in parts. 1. The History of the Play. 2. The Arrangements for the Play. 3 and 4. Outlines of the Play. 5. Conclusion. The History of the Play given, which is full enough to be satisfactory, is an account of Passion Plays from the X. Century. This adds value to the volume. The account of the play is most graphic and true, and as to the impression it produced upon his own mind he must have space to speak for himself. "Once seen it can never be forgotten. The memory of it lingers with you like that of some elaborate panorama you have seen or some grand picture gallery you have visited, with the addition of motion and life to the pictures, and the accompaniment of music and song. It was a strange and child-like interweaving of Old Testament prophecy and New Testament fact, and as we sat there, in the quiet calm of that summer Sunday evening, under the shadow of the Bavarian Alps, with the blue vault of heaven for our ceiling and the mountains for our background, it seemed as if the whole story of the Bible had passed before us, from the simple record of the Fall in the Book of Genesis to the recital of the Crucifixion by the Evangelists of our Lord. And this was the case, whatever interpretation may be given to the crowning fact, whether it is remembered as the noblest instance of heroic and unselfish martyrdom which history records, or as the atoning sacrifice of the Son of God. As the mind was carried along by the unfolding lesson of the drama, it seemed as if all preceding lines of history and of revelation converged into one spot and one scene; and the long line of centuries, the changes of dynasties, the decay and disappearance of races and civilizations, dwindled into transient and incidental circumstances in the history of man, when compared with the great catastrophe of the Fall, the sublime drama of Redemption, or the Immortal Destiny made possible by the Cross of Christ.

"In the intenser acts of the drama, where we would naturally expect our reverence to be shocked, the individual actors disappeared from thought. They were no more than the threads which constitute the warp and woof of the canvass upon which a picture is painted by a master hand; and face and form and costume were alike the pigments which portray upon that canvas in light and shade and varying hue some great thought which genius has conceived, or some great fact of history which is precious to the heart of man.

"And as the masterpieces of every great gallery have sacred themes, and the thoughts of genius in other centuries which have survived connect themselves with the Madonna or the Christ, so the central thought which lives in the mind, when the play is over, is the thought of Christ and the suffering He endured. It was at once a manifold lesson from the Bible and a manifold sermon from the pulpit. And in its teaching it emphasized, as no abstract statement possibly can, the organic unity of the Old Testament and the New. Prophecy and type, and psalm and history, were all welded together in the unity of a common purpose and thought by the constant reappearance, in varied forms and at widely distant periods, of the One mysterious personage who is the centre of them all." And we are sure that all who have seen it must have been alike impressed. And to those who were so fortunate this volume will vividly recall the scenes of one of the most interesting days of a life time. To those who did not see the Play we can commend this volume as one that will give them a true account of an event in the history of the world, well worth their while to remember.

We thank the late Dean of Westminster for having years ago drawn the attention of the world to this wonderful drama, enacted by the simple folk of one of the most beautiful and retired spots of the earth. And we thank Dr. Snively for bearing such faithful record of what we have reason to believe was the last representation of the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau.

LETTRES DE MADAME DE REMUSAT, 1804-1814. PUBLIÉES par son Petit Fils Paul Rémusat, Sénateur de la Haute-Garonne. Paris: Calman Lévy. 2 vols., 1881.

In reviewing these letters the critic finds himself involuntarily turning to the Memoirs for a fuller and more satisfactory account of the facts here mentioned. Yet no one can fail to find them interesting and full of vivacity—a certain sparkle nowhere to be found outside of French literature. The Letters are necessarily sketchy. The close surveillance during the First Empire of even private correspondence will account for the reticence of the usually frank little lady who expresses her opinions upon all other than political questions with so much candor and discrimination.

The Letters dated after the divorce of Napoleon from the Empress Josephine are especially reserved, but even

in them the woman's tender nature cannot be repressed, and the love and devotion of Madame de Rémusat to the discarded Empress are a touch of genuine sweetness which, indeed, is manifest throughout the letters. She is thoroughly French in all her characteristics and views of life; is gay in her tastes yet chooses wisely among men and women of culture for her near friends. Talleyrand and men of that stamp were her chosen friends, and she evidently drew around her people of wit and learning who esteemed her "Wednesdays" a great intellectual treat. Her allusions to these receptions in her letters to M. de Rémusat are piquant and charming. The quick touches of humor, the relation of conversations, and comments on the topics discussed are very interesting.

Read in connection with the Memoirs one cannot help closing the book with a sigh that Madame de Rémusats were so rare. For usually among the noted French women of that day, the intellectual rather than the moral quality predominated, but she was essentially a lovable, brilliant and fascinating *woman*.

SERMONS BY THE RT. REV. WILLIAM ODENHEIMER, D.D., Late Bishop of New Jersey and of Northern New Jersey. With an Introductory Memoir, Edited by his Wife. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1881.

The present volume is a well-timed memorial of one who obtained deserved honor and respect, and whose name will live with those of Hobart, Delancey, Doane, and others of our earlier bishops, as a faithful pastor of souls. Bishop Odenheimer's life and career have yet to be fully narrated. The Introduction to the volume now before us gives the most prominent facts, but does not go into any details. It simply tell us how he began at the earliest period of his ministry, in deacon's orders, with Dr. Delancey as his priest and rector; how he was called soon after, when the rector of S. Peter's was made Bishop of Western New York, to succeed that wise and godly man in the rectorship of a large and important parish; how he served with all godly faithfulness and untiring zeal for twenty years in that position; and then, having been elected Bishop of New Jersey, how he labored in his new sphere, with the same energy, the same godly devotion, the same faithfulness to the principles of the Gospel in the Church. The introductory memoir also tells how he gave his cordial assent to the forming of a new diocese in the State of

New Jersey, and when it pleased God to call him away, in August, 1879, how he laid down the burden of life, and went to his rest in the Paradise of God.

Bishop Odenheimer was a diligent student and well read theologian. He was not what men call brilliant; but he was better than that, he was clear and sound in judgment, open and honest in expression, and always ready to speak out earnestly in defense of truth and right. The sermons here given (thirty in number) have been selected evidently for their practical value, and as specimens of the good Bishop's preaching, both as a rector and as a bishop. There is nothing startling or surprising in them. There is no effort to present learned essays, or brilliant pictures and imaginings. There are no sensational appeals in them, nor any flowery rhetoric. They were written and preached as setting forth the chief truths of Christianity, such as all Christian people need to be instructed in by those who watch for souls; and they are infused with the *vivida vis* of the faithful pastor and guide, whose life and conversation evidence the hearty acceptance on his own part of all those precious truths which he urges upon others. The volume is well printed, is attractive in appearance, and has a very speaking likeness of Bishop Odenheimer prefixed.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ART. BY WILLHEM Lübke, Professor at the Polytechnic Institute and at the Art School at Stuttgart. A new Translation from the Seventh German Edition. Edited by Clarence Cook. In two volumes: fully illustrated. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1881.

Dr. Lübke's work is one of rare merit, thoroughness, and fidelity. It is intended for students rather than for scholars or professional artists; and its varied excellence commends it to all who desire to be rightly informed on subjects which have now become almost an essential part of liberal culture everywhere. It includes the whole ground of the history of art, from the earliest and rudest beginnings to the finished and unsurpassed productions of ancient art, as well as those which have sprung from the genius and skill of more modern days. After a brief introductory chapter on the "Origin and Beginnings of Art," Dr. Lübke devotes his *First Book* to "The Ancient Art of the East." This covers the period of Egyptian Art, the Art of Central Asia (Babylon, Ninevah, Persia, etc.), of Western Asia (Phenicians, Hebrews, Races of

Asia Minor), and the Art of Eastern Asia (India, China, Japan). The *Second Book* is occupied with "Classic Art," in three chapters, in which is given a very interesting and valuable account of Greek Art (Architecture, Plastic Art, Painting), of Etruscan Art, and of Roman Art (Architecture, Sculpture, Painting). The *Third Book* contains the history of "Mediæval Art," in four chapters, *i.e.*, Early Christian Art, Mohammedan Art, the Romanesque Style, and the Gothic Style. These chapters are especially interesting and useful to readers of all kinds; the first three occupy the last 225 pages of Volume I., and the fourth chapter, of about 100 pages, opens Volume II. The *Fourth Book* gives a tolerably full history of "The Art of Modern Times," in seven chapters. These are devoted to the General Characteristics of Modern Art, Modern Architecture, Plastic Art in Italy in the XV. and XVI. Centuries, Plastic Art in the North during the same centuries, Plastic Art in the XVII. and XVIII. Centuries, and a brief chapter on art in the XIX. Century. To all this are added an Appendix concerning "The Di Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from the Island of Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of the City of New York," and a full and carefully prepared Index.

The illustrations all through the two volumes are numerous and admirably chosen for making clear and impressive the meaning and value of the text. They number in all five hundred and fifty, and are capitally executed, in the best style of wood engraving, which, as our readers know, has made marvellous advances of latter years towards perfection.

Without claiming to speak as an expert in art, we have no hesitation in commending these volumes as worthy to be text books for art-clubs, schools, and private students. There is, so far as we know and believe, no other work of equal value accessible to the reader in the English language, and as the price has been reduced nearly one-half, without any sacrifice of fulness and excellence of printing and illustration, we are confident an appreciative public will thank the publishers for their enterprise and good judgment manifested in sending forth works of the intrinsic value of Dr. Lübke's *History of Art*. Mr. Clarence Cook's services as editor cannot be passed over without notice and commendation. He has faithfully and honorably discharged the duty undertaken by him, and by his notes, references, additions, and occasional corrections,

has very materially enhanced the value and excellence of the original work.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,
By Rev. Charles J. Abbey, M. A., and Rev. John H. Overton, M. A.
London: Longmans, Green & Co.

These two bulky volumes are the joint product of two most industrious and conscientious scholars. Of their industry, the long list of authors quoted or referred to (no author being quoted at second hand) is one ample proof, while no one can study the results of their comprehensive labors without being convinced of the efforts they have made to represent truly the times of which they write. It is not a continuous history, but rather a compendious discussion of subjects or topics, and of the character and influence of certain representative men who flourished in that interesting and important era. Of the former, we may instance the chapters on The Church and the Jacobites, Latitudinarian Churchmanship, Church Abuses, and Sacred Poetry. Of the latter, the chapter on Robert Nelson and his Friends, and The Evangelicals.

It is a work which will stand the test which many others cannot. When it has been once read one feels that it must be added to one's library for future reference. While its tone is definite and orthodox, it is withal most candid and charitable. Nor does it give a view of the XVIII. Century only. It will also be found a considerable help in understanding the men and events of our own Century.

THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE. BY T. LAUDER BRUNTON, M.D., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, etc. With Illustrations. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

The chief object of this book seems to be to advocate the Darwinian theory of evolution, and to show that it not only is not contradicted by the Bible, but is entirely in accord with the Mosaic account of creation in the book of Genesis. Dr. Brunton calls it "a brief and popular sketch of the data on which the doctrine of evolution is founded," and such it really is. There is no pretence of originality or novelty, and the writer's aim being to make a useful manual on the subject, he begins by giving a condensed account of the living things both animal and vegetable which now exist on this earth and of their relations to one another, and also of the forms of life which existed in the early ages of the world's history, and their

relationship to one another, as well as to those of the present day. All this is followed by a discussion of the question how these various forms of life, past and present, came into existence, whether by direct creation or gradual evolution. Dr. Brunton being a firm believer in Darwinism, of course his book sets forth that theory as attractively as possible, and evidently he is of opinion that he has met and answered all the objections to this particular theory, a theory which, according to him, is becoming every year more and more largely adopted.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the points at issue. Our readers can judge for themselves, by examining the book, in how far the writer has succeeded in attaining his object, and also wherein, in the judgment of others, he has failed to make out his case. The book is written in a calm, temperate style, and is fully illustrated with wood cuts taken mostly from larger works.

GREEK WIT. BY F. A. PALEY, M. A. LONDON: GEO Bell & Sons.

This little volume is a good illustration of the old adage as to brevity being the soul of wit, for it contains within a small compass much that is really deserving of this name. The author's well-known classical learning has been employed in gathering from many of the best writers of ancient Greek, sayings that at once exemplify their wisdom and help to explain why they still retain their hold upon modern scholars. They range over a great variety of subjects, but are in the main such as will afford instruction to any reader. Many of the extracts might be useful to clergymen in their sermons by way of illustration. It is to be hoped that what Mr. Paley has here done so well for the English reader may be so generally appreciated that he may be induced to put forth another like volume from the rich stores which we understand he has by him.

A MEMOIR OF ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF BRECHIN, WITH a brief notice of his brother, Rev. George Hay Forbes. London: J. Masters & Co.

It is much to be regretted that this is but a Memoir and not what might, from fuller details, be called a Life. Perhaps no Scotch Bishop of the present century has been as widely and as favorably known to American churchmen as Alexander of Brechin, and we cannot but be deeply interested in everything about him. Born in the year 1817, of a family proverbial for their attachment to the Church, he

early imbibed that devout and diligent spirit which distinguished him throughout his whole career. In the schools which he attended he was remarkable for his industry and ability, and oftentimes received prizes for his proficiency. In the year 1836 he sailed for the Madras Presidency, having accepted an honorable post in the India Civil Service. His health failing him while thus employed, he took it as an indication of God's will that he should enter upon the work of the ministry, his own wishes in this direction having been previously held in abeyance, out of deference to his father's opinion. Accordingly, he came to Oxford to resume his studies, though in doing so he gave up brilliant prospects of preferment and emoluments in the Civil Service. He soon became an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Pusey and of others like him, to whose counsel and friendship he often most gratefully referred.

After serving in several curacies in England, he went to Stonehaven in Aberdeenshire, where he was the means of doing a great work, and then under a specially urgent call accepted the charge of S. Saviour's, Leeds. Much good was expected from his residence in this latter place, but he had not been long there when he was chosen to the See of Brechen. At the time of his election he was barely 30 years old. He was shortly afterwards consecrated to his high office, and took up his residence in Dundee. Here he found ample field for all the labor he could spare from his strictly diocesan engagements. The various institutions and new parishes which he was chiefly instrumental in founding show him to have been thoroughly alive to the opportunities for usefulness which presented themselves. In the beginning he was met with much suspicion and opposition from dissenters. The condition of affairs may be judged from the fact that when infants were to be baptized they were brought to the clergyman by fisherwomen clandestinely in their baskets. About this same period three clergymen were confined, for some exercise of their ministerial functions, in prison, and infants were then taken to them in the dead of night and held up to be baptized from the windows of their cells. And all this in the middle of the XIX. Century.

Nor was Bishop Forbes free from controversy with his fellow Churchmen. His views on the Holy Eucharist were especially selected for attack. A presentment was made to his brother bishops (none of them, it is thought, his peers in theological attainments), who administered to him some mild admonitions.

Soon it was found that his health, never strong, was gradually but surely breaking down under his incessant labors and the excitement amid which he had been living for so many years. In October, 1875, he died, and from the testimony of one who was privileged to be with him during his last moments we can emphasize the statement of the Memoir as to the truly amiable spirit in which this great prelate entered upon his well-earned rest. It was not until his death that many of those about him realized his rare worth. From all sides, both within and without the Church, there came an assurance of such affectionate appreciation of his character and work as would have been of unspeakable comfort to him had it been expressed when he was in the midst of his toil. We cannot but believe that he is now enjoying what is even of greater worth than human sympathy.

Annexed to the Memoir of Bishop Forbes is a still shorter one of his brother, the Rev. George Hay Forbes, a man of feeble health, but of great scholarship and of singular holiness. Beyond almost any other clergyman in Great Britain, he had a thorough and accurate acquaintance with the Church in the United States, which makes us to sorrow all the more for his very brief career and for the meagre account we have of his saintly life.

LITERARY STYLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. BY WILLIAM Mathews, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1881.

Mr. Mathews' books are so brilliantly written, with such a keen enjoyment of the subject he discusses, that he almost disarms the critic who would fain object, occasionally, to his expression and evident approval of many of the slang terms of the day.

This is the only fault we can find with the book before us. Several of the Essays, for example, the first one, *Literary Style*, and the Chapter upon the *Ideal and Real*, are wholly free from any of those shocks to good taste, and show the author at his best. He is a clear, discriminating writer, with great aptness in quotation, and all his books are full of suggestiveness and fascination to the reader.

His evident liking for many of the questionable phrases, termed slang, he justifies in his Essay on "*Americanisms*," by proving that many of them are really pure old English, used by Shakespeare, Chaucer, and others, and that the objection to them on the part of the English

is inconsistent. The coined words of the times, such as buncombe, lynch, splurge, snicker, he thinks, "although not imperatively demanded by novel things, practices and customs of the New World, are very significant and convenient."

We can scarcely agree with him that far, but with this exception the Essays are fraught with keen criticism and observation of character, showing wide reading, and close study of human nature. The one on Intellectual Playfulness is admirable.

MERCY AND JUDGMENT: A FEW LAST WORDS ON Christian Eschatology, with reference to Dr. Pusey's "What is of Faith?" By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F. R. S., Canon of Westminster, Rector of S. Margaret's, Westminster, etc. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1881.

As was to be expected, Canon Farrar could not let Dr. Pusey's book go without an answer, or an attempt to answer it, and accordingly we have a new volume from him, in which he gives us his "few last words on Christian Eschatology." In general, he writes with much courtesy of language towards his venerable antagonist, and affirms that in nearly everything he and Dr. Pusey are at one. He distinctly repudiates the charge of being a universalist, a restorist, or a denier of eternal punishment to a *few* at least of the human race. And he does well to do so. Yet the substance of his teaching remains the same as in his previous volume, "Eternal Hope," and he seems to think it necessary to indulge in many and uncalled for oburgations against those who differ from him. Apparently, he holds that he and his imitators possess all the right feeling and compassion in the world, and that they who cling to the Prayer Book as the best interpreter of Holy Scripture are hard, cruel, savage, fierce, actually taking delight in the awful prospect of eternal damnation for the rebellious creatures who defy God and refuse to believe and obey Him. He makes a grand parade of regular, uncouth and utterly improper language used by some writers on this subject, and impliedly if not directly holds responsible for such repulsive statements those who, while they rejoice in and adore the infinite compassion and love of God, cannot resist the conviction that the threatenings of God *mean* what they appear to mean to all candid students of Holy Scripture. In one place he affirms that the doctrine of eternal punishment "is a huge, a horrible, and a needless

stumbling block in the path of christianity. It scandalizes Christ's little ones. It offends the childhood of the world." In another he declares "hell is a standing joke of the multitudes," and quotes John Henry Newman as saying that "this doctrine only angers the multitude and makes them blaspheme," In another he asserts "that the damnation of mankind has been the normal teaching of theologians in every age since the earliest;" but, as it is unreasonable and unscriptural (he being the judge), it must be rejected as an ancient error and false doctrine. Everywhere throughout his book he uses language of similar import.

Now, one may well ask, what right has Canon Farrar to put himself forward as the corrector of all the great theologians and saints of all ages? Is he wiser than they all? Does he know more than they all put together? Is he more full of love and pity than Chrysostom, or Augustine, or Hooker, or Pearson, or Bull, or Waterland, or Jeremy Taylor, or the chief living scholars and divines? It would really seem as if he thought himself to be such, and as if it were incumbent on him to set the church and the world right on these matters. And the practical effect will be that disobedient Christians and unbelievers in general (if they trust to his words) will henceforth take comfort to themselves with the assurance that "everlasting punishment" means a punishment of only limited duration, and that when this is over, whether it be glory or short duration, all the children of man will be made happy, etc.. by logical sequence—the lost angels, the Devil and all his hosts, will be brought back, will be received into the Divine favor again; and then, in the sense which is given by restorationists to the words of S. Paul, "God will be all in all."

But we forbear at this period. We impute to Canon Farrar no other motives than those of a love for the truth of God's Word, however earnestly we are constrained to disagree with him. We can only say, in conclusion, that so far as argument is concerned, there is nothing new or specially important in his book. It is the same ground gone over again, with additions and personal explanations and defences. The volume will give satisfaction, no doubt, to many who think that the spirit of the age demands that the doctrine of eternal punishment be rejected; while on the other hand it will cause pain and grief to not a few Christian people to find a clergyman of the Church of Eng-

land who, in honor if not honesty, is bound by what the Prayer Book contains, can use this same Prayer Book and continually recite the words teaching plainly that there is "everlasting damnation," and there are "bitter pains of eternal death," when the sum and substance of his book are to show that there is no such thing as hell and damnation, and no such bitter pains as those of eternal death. We are sorry to see a man of Dr. Farrar's scholarship and ability in so incongruous and uncomfortable a position.

HANDBOOK OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION. BY WILLIAM Stevens Perry, DD., LL. D., Bishop of Iowa, New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1881.

Bishop Perry has added to this new edition of his very valuable Handbook two chapters—"The Convention of 1880," and "The Convention of 1883," in which he gives a summary of the chief events and transactions of the last Convention and of the more important business to come before the next Session to be held in Philadelphia in 1883. The volume is now a complete History of the General Convention and Constitution from 1785 to the present time.

It can truthfully be said that all Bishop Perry has written concerning the American Church should be in the Library of every intelligent Churchman.

A QUESTION : THE IDYL OF A PICTURE, BY HIS FRIEND Alma Tadema, related by George Ebers, from the German by Mary Safford. New York : William S. Gottsberg, 1881.

Few criticisms upon pictures are wholly satisfactory, for the reason that beauty on canvass as elsewhere, suggests various thoughts, and excites different emotions in each beholder.

The graceful Idyl before us does not aspire to be a critique upon Alma Tadema's picture, "A Question," but rather is an interpretation of its meaning full of exquisite description and purity which casual art-seekers seldom know how to express as does the great Novelist George Ebers. The word painting if possible exceeds in beauty the lovely picture which called it forth.

The story is laid in the Island of Sicily, near Syracuse, and opens with a description of the home of the Heroine, Xanthe, and with an amusing dialogue between the spoiled but faithful old retainers of the house, Semestre, with the servant of the real Hero of the Tale. The discussion waxes warm as to the respective merits of the two cousins, suitors for the hand of Xanthe, Phaon the old

servant's Master, and Leonax. The latter is the son of an elder brother of Xanthe's father and more wealthy, therefore preferred by the old Semestre. He is expected in a few days, to plead his suit; this then is the Question. Who will Xanthe choose? Phaon, the old playmate, and dearly beloved, but who has been slandered by enemies, or the rich Leonax.

The scene where Xanthe has gone out in quest of roses to decorate her home in honor of the latter's arrival is exquisitely beautiful, and tender. She discovers Phaon in one of their childish haunts, asleep, and while striving to weave the rich red roses in a garland, her unwilling fingers pause, and she ceases to look out over the sea for the ship that is to bring Leonax; and her thoughts will revert to the handsome Phaon who at last awakes, proves the calumnies against him to be false, and pleads his cause in lover-like fashion, and wins.

The plot is of course simple, but those who read the Idyl will find themselves wandering with the writer through olive groves to the stately house of Xanthe by the sea, and hastening with him to see the famous Bench of the Question.

DAVID HARTLEY AND JAMES MILL. By G. S. BOWER, M. A., New York: G. P. Putman's Sons. 1881.

This is another volume of the series "English Philosophers," to which we called attention in the July number of the *Church Review*. It brings before the reader and student two men of some note in the annals of English Scotch Philosophy, and Mr. Bower has bestowed great care upon making his book as interesting and useful as possible. The first twenty-three pages are devoted to brief biographical sketches of David Hartley (1705-1757) and James Mill (1773-1836). The second part, (of some two hundred pages following) treats fully of "the philosophical systems and opinions" of Hartley and Mill. And the third part (of thirty-two pages) gives a *résumé* of "the value and influence of their opinion." A Bibliographical Appendix concludes the volume, and furnishes references to all the material needful for the student who wishes to push his researches beyond what Mr. Bower has here supplied. To do full justice to the doctrines of Associationism and Utilitarianism, or to point out the radical errors and defects in the theory as applied to explain thought, morality, the State, and Art, is not included in Mr. Bower's plan. "On these wide questions" he says towards the close of his book, "the reader will pardon us for declining

to enter. To do justice to either side, or to represent the case with any thing approaching to fairness, would lead us far beyond our present limits. Our aim has been to determine the place which Hartley and James Mill respectively fitted in the history of the Association Theory, and what is now called Utilitarianism; their relation to one another; and the different views of thought which the later of the two philosophers left to be worked by his successors. What may be the value of the theory of Association as a whole, and when taken at its best, we leave the reader to determine, after having placed before him some of the materials for a decision."

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS. ESSAYS ON ECCLESIASTICAL Subjects. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

There is so much that is well and even nobly said in this volume, so much that will attract and even fascinate, so much that will stimulate inquiry and compel investigation, so much that will direct attention to the Church's position and principles though intended to counteract that position and undermine those principles, that we cannot lay aside the work without a word of praise, even though we would not fail to record our unqualified dissent from its statements and teachings. Among much that is brilliant and beautiful, one sentence is worthy of special remembrance in view of its evident reference to a recent notable instance of erring genius.

"If the sacredness of the marriage bond be the glory of our English homes, no eccentricities of genius, no exceptional misfortunes—however much we may excuse or pity those who have gone astray—can justify us in making light of that which, disregarded in one case, is endangered in all, which, if lost in a few cases, is the ruin of hundreds. It is not the loss of Christianity, but of civilization, not the advance to freedom, but the relapse into barbarism." *The Ten Commandments*. p. 382.

The perusal of the work confirms the impression that the Dean's scholarship was brilliant rather than profound; that his theology was practical rather than systematic or consistent with the standard and teachings of the Church of which he was so prominent a minister, and that his life—alas! that it is already ended here—would have been more useful and would have claimed more lasting reverence if his tendencies had not been so manifestly radical, and if his sympathies had not been so often gratified at the expense of consistency and good judgment.

